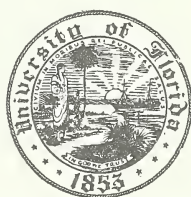


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the chronicles

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the chronicles OF OKLAHOMA

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THE COVER A watercolor portrait of Creek Chief Osceola by Jerome Tiger, Oklahoma-born Indian artist (1941-1967).

THE HISTORIC PRESERVATION MOVEMENT IN OKLAHOMA

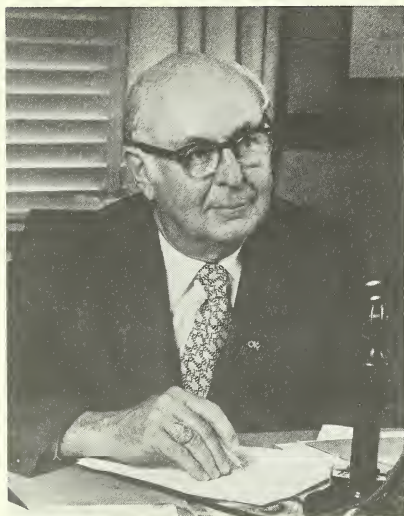
By LeRoy H. Fischer*

In Oklahoma, as elsewhere, historic preservation began with human interest in both prehistoric and historic sites. Perhaps the earliest such indication was in the site of the Civil War Battle of Honey Springs, the Gettysburg of Indian Territory, located about seventeen miles south of Muskogee. Returning Civil War veterans, after arriving by rail in Muskogee, often walked, rode horseback or drove carriages through the area by way of the Texas Road, which ran lengthwise through the center of the battleground. They sought out familiar natural features, viewed trees shattered by the Federal cannonade, and enjoyed the scenic beauty of prairie and dense forest enroute to Honey Springs Station, originally a stage stop and provision point on the Texas Road. Honey Springs was usually the focal point of these excursions, and picnics were sometimes held near the clear-flowing waters of the spring area or the ruins of the stone building purportedly used by the Confederate forces to house their powder. In later years, visits to the battlefield area continued with increasing frequency despite the closing of the Texas Road with the coming of United States Highway 69. The well-known Oklahoma historians, Dr. and Mrs. Grant Foreman of Muskogee, for example, sought out the battle site several times during the 1920s and 1930s.¹

It was Joseph B. Thoburn, during his career on the faculty of the University of Oklahoma from 1913 to 1917, who in modern times was the first person to become interested in Oklahoma's prehistoric sites. In the summer of 1916, Thoburn explored Big Mouth Cavern near Grove, Oklahoma, in Delaware County with a group of University of Oklahoma students. The archaeological dig continued for several weeks inside the cave and yielded bones and teeth of game animals, shells of mollusks, pieces of pottery, arrowheads, needles, awls and shuttles. The situation became complex when about two dozen local citizens congregated at the site of the dig and demanded to see the gold-filled teeth they had heard about. This resulted from a legend of the area that told of Spanish gold being buried near

* The author is Oppenheim Regents Professor of History at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater.

¹ Unidentified Newspaper Clipping, Battle of Honey Springs Folder, Grant Foreman Collection, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Interview, Mrs. Grant Foreman, July 17, 1963; LeRoy H. Fischer, "The Honey Springs National Battlefield Park Movement," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVII, No. 1 (Spring, 1969), p. 515.



George H. Shirk, president of the Oklahoma Historical Society for nearly twenty years, spent much of his life identifying, exploring, researching, and writing about Oklahoma's historic sites.



Joseph B. Thoburn, pioneer Oklahoma historian and archaeologist, wrote many site oriented articles and books.

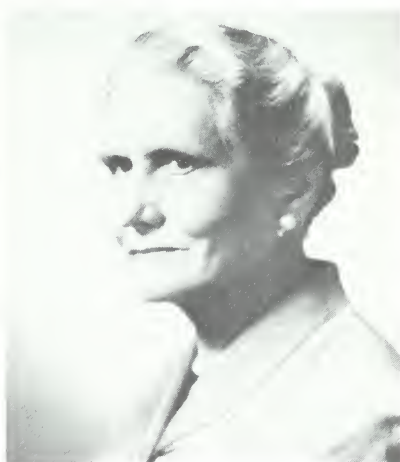
Big Mouth Cavern. To counteract the gold rumor, the young men on the dig spread a rumor that the cave was haunted by the awful Hecome-hicome monster which they said lurked deep within Big Mouth Cavern. The monster was reported to make ear-piercing screams and wails late each afternoon. The following Sunday afternoon large numbers of people gathered at the mouth of the cave to hear the monster. Inside the cave was John Joseph Mathews, one of the young men on the dig and a part-Osage Indian who later distinguished himself as an able writer and historian. First he played a flute some distance in the cave and then concluded with a variety of groans, wails and cries which crescendoed near the mouth of the cave. Then the other young men on the dig screamed at the top of their lungs, "It's the Hecome-hicome! He's coming out!" The visitors fled in terror, while the archaeological party acted its role of also fleeing. In the future the Thoburn party worked undisturbed.²

² Paul Frank Lambert, "Pioneer Historian: The Life of Joseph B. Thoburn" (Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, 1975), pp. 57-63; Elmer L. Fraker, "With Thoburn at Honey Creek," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1956), pp. 44-52.

THE HISTORIC PRESERVATION MOVEMENT



Grant Foreman, a prominent Oklahoma historian, wrote many site oriented books on the state's heritage.

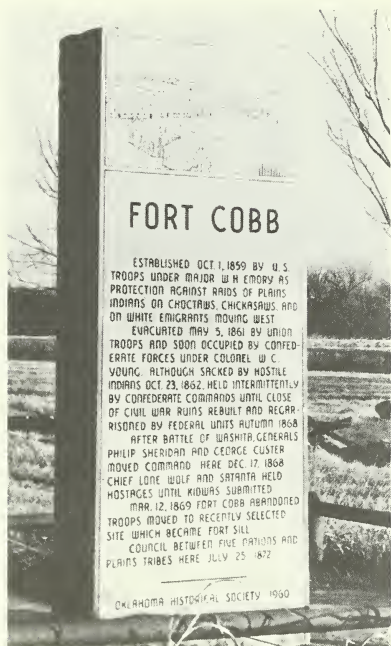


Muriel H. Wright, long-time editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, promoted and personally engaged in extensive Oklahoma historic site research and publication.

Although Thoburn pioneered in Oklahoma's archaeology, he likewise pioneered in the history of the state, his subject of primary interest. He carefully placed history in its geographic context, thus relating it closely to sites. His most important historical writings were his four comprehensive histories of Oklahoma. The first two were planned as school textbooks. The first edition of the textbooks appeared in 1908. Although Thoburn considered the book hastily done with numerous mistakes, it provided the basic outline for his remaining survey books on Oklahoma history. In 1914 he brought out a second edition, utilizing new materials and correcting mistakes.³

Thoburn in 1916 produced a multi-volume massive survey study of Oklahoma history. The first two volumes of the set contain history, and the

³ Joseph B. Thoburn and Isaac M. Holcomb, *A History of Oklahoma* (San Francisco: Doub and Company, 1908), and J. B. Thoburn and Isaac M. Holcomb, *A History of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Warden Company, 1914); Lambert, "Pioneer Historian: The Life of Joseph B. Thoburn," p. 171.

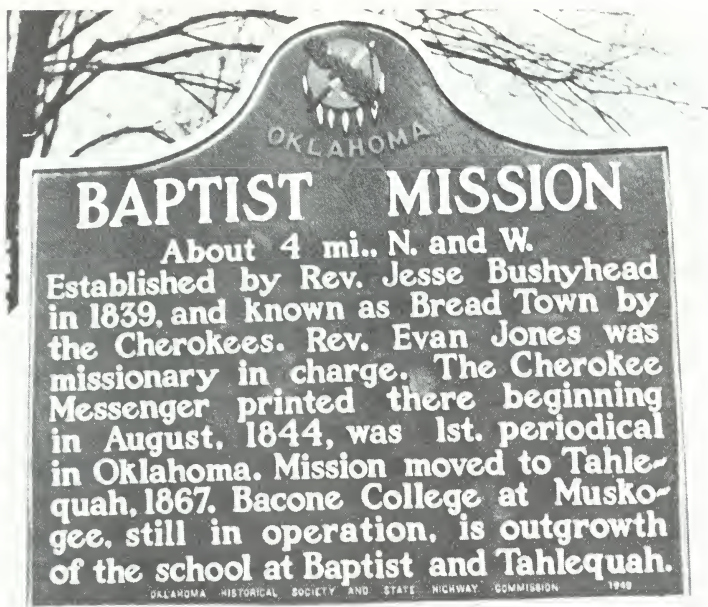


A typical granite monolith marker erected by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

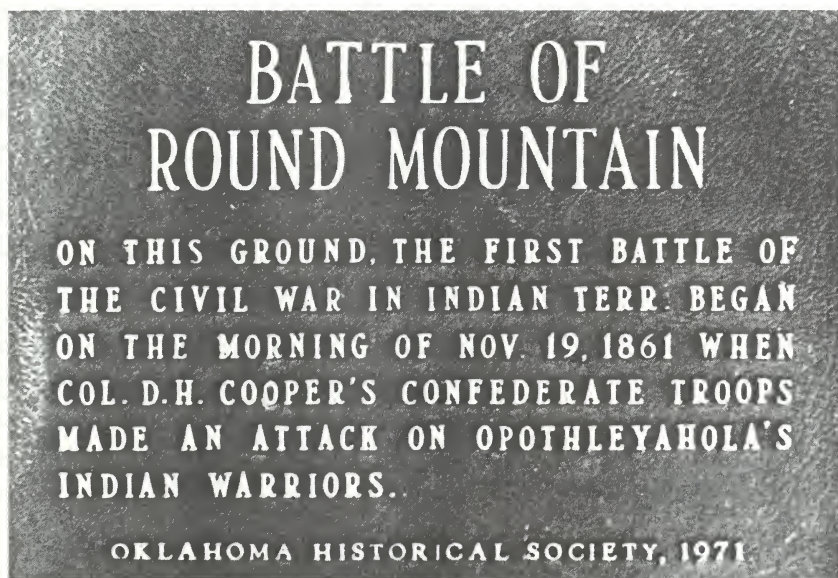
remaining three volumes consist of biographies of subscribers. The two history volumes are based almost exclusively on primary research materials because there were few secondary research materials to use. In 1929 he collaborated with Muriel H. Wright, the future editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, in revising the multi-volume 1916 study. The set contains four volumes—two history, two biography. The two history volumes are characterized by more subject-matter footnotes, much historic site orientation, massive amounts of information and a relatively readable style. During his historical career between 1907 and 1940, Thoburn published many articles in *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* and in Oklahoma and Kansas newspapers. His articles dealt with military affairs, Indians and biography. He believed that history should be both accurate and readable.⁴

Although Thoburn did more than anyone to establish a broad base of interest in Oklahoma's historic and prehistoric sites, others were soon to follow. Grant Foreman's many books on Oklahoma are site oriented, especially *Down the Texas Road*, *Fort Gibson*, *Muskogee* and his collegiate textbook, *A History of Oklahoma*. Angie Debo published two site-related books, *Prairie City* and *Tulsa*. In addition, Arrell Morgan Gibson's *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries*, *The Chickasaws* and *Wilderness Bonanza: The Tri-State District of Missouri, Kansas, and Oklahoma* are also heavily site dominated. Kent Ruth's *Window on the Past and Oklahoma Travel Handbook* are significant site studies. Likewise, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, in continuous publication since 1921, has regularly brought out

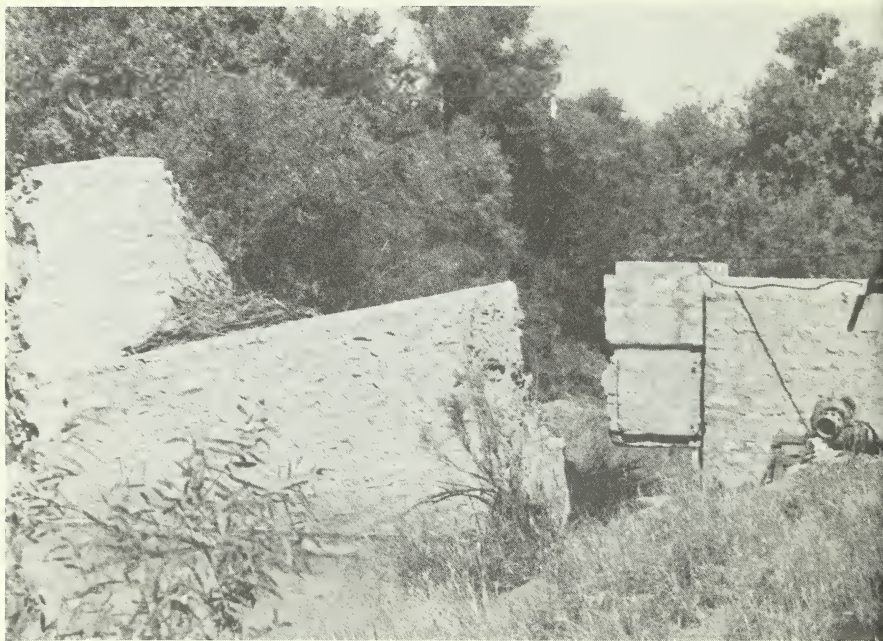
⁴ J. B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma* (5 vols., Chicago and New York: American Historical Society, 1916); J. B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (4 vols., New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1929); Lambert, "Pioneer Historian: The Life of Joseph B. Thoburn," pp. 171-172.



A typical cast aluminum marker erected by the Oklahoma Historical Society.



A typical small onsite marker erected by the Oklahoma Historical Society.



many site-oriented articles. Thus the public of Oklahoma has had wide exposure to the significance of its historic sites over many years.⁵

As early as the 1920s, systematic identification and study of Oklahoma's prehistoric and historic sites began. This also was an important step in the development of historic preservation in Oklahoma. Leading this effort was Muriel H. Wright. Her interest in historic sites began as a child and adolescent when she visited such locations as Boggy Depot accompanied

⁵ Grant Foreman, *Down the Texas Road: Historic Places Along Highway 69 Through Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936); Grant Foreman, *Fort Gibson: A Brief History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936); Grant Foreman, *Muskogee: The Biography of an Oklahoma Town* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943); Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942); Angie Debo, *Prairie City: The Story of an American Community* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944); Angie Debo, *Tulsa: From Creek Town to Oil Capital* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943); Arrell Morgan Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries* (Norman: Harlow Publishing Company, 1965); Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The Chickasaws* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971); Arrell Morgan Gibson, *Wilderness Bonanza: The Tri-State District of Missouri, Kansas, and Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972); Kent Ruth, *Window on the Past* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Publishing Company, 1974); Kent Ruth, *Oklahoma Travel Handbook* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977).



Fullerton Dam, west of Altus in Jackson County, was constructed for irrigation uses near the turn of the century (Museum of the Prairie at Altus).

by her parents; climbed Mount Scott with her uncle, Frank Wright; and traveled a section of the Butterfield Overland Mail Route with another uncle, James B. Wright. Her first historic site article titled "Old Boggy Depot" was published in *The Daily Oklahoman* in 1922 and, after further research and revision, appeared in the March, 1927, number of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. In the summer of 1930, with J. Y. Bryce, a former administrative secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and his wife, she made a six-week tour of eastern and southeastern Oklahoma for the purpose of identifying, photographing, mapping and temporarily marking the historic sites of the area.⁶

Also in 1930, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Roscoe P. Conkling, Miss Wright searched out all twelve station sites in Oklahoma on the Butterfield Overland Mail Route first operated in 1858; this information was subsequently published in Conkling's book on the Butterfield Overland Mail and was used for the Butterfield Overland Mail onsite marker program of

⁶ Muriel H. Wright, Autobiographical Notes, Library Division, Oklahoma Historical Society; J. Y. Bryce, "Temporary Markers of Historic Points," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, No. 3 (September, 1930), pp. 282-290; LeRoy H. Fischer, "Muriel H. Wright, Historian of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LII, No. 1 (Spring, 1974), pp. 16-17.

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the Oklahoma Historical Society at the time of the Butterfield centennial in 1958. Throughout her lifetime, Miss Wright continued vigorously to seek out, identify, research and write about the historic sites of Oklahoma.⁷

At about the same time that Miss Wright began to give her attention to the prehistoric and historic sites of Oklahoma, Dr. and Mrs. Grant Foreman explored and identified innumerable prehistoric and historic sites of eastern and northeastern Oklahoma. Soon the Anthropology Department and later the Oklahoma Archaeological Survey of the University of Oklahoma began to give special attention to prehistoric archaeological sites. These were of but passing interest to Miss Wright and the Foremans. With the close of World War II, George H. Shirk of Oklahoma City developed a deep interest in identifying and exploring historic sites in the state, an avocation he followed until his death in 1977. Together with Miss Wright and the Foremans, he contributed a number of historic site articles to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*.

Of major importance also in the development of historic preservation in Oklahoma is the historic site marker program of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Previous to the beginning of the program in 1949, there were perhaps not more than twenty-five permanent historical markers erected primarily by local civic groups throughout the state. The state historic site marker program had its inception when a twenty-two year old legislator, John E. Wagner of Chandler, then a law student at the University of Oklahoma, introduced the idea to Charles Evans, the administrative secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Wagner related to Evans his highly favorable reaction to the new historical markers he viewed as he traveled through New Mexico and other western states enroute to California. "He believed that if the Oklahoma Historical Society would permit him and at the same time join him in this movement," Evans related, "he would frame and introduce a bill for \$10,000 for the erection of as many markers of permanent kind as this money would buy." It was agreed also at the meeting that the Oklahoma Historical Society Board of Directors would approve the locations of the markers and the inscriptions on the markers. The legislation emerged as House Bill 267 of the Twenty-second Oklahoma State Legislature in 1949, with \$5,000 appropriated for each year of the 1949-1951 biennium. A popular bill with both Republicans and Democrats, it passed the houses of the legislature without noteworthy opposition and

⁷ Wright, Autobiographical Notes, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society; Roscoe P. Conkling and Margaret B. Conkling, *The Butterfield Overland Mail, 1857-1869* (2 vols., Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1949), throughout; Fischer, "Muriel H. Wright, Historian of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LII, p. 17.



The Jensen Railroad Tunnel, constructed in 1886 near Pocola in LeFlore County, is still in use.

immediately was signed into law by Governor Roy J. Turner. A Historical Marker Committee then was appointed by the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society composed of William S. Key, Charles Evans, George H. Shirk, Grant Foreman, Edward E. Dale and Muriel H. Wright to take charge of the work.⁸

The Oklahoma State Highway Department agreed to erect the markers and to maintain them if located on state highway right-of-way. Miss Wright carried on the basic research for inscriptions on the historical markers. The work of writing the inscriptions was divided equally between Miss Wright and Shirk, then recently elected to the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Following approval by the Historical Marker

⁸ Charles Evans, "Placing Historical Markers Under the Auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2 (Summer, 1954), pp. 214-217.

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Committee, the inscriptions were sent to the Sewah Studios of Maretta, Ohio, for casting. Each marker was cast of aluminum and is 40 by 42 inches in size, weighs about 200 pounds and has the inscription on both sides showing as silver against a green enamel background. The central design of the Oklahoma State Flag appears at the top of the markers. Across the bottom of the markers, the date of erection and the names of the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Oklahoma State Highway Commission appear. Most of the markers contain a directional line under the caption giving the air-line distance from the markers located on highways to the historic sites. Where directional lines do not appear, the marker is on the historic site or the site is mentioned in the inscription. Each marker is mounted on a steel post about five feet in height.⁹

Precisely 100 historical markers were erected statewide in Oklahoma as a result of the \$10,000 appropriated for the purpose by the Oklahoma State Legislature in 1949. Most of the markers were placed along highways at turnout points so as to provide minimal danger to traffic, but a few were placed at or on historic sites. Following the erection of the initial markers provided by state funds, individuals and groups were encouraged to finance privately the erection of additional markers where needed. It was the decision of the Oklahoma Historical Society that the markers be of the same design, that the society write the inscriptions, superintend placements and make the marker purchases with private funds. According to Charles Evans, the administrative secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society at the time, the initial marker effort in Oklahoma "stirred the whole state and made it, perhaps, more historically conscious than it had ever been."¹⁰

Through 1977 ninety-three historical markers of the same design as those placed in 1949 and 1950 by the Oklahoma Historical Society were erected under the supervision of the society with private funds. With increased speed of traffic on the highways, roadside markers were becoming more of a traffic hazard, and thus the program did not thrive. Meanwhile, to cope with the problem, the Oklahoma Historical Society encouraged the erection under its supervision of large onsite granite monolith markers, sometimes privately financed and sometimes subsidized in part by the Oklahoma Historical Society. Through 1977 thirty-four of these markers were located. Meantime, another marker need developed in Oklahoma with the

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 217-218.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 219-225; Muriel H. Wright, "Fifty Historical Markers Completed, 1949," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1949-1950), pp. 420-424; Muriel H. Wright, "Oklahoma Historical Markers Completed, 1950," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1950-1951), pp. 488-492.

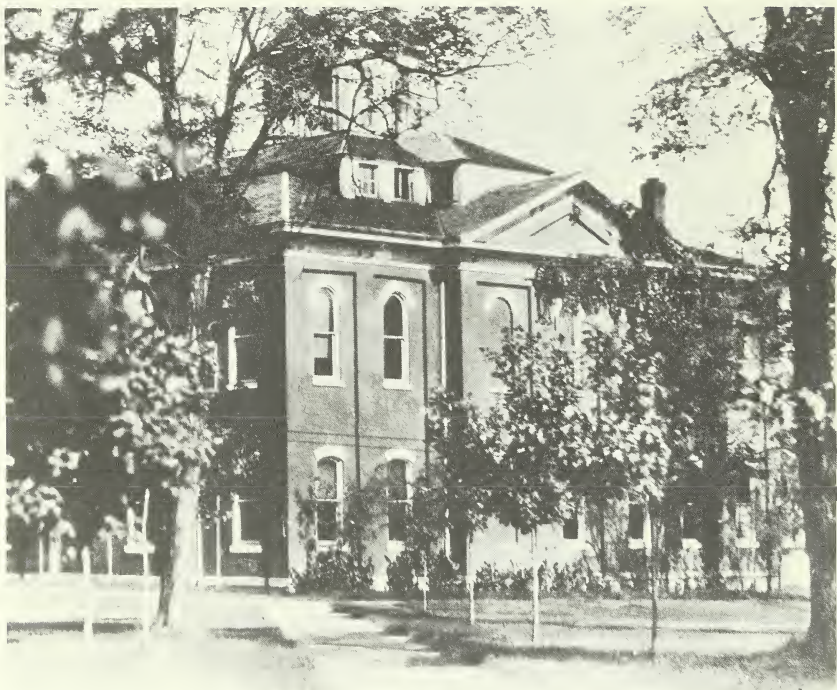
THE HISTORIC PRESERVATION MOVEMENT

construction of turnpikes and interstate highways. Again the Oklahoma Historical Society filled the need by developing roadside sign-type historical markers containing brief inscriptions that could be read at high vehicular speeds. Several of these have been erected. Soon after the original marker program of the Oklahoma Historical Society was developed, the organization worked out a design for small onsite markers and began the program. These markers consist of a small bronze plaque mounted on a concrete pedestal about two feet in height. Through 1977 sixty-five of these markers were erected. In the years since 1950, several local historical societies in Oklahoma have placed historical markers and the statewide Oklahoma Heritage Association began a historical marker program in 1975.¹¹

The initial research work required for the historical marker programs of the Oklahoma Historical Society suggested a need for a systematic statewide survey of historic sites. This came less than a decade later in 1957 when the Oklahoma Historical Society was assigned the work of acquiring, maintaining, cataloging, marking and preserving the historic sites of the state by House Bill 573 of the Twenty-sixth Oklahoma State Legislature. In response to this mandate, William S. Key, President of the Oklahoma Historical Society, appointed the Oklahoma Historic Sites Committee, chaired by George H. Shirk, to conduct a historic sites survey. Thus another major step was accomplished for historic preservation. In 1958, when Shirk became president of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Dr. James D. Morrison, a professor of history at Southeastern Oklahoma State College, became chairman of the committee.

Most of the research for the historic sites survey rested with Muriel H. Wright, then the associate editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. She prepared a preliminary list of 512 historic sites for additions and modifications by the committee. The list as it finally came from the committee in 1958 contained 557 historic sites arranged by counties in alphabetical order. The brief site listings provided the name of the location, geographic orientation, sometimes even the land-call legal description and often a key date. When this list was published in the autumn, 1958, number of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, and then republished as a reprint pamphlet, this was the extent of the work of the committee. The committee at the time anticipated further study on legal descriptions, easements and historical significance of the sites. "There will also be a study of the sites to be acquired by the Okla-

¹¹ Muriel H. Wright, "Oklahoma Historical Society Markers on the Chisholm Trail and at Ingalls Erected, 1955," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1956), pp. 109-110; Staff Information, Historic Sites, Oklahoma Historical Society.



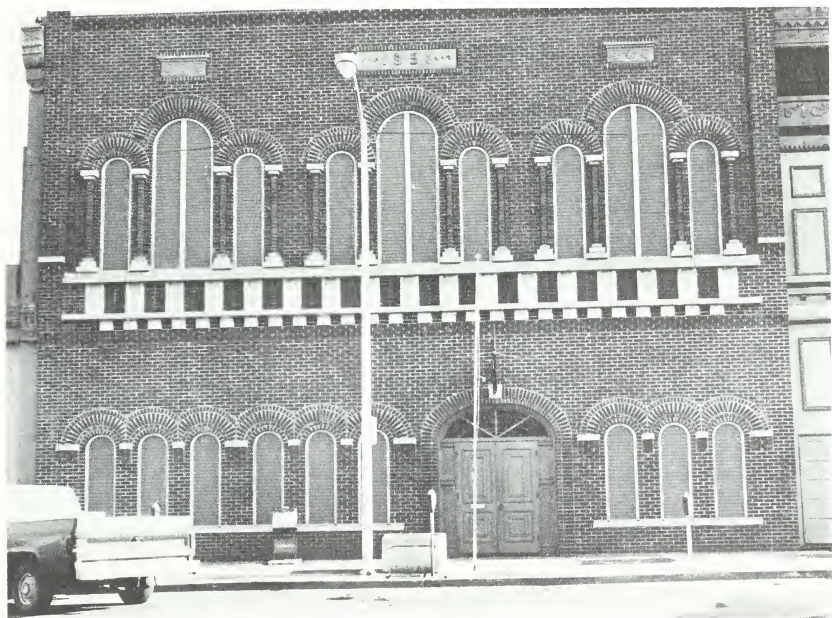
The last Cherokee National Capitol, completed about 1872, is in Tahlequah and presently serves as the courthouse of Cherokee County.

homa Historical Society," the committee promised, "and the needs for their preservation." Although no further action was taken by the committee, the completion of the basic sites survey produced among many historically minded people an appreciation for the first time of the magnitude and significance of Oklahoma's historic sites.¹²

Following the initial historic sites survey of the Oklahoma Historical Society, interest continued over the years in Oklahoma in historic sites study and identification. The prime movers continued to be Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk. In the same year that the initial historic sites survey appeared in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Wright and Shirk compiled and edited a booklet titled *Mark of Heritage: Oklahoma His-*

¹² "Oklahoma Historic Sites Survey," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1958), pp. 282-314, especially p. 282; *Oklahoma Statewide Historic Sites Survey and Preservation Plan* (First Edition, Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1970), pp. ix-x.

THE HISTORIC PRESERVATION MOVEMENT



An 1891 business structure in the Guthrie Historic Preservation District, presently restored and occupied by the *Guthrie Daily Leader*.

torical Markers. This publication listed 131 historic sites, described the location of the historical markers, gave the inscription on each marker, supplied many photographs and contained additional information on each historic site. A new edition of this publication was brought out in 1976 when Kenny A. Franks, the director of publications of the Oklahoma Historical Society, joined Wright and Shirk in producing a revised and updated *Mark of Heritage*. This book lists and illustrates 166 roadside markers, 30 granite markers, 57 onsite markers, all erected by the Oklahoma Historical Society, and 12 historic sites and 6 museums owned and operated by the Oklahoma Historical Society.¹³

Three specialized historic site surveys of Oklahoma have materialized. In 1966 Muriel H. Wright and LeRoy H. Fischer cooperated in preparing "Civil War Sites in Oklahoma" which appeared first in the summer, 1966,

¹³ Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk, comps. and eds., *Mark of Heritage: Oklahoma Historical Markers* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1958); Muriel H. Wright, George H. Shirk, and Kenny A. Franks, *Mark of Heritage* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1976).

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number of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* and then as a booklet. Eighty-six historic sites concerning the Civil War in Oklahoma are listed; of these, twenty-nine are combat locations, while fifty-seven are war related. Whenever possible, the exact land-call legal description is given, together with the nearest highway and proximity of the site to it. The Civil War significance of each location is provided, and material is presented on the non-combat, war-related sites before and after the conflict, thus giving the essential historical setting. In 1967 the Oklahoma Arts and Humanities Council, the Oklahoma Chapter of the American Institute of Architects and the School of Architecture of Oklahoma State University cooperated to produce a specialized historic sites survey booklet titled *Oklahoma Landmarks: A Selection of Noteworthy Structures*. For the first time, historic architectural sites in Oklahoma were selected and studied. The booklet lists seventy-seven structures, provides a photograph of each and gives locations and descriptions.

Another new dimension appeared in 1974 with the publication of *An Inventory of Historic Engineering Sites in Oklahoma*, the work of Duane S. Ellifritt of the College of Engineering of Oklahoma State University. The project was underwritten by the Historic American Engineering Record of the National Park Service with the assistance of the Oklahoma Historical Society and Oklahoma State University. The existing historic structures of the state's transportation systems, commerce and industry, water supply and surveying are recorded, described and evaluated in detail. The sites are listed in three priority groupings. In another specialized site category, prehistoric archaeological surveys of Oklahoma are not published because of the vulnerability of prehistoric archaeological sites to vandalism. Approximately 5,000 prehistoric archaeological sites in the state are identified and in the records of the Oklahoma Archaeological Survey of the University of Oklahoma.¹⁴

Federal interest in state historic and prehistoric sites dates from the Antiquities Act of 1906, but not until the initiation of the Historic American Building Survey in 1933 and the National Historic Landmarks Program in 1960 did serious survey work commence in the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior. Then, in 1969 the His-

¹⁴ Muriel H. Wright and LeRoy H. Fischer, "Civil War Sites in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIV, No. 2 (Summer, 1966), pp. 158-215; School of Architecture, Oklahoma State University, *Oklahoma Landmarks: A Selection of Noteworthy Structures* (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University, 1967); Duane S. Ellifritt, *An Inventory of Historic Engineering Sites in Oklahoma* (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University, 1974); Staff Information, Oklahoma Archaeological Survey, University of Oklahoma, Norman.

THE HISTORIC PRESERVATION MOVEMENT



The Heilaman House, designed by Joseph Foucart, a noted French architect, is a residential structure in the Guthrie Historic Preservation District.



The Murrell Home, the finest antebellum house remaining in Oklahoma, was erected in 1844 and is at historic Park Hill in Cherokee County.



The Fort Gibson stockade, a replica, as it presently appears, of the first post erected in 1824. The reconstruction dates from the 1930s and is in the town of Fort Gibson.

toric American Engineering Record was established under the direction of the National Park Service. In the main, sites in Oklahoma on these lists were designated without suggestion or urging by the Oklahoma Historical Society and were part of a larger program of national heritage themes worked out by the National Park Service. Under the authority of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, historic sites selected for these programs are listed automatically on the National Register of Historic Places.¹⁵

Oklahoma ranks well as of February, 1978, in the National Historic Landmarks Program with sixteen historic sites meeting the stringent criteria of national significance. They are Fort Washita in Bryan County; the Murrell Home and the Cherokee National Capitol in Cherokee County, Camp Nichols in Cimarron County; Fort Sill in Comanche County; the Deer Creek Archaeological Site and the 101 Ranch in Kay County;

¹⁵ Program Pamphlets, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

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Wheelock Academy in McCurtain County; Fort Gibson in Muskogee County; Boley Historic District in Okfuskee County; the Creek National Capitol in Okmulgee County; Washita Battlefield in Roger Mills County; Sequoyah's Cabin and the Parris Mound in Sequoyah County; the Stamper Archaeological Site in Texas County; and the McLemore Archaeological Site in Washita County. The Historic American Building Survey as of February, 1978, lists two sites in Oklahoma; they are the Guthrie Historic District in Logan County and Fort Gibson in Muskogee County. The Historic American Engineering Record as of February, 1978, also lists two sites in Oklahoma: they are the Fullerton Dam in Jackson County and the Jenson Railroad Tunnel in LeFlore County. With increasing study in Oklahoma of its building and engineering historic sites, and greater emphases in the Washington offices concerned, more designations of national significance in these areas will likely be forthcoming for Oklahoma.¹⁶

When the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, which established the National Register of Historic Places, and Executive Order 11593 of May 31, 1971, which specified that the "Federal Government shall provide leadership in preserving, restoring and maintaining the historic and cultural environment of the nation," became operational, historic site identification, study and preservation in Oklahoma and throughout the nation experienced dynamic renewal. Listing on the National Register of Historic Places brings eligibility to private and local public property for federal grants-in-aid consideration for historic preservation through state programs. The National Register also provides protection of historic sites through comment by the National Advisory Council on Historic Preservation on the effect of federally financed, assisted, or licensed undertakings on historic properties. Thus, the federal government now provides substantial assistance to Oklahoma and the other states for the development of historic preservation in its varied aspects.¹⁷

The substantial historic preservation efforts of Joseph B. Thoburn, Muriel H. Wright, George H. Shirk and the Oklahoma Historical Society began to pay off when Shirk was appointed the Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Officer, under authority of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, by Governor Dewey F. Bartlett in February, 1967. Governor David Hall removed Shirk and named Donald G. Coffin of Guthrie to the post in August, 1974. Governor David L. Boren reappointed Shirk as Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Officer in January, 1975, and he continued in

¹⁶ *Federal Register*, Vol. XLIII, No. 26 (February 7, 1978), pp. 5283-5285.

¹⁷ Program Pamphlet, "The National Register," National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior.

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that capacity until his death in March, 1977. Governor Boren designated Dr. Harry L. Deupree, a doctor of medicine of Oklahoma City, for the post in April, 1977. The Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Officer has not worked for compensation since the creation of the post in 1967. During the first years of work of the Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Officer, a full-time office staff did not exist, but in November, 1975, Howard L. Meredith became full-time Director of Historic Preservation for the Oklahoma Historical Society and for the Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Officer, with an office in the Oklahoma Historical Society Building in Oklahoma City. Working fulltime also in the office is Melvena K. Thurman, an architectural historian; Bill E. Peavler, AIA, an architect; and archaeologist Richard Drass. Part-time staff members are archaeologists Donald G. Wyckoff, Larry Neal, and Lois Sanders, and Kent Ruth, a field deputy. Present members of the Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Review Commission are Guy W. Logsdon, chairman, LeRoy H. Fischer, Robert E. Bell, James L. Loftis, Roy P. Stewart, Frederick A. Olds, and Gerald Galm. A ten-member Advisory Committee to the commission is chaired by Fischer.¹⁸

Largely through the personal work of George H. Shirk, the first Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Officer, planning and initial developmental efforts commenced in Oklahoma under authority of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. A few historic sites were nominated to the National Register of Historic Places, and Shirk personally prepared the text for the first *Oklahoma Statewide Historic Sites Survey and Preservation Plan*, published in 1970 and submitted for approval to the National Park Service of the United States Department of the Interior. The inventory lists 220 historic and prehistoric sites and locations in Oklahoma by three methods: (1) alphabetical, (2) by county and (3) by theme. Initially, 125 of the sites were proposed for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places. The book also contains a comprehensive historic sites plan for Oklahoma which categorizes the locations into four groupings: (1) sites where acquisition is desirable at once, (2) sites where acquisition is desirable on a long-range basis, (3) sites where preservation is planned through cooperative agreement with other governmental agencies and persons and (4) sites where no further action is planned. Elaborate descriptions explain the significance of each site. Additionally, the volume contains thirty-seven photographic illustrations and a foldout locations map

¹⁸ Office Records and Staff Information, Historic Preservation, Oklahoma Historical Society; Oklahoma Historical Society and Oklahoma Historic Preservation Review Commission, *Historic Conservation Handbook* ([Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1978]), throughout.

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The building housing Sequoyah's Log Cabin Home is eleven miles northeast of Sallisaw in Sequoyah County.

and picture collage. Kent Ruth edited, assembled and collated the study; Paul LeFebvre prepared the graphics and took charge of reproduction. The plan soon won the praise of the National Park Service.¹⁹

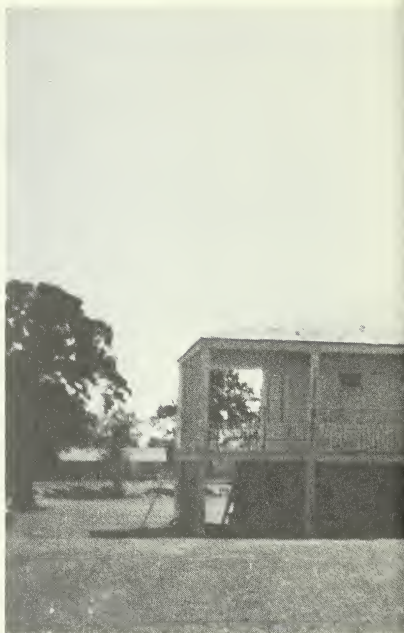
The creation of the first Oklahoma comprehensive historic sites and preservation plan was basically the work, both in concept and content, of George H. Shirk. He drew upon his vast, first-hand knowledge of Oklahoma history and his hopes for historic site development to compose the basic framework of the survey and plan. Over the years he personally visited many times each of the 220 sites listed in the book. When the comprehensive historic sites survey and preservation plan was needed, he took several weeks from his law practice to work fulltime at writing it. Periodically, new editions of the survey and plan have appeared, but the basic content and organization continues to be his work.²⁰

¹⁹ *Oklahoma Statewide Historic Sites Survey and Preservation Plan*, First Edition, throughout; Robert M. Utley to George H. Shirk, January 27, 1971, *Handbook of Historic Sites Preservation in Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1971), unpagged.

²⁰ *Oklahoma Statewide Historic Sites Survey and Preservation Plan*, First Edition, p. 91; Author Reminiscences; see also subsequent Oklahoma annual historic sites surveys and preservation plans.

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The reconstructed South Barracks of historic Fort Washita, established in 1843, is in Bryan County overlooking Lake Texoma.



The Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Officer and the Oklahoma Historic Preservation Review Commission supervise a variety of prehistoric and historic site survey and preservation activities. Of much importance is the research, survey and writing needed to submit worthy state prehistoric and historic site applications to the office of the Secretary of the Interior for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. By February, 1978, 169 prehistoric and historic sites in 57 of Oklahoma's 77 counties were on the National Register of Historic Places. Currently, contracts for site submission work are being conducted for the office of the Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Officer by the University of Oklahoma and the Oklahoma State University. Federal matching grants-in-aid for public and private historic site development are another concern of the Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Officer. A number of matching grants have already been made for Oklahoma historic sites on the National Register of Historic Places and with increases in federal funding, the program is growing. During the federal fiscal year of 1977, work was carried out with grant money on twelve projects and completed on five. From the beginning of the federal grant program through the federal fiscal year of 1978, Oklahoma received \$924,768.86, from a low of \$82,082 in fiscal 1973, the first year

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of the program, to a high of \$382,000 in fiscal 1978. Oklahoma's federal fund expenditures for historic preservation were interrupted by the removal of George H. Shirk as the Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Officer for an interim period in 1974 during the Governor David Hall administration. Other work of the office of the Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Officer and the Oklahoma Historic Preservation Review Commission includes the compilation and publication of the annual preservation plan and occasional pamphlets designed to explain and encourage historic preservation, including a bi-monthly brochure titled *Outlook in Historic Conservation*. Additionally, the office maintains a continuing inventory of historic sites and each year conducts many review and compliance activities.²¹

²¹ *Federal Register*, Vol. XLIII, No. 26, pp. 5283-5285; Program Pamphlet, "Historic Preservation Grants-in-Aid," National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior; Resume, "State Historic Preservation Activities in Oklahoma," Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service, United States Department of the Interior; *Preservation News*, December, 1976, and January, 1978.



The Parris Mound prehistoric archaeological site is in Sequoyah County.

In Oklahoma the development of historic sites falls primarily on the state. Two state departments, the Oklahoma Historical Society through its Historic Sites Division, and the Oklahoma Tourism and Recreation Department through its Parks Division, have developed most historic sites. The Historic Sites Division and the Parks Division have ongoing historic preservation programs utilizing historians, archaeologists, planners, engineers, and architects in addition to state and federal monies. Although the Oklahoma Historical Society had its beginnings in 1893 and the Oklahoma Tourism and Recreation Department origins extend back only to 1931, the Oklahoma Tourism and Recreation Department was the first to develop a number of historic sites. Likely the first was the reconstruction of the Fort Gibson stockade in the 1930s; soon came the restoration of the Murrell Home at historic Park Hill. Not until House Bill 573 of the Twenty-sixth Oklahoma State Legislature became law in 1957 was the Oklahoma Historical Society in a legal status to acquire and develop his-

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toric sites. Beginning in the middle 1960s, numerous historic sites and museums were acquired and developed by the Oklahoma Historical Society. The historic sites usually came as gifts, and the museums were developed through legislative appropriations or acquired by transfer from the Oklahoma Tourism and Recreation Department. At the close of 1977, the Oklahoma Historical Society had twelve staffed historic sites open to the public, two of which contain museums. The Oklahoma Historical Society also had seven staffed museums under its supervision. In addition, the Oklahoma Historical Society has jurisdiction over about sixty non-staffed historic sites. The Oklahoma Tourism and Recreation Department at the close of 1977 had seven staffed museums and nine staffed historic sites under its jurisdiction. Five non-staffed historic sites are also its responsibility. Thus, jurisdiction of state controlled historic sites and museums is shared by the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Oklahoma Tourism and Recreation Department, with the major responsibility for historic sites in the hands of the Oklahoma Historical Society.²²

Historic preservation in Oklahoma thus has a rich and varied heritage. The state has a sound foundation upon which to develop its historic site resources. Public interest in Oklahoma in historic preservation, almost a century old, seems as deeply rooted in the state's culture as the unique nature of its historic sites. The Oklahoma State Legislature, judging from its increasing appropriations each year for the development of historic sites, appears to be responding to strong and persistent public sentiment in support of historic preservation. All indications are that the federal government will continue with ever-increasing annual matching appropriations for the development of Oklahoma's historic sites. Debt-free Oklahoma is fiscally and culturally ready to meet the federal preservation challenge. No other state is better prepared by virtue of its historic preservation background and sound financing to lead the nation in developing its historic site heritage.

²² Oklahoma State Election Board, *Directory of Oklahoma, 1977* (Oklahoma City: Impress Graphics, 1977), p. 277; C. Earle Metcalf, "Oklahoma Historical Society Sites Holdings," Manuscript, Historic Sites, Oklahoma Historical Society; Staff Information, Historic Sites Division, Oklahoma Historical Society; Staff Information, Parks Division, Oklahoma Tourism and Recreation Department, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

SOLDIERS, DISASTERS AND DAMS: THE ARMY CORPS OF ENGINEERS AND FLOOD CONTROL IN THE RED RIVER VALLEY, 1936-1946

By James Ware*

The Red River begins its 1,300 mile journey to the ocean in the eastern edge of New Mexico. Wandering across the arid, flat plains of the Texas Panhandle, the river winds its way slowly through the rolling, green hills between Texas and Oklahoma, enters the thick, wooded lands of Arkansas and Louisiana, and finally pours into the Mississippi River. The basin of the Red River expands over 5 states and an area of over 66,000 square miles, influencing the lives of 1,900,000 people by 1930. The area's resources were predominately agricultural in this period with corn, wheat, and cotton as the main crops; the basin also included an abundance of petroleum, natural gas, iron ore, and lumber. During most of its seasonal life the river rolls between its banks at an easy pace providing water for recreational, civic, and personal use. But occasionally, when the rains are heavier than normal, the pleasant river becomes a raging torrent subjecting some five million acres and their inhabitants to the terrors of a flood. The river discharges 220,000 to 300,000 cubic feet of water per second destroying valuable farmland and threatening the basin's urban centers such as Wichita Falls, Texas; Texarkana, Texas; Shreveport, Louisiana; and Alexandria, Louisiana.¹

From 1900 to 1936 the Red River basin had suffered through three major floods and five lesser ones. The major disasters overflowed from ninety-five percent of the land around Denison, Texas, to forty-five percent near Alexandria. These floods lasted from two to thirty days and caused tremendous damage throughout the area. For example, in 1927 flood damages for the basin totaled over two million dollars.² Finally, in the 1930s, the federal government recognized the need for some type of control over the waters of the Red River. The responsibility for planning, selling and building such flood control projects fell to the United States Army Corps of Engineers. This group played a vital role in creating a system to control the waters of the Red River.

No branch of the military has had a longer, more distinguished career than the Corps of Engineers. The Continental Congress founded the Corps

* James Ware is a Doctor of Philosophy and an instructor at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

¹ United States House of Representatives, *Red River, La., Ark., Okla., and Tex.*, 72nd Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1936), pp. 1-38.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

on March 11, 1779 to provide experience in the construction, attack, and defense of fortified areas. Mustered out of the service in November of 1783 the Corps was permanently reestablished on March 16, 1802.³ For more than 100 years after the first rivers and harbors bill in 1826, the Engineers had been involved in flood control, especially along the Mississippi, Ohio, and Monongahela rivers.⁴ Initially, Congress considered the Corps so important that the former created a school at West Point, New York, specifically to train Engineer officers. The academy remained in the hands of the Corps until 1866 when the school became an educational center for all officers of the army.⁵ Yet despite their importance the Corps remained second in the public's eye to their younger brother, the Corps of Topographical Engineers. The latter conducted the major explorations of the West from 1803 to 1863, a much more exciting job than the practical work of the Corps.⁶ However, the Engineers finally gained prominence and dominance in the 1930s with the growth of federal, public works dams and other flood control projects. Even in those years from 1826 to 1926 the federal government spent over \$3,000,000,000 as the Corps began to harness the nation's rivers.⁷

In order for the Corps to build a flood control project, a river, such as the Red, passed through a series of surveys and examinations by the Engineers. Local interests, acting through their congressmen, requested a project such as the one at Denison. Prior to 1947, the Corps then automatically conducted a preliminary survey of the area to ascertain the cost and economic feasibility of a flood control plan. This first examination of the river included local hearings held by the Corps' District Engineer and a field reconnaissance of the valley by a team of engineers. The Corps' Division Engineer, its Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors, and its Chief Engineers reviewed the preliminary report before the latter made a recommendation to Congress. After the Chief Engineer approved this study, the Corps conducted a more detailed survey report. As part of this examination the Engineers frequently analyzed the environmental impact of flood control on a certain section of land using the United States Waterways Experiment Station at Vicksburg, Mississippi. Congress had created this body in 1929 to study the effects of flood control on the Mississippi

³ Captain Burr W. Leyson, *The Army Engineers in Review* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1943), pp. 111-114.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 124; Irving Crump, *Our Army Engineers* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1954), pp. 173-191, 204-220.

⁵ Leyson, *The Army Engineers in Review*, p. 114.

⁶ William H. Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), p. 6.

⁷ Leyson, *The Army Engineers in Review*, p. 125.



Lake Texoma, which was formed by the construction of Denison dam, resulted from the 1932 Corps of Engineers report to the United States House of Representatives Committee on Flood Control.

River. The Corps built scale models of the river to determine the influence of levees and dams on its course. The Experiment Station extended its services beyond the Mississippi to the rest of the nation in the 1930s.⁸ When these two steps had been completed and approved, Congress sanctioned and funded the project, and the Corps began preparing the area for construction work.⁹ The Engineers completed such a preliminary study for the Red River basin in 1936 which became the basis for all future projects in the four-state area.

During the first session of the Seventy-second Congress, the Corps of Engineers delivered its report on the Red River to the House of Repre-

⁸ Crump, *Our Army Engineers*, pp. 95-102; Lieutenant-Colonel Paul W. Thompson, *What the Civilian Should Know About the Army Engineers* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1942), p. 197.

⁹ Arthur Maass, *Muddy Waters* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 23-30.

sentatives Committee on Flood Control. The Corps had made a detailed study of over 800 pages including maps of possible projects, tables of flood effects in the area, and cost estimates of proposed dams and levees. The Engineers' report proposed an extensive plan for improving irrigation facilities, navigation, and hydroelectric systems, but most important, creating flood control reservoirs on the river and its tributaries. The Corps recommended flood prevention dams near Denison on the Red River and Texarkana on the Sulphur River in Texas; at Boswell on Boggy Creek, Hugo on the Kiamichi River, Broken Bow on the Mountain Fork River, and Idabel on the Little River in Oklahoma; and Mooringsport on Caddo Lake in Louisiana, as well as at four other sites in the Red River basin. This comprehensive plan would cost an estimated \$89,770,000.¹⁰

Besides flood control reservoirs, the Engineers made numerous suggestions designed to improve irrigation in the basin, navigation on the river and its tributaries and power development throughout the four states of Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana. The Corps' study called for irrigation projects largely west of a line running through Wichita Falls and Lawton. These included work on the Wichita, Pease and North Fork rivers and affected 150,000 acres of farm land.¹¹

Commerce on the Red River totaled over \$72,000,000 in 1930, the majority from below Fulton, Arkansas. With nearly 1,500,000 inbound tons and over 6,000,000 outbounds tons annually, the improvement of the river's navigational capabilities became another important part of the report. This was of special importance to the citizens of Denison, Shreveport, and Alexandria who had faced an increase in railroad rates in 1927-1928. The Engineers suggested several methods of achieving better transportation facilities including reservoirs, locks, dams, dredging, contraction works, and canals. The total cost of such an extensive plan approached a minimum of \$257,000,000 for construction from the mouth to Denison. Other possible alternatives such as projects from the mouth to Fulton or from the mouth to Shreveport cost an estimated \$150,000,000 and \$40,000,000 respectively.¹²

Finally, the Corps' report on the Red River recommended the dual use of some reservoirs and dams to produce hydroelectric power. In 1930 the river basin area used approximately 276,000 kilowatts of power, largely produced by steam plants. However, the Engineers predicted that by 1950 the same area would require an additional 500,000 kilowatts. To meet this

¹⁰ United States House of Representatives, *Red River, La., Ark., Okla., Tex.*, map following page 20.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-122.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 44-59.

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need, the study outlined various projects that would fulfill the 1950 kilowatt demand; these cost about \$99,000,000.¹³

The final conclusion of the Corps of Engineers' study was important to the Red River basin because Congress had never funded a project without the prior approval of the army. In the case of the report of 1936, the Engineers advised that flood control projects as well as the improvement of navigation, irrigation, and water power facilities was "not economically feasible at the present time."¹⁴ Because of the Corps' negative report, the Flood Control Act of 1936 included very few projects for the Red River basin. Congress approved plans for a levee system below Shreveport, a dam at Black Bayou, Louisiana, a floodway at Bayou Bodcau, Louisiana, and other improvements worth an estimated \$3,510,000.¹⁵

Was the Corps deliberately resistant to the development of flood control on the Red River? No—the Engineers' reasons for a negative report seemed strictly practical for that era. The key words throughout the study were "economically justified." The Corps could not have fought the greatest depression in American history by recommending approval of such a comprehensive and expensive plan. Neither the administration nor the Congress were prepared to appropriate the hundreds of millions of dollars necessary to complete such a series of projects on the river, even though it would have pumped funds into a deflated economy. Yet, from 1938 to 1946 the Red River basin received many of the major projects the report of 1936 suggested, especially as the economy geared itself for a world war and more money became available for federal spending. In part, flood control on the Red River became a reality during this period because of the effective, positive lobbying of the Corps of Engineers and the near total support of politicians and civil engineers from the four-state basin area.

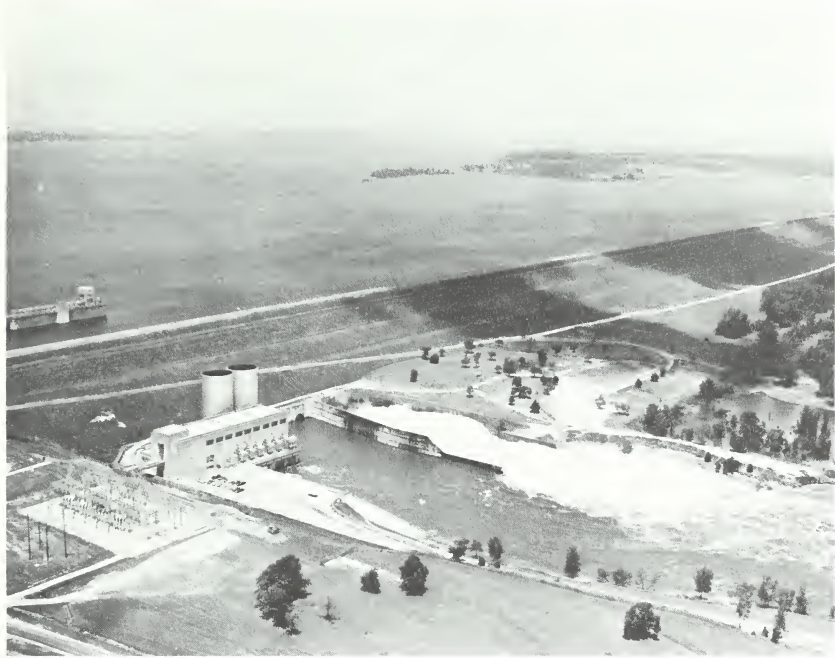
Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior under President Franklin D. Roosevelt, has called the Army Engineers "the most powerful and most pervasive lobby in Washington."¹⁶ In this context, the Secretary did not mean these words as compliments. But the Engineers acted in a positive and beneficial manner as a lobbyist for flood control development in the Red River Valley. From 1938 to 1946 the representatives of the Corps repeatedly appeared before the House Committee on Flood Control and advocated the major points outlined in the report of 1936. In 1938 Major

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 81–84.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XLIX, part I (1936), p. 1576.

¹⁶ Maass, *Muddy Waters*, p. ix.



In addition to flood control, Denison dam was constructed for the production of hydroelectric power.

General Julian L. Schley, Chief of Engineers, called for the construction of a dam and reservoir near Denison. According to Schley, the Denison dam would provide extensive flood control benefits, protecting about 400,000 acres and reducing the flood flow of the Mississippi River significantly.

The Engineers clearly justified their recommendation on an economic basis. They suggested that Denison dam be constructed as a dual purpose reservoir for flood control and hydroelectric power. The electricity sold from the dam then could be used to help pay for the project and its upkeep.¹⁷ Other political and professional figures expressed their support of the Corps' plan. Representative Sam Rayburn proclaimed the full support of the Texas delegation for the Denison project; Oklahoma, Arkansas, and

¹⁷ United States House of Representatives, *Hearings, Committee on Flood Control*, 75th Congress, 3rd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938), pp. 5, 25, 94.

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Louisiana congressmen also favored the army's proposal.¹⁸ Dallas civil engineer, O. N. Floyd, described the Corps' study as a careful plan including a good, safe, and simple design for the dam.¹⁹ Henry G. Bennett, President of Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College and Chairman of the Oklahoma Reservoir Planning Board, also favored the recommended dam at Denison.²⁰ As a result of the army's favorable lobbying and the support of major state politicians, Congress appropriated nearly \$57,000,000 for two reservoirs, one at Denison and the other near Altus, Oklahoma, and other general improvements.²¹

By the 1940s, the economic and political scene had changed considerably. The beginning of World War II revived the American economy, something nearly ten years of the New Deal had not accomplished. With more money available for federal spending, the Corps found needed flood control schemes economically feasible that had been rejected since the report of 1936. In addition the construction of dams and reservoirs now had an important national defense value. Flood control projects protected industrial areas, urban centers, and agricultural lands necessary to the war effort. Floods also damaged transportation and communication systems, caused work stoppages, and demoralized the people fighting on the home front. Corps spokesmen also reminded Congress that construction of new dams would provide jobs for returning veterans and help prevent a post-war recession.²² As a result of these changes, during the war years and the early post-war period the Corps lobbied for and received numerous projects in the Red River Valley. In 1941 Brigadier General Max C. Tyler of the Engineers recommended reservoirs on the Blue Boggy, Kiamichi, and Little Rivers and Congress provided over \$1,000,000 in funding for these improvements.²³ In 1944 the Corps asked for and received a flood control and bank protection project at Shreveport costing \$3,000,000.²⁴ The largest series of proposals during this period came in 1946. During the first year after the war Congress appropriated over \$77,000,000 for flood control improvements below Denison dam. These projects included reservoirs at Hugo, Boswell, Millwood, Texarkana, Mooringsport, and Wallace Lake.²⁵

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 605.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 639.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 724.

²¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. LII, part I (1938), pp. 1219-1220.

²² United States House of Representatives, *Hearings, Committee on Flood Control*, 77th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1941), pp. 4-8.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 583-584; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. LV, part I (1941), p. 638.

²⁴ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. LVIII, part I (1944), p. 895.

²⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. LX, part I (1946), p. 647.

The Engineers predicted that such a plan would prevent nearly \$3,000,000 in annual flood damages and would make \$700,000 worth of land available for cultivation.²⁶

In the course of the Congressional hearings not everyone had agreed totally with the Corps' proposals. In 1938 Richard W. Leche, Governor of Louisiana, had been opposed to the Denison project; but his own congressional delegation had favored the plan.²⁷ During the same session Oklahoma Senator Josh Lee raised a legal question over water rights below the dam. Whatever his doubts, Senator Lee generally supported the Corps' report.²⁸ The main opposition to the Engineers came from Oklahoma Congressman Jed Johnson, who criticized the army for ignoring flood control on the Washita River in his home district.²⁹ These and other very limited attacks on the Corps and its suggestions over a period of eight years indicates the strength of the Engineers' lobbying for flood control on the Red River and its tributaries.

On April 17, 1945, the greatest flood in the recorded history of the Red River struck Alexandria. The river's raging waters covered 4,500,000 acres and damaged property worth \$12,600,000. Such a disaster illustrated the need for more flood protection which was forthcoming the next year. But, as a Corps spokesman pointed out, the Denison reservoir measurably decreased the impact of the flood by retaining nearly 2,000,000 acre-feet of water behind its dam.³⁰ From 1936 to 1946 the Corps had reduced significantly the impact of floods on the people, farms and cities of the Red River Valley. The Engineers had made a thorough, comprehensive study of the river and its branches in 1936. Then, using that as a foundation, the Corps built a flood control system over the next ten years, as each project became economically feasible. Through this gradual process the Army Corps of Engineers lobbied for and created an effective system for controlling the waters of the Red River.

²⁶ United States House of Representatives, *Hearings, Committee on Flood Control*, 79th Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 637.

²⁷ United States House of Representatives, *Hearings, Committee on Flood Control*, 77th Congress, 1st Session, p. 768.

²⁸ United States House of Representatives, *Hearings, Committee on Flood Control*, 75th Congress, 3rd Session, p. 970.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 634; United States House of Representatives, *Hearings, Committee on Flood Control*, 76th Congress, 3rd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1940), p. 937.

³⁰ United States House of Representatives, *Hearings, Committee on Flood Control*, 79th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 4-5.

GIRL SCOUTING IN STILLWATER, OKLAHOMA: A CASE STUDY IN LOCAL HISTORY

By Lynda M. Sturdevant*

In 1922, a small group of women in Stillwater discussed the need for a community organization to teach and direct girls. The organization would be dedicated to teaching responsibility, developing leadership qualities, and creating good citizens. The dream ended with the founding of Stillwater's first Girl Scout troop. Since that time, the Girl Scouts have achieved a long list of group and community accomplishments.

The Girl Scout program originated in England under the guidance of Lord Baden-Powell. Mrs. Juliette Low, a friend of Powell's, brought the girls' movement to Savannah, Georgia in 1912. She is recognized as the founder of the Girl Scouts in the United States.¹ From Georgia, the Girl Scout organization moved westward, finding its way to Stillwater in 1922. Under the sponsorship of the Business and Professional Women's Club, the first troop had ten members and their leader was Miss Mabel Caldwell, an English professor at Oklahoma State University. A few months later another troop was organized. It is not known how long these troops were active.²

Girl Scouting was reintroduced to Stillwater in the spring of 1927 when Miss Flora May Ellis, the Director of Health, Physical Education and Recreation for women at Oklahoma State University, invited Miss Pauline Wherry, the regional director for Girl Scouts, to give a leadership training course at the university. As a direct result of this, Miss Ellis became the captain of the first registered Girl Scout troop in Stillwater.³

A committee of Stillwater townswomen assumed responsibilities for Girl Scout troops, similar to that of a Girl Scout council. This sponsorship continued until 1937, when the Stillwater Girl Scout Council organized and incorporated. After ten years of effort, Stillwater met the national requirements of membership and paid the charter fee. To honor the occasion, a

* The author, who completed the Master of Arts degree in History at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, prepared this manuscript under the direction of Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, Oppenheim Regents Professor of History.

¹ *News-Press* (Stillwater), undated clipping, March, 1947, Stillwater Girl Scout Lodge Archives, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

² Mrs. R. O. Whitenton, "Thirty Years of Scouting in Stillwater," 1952, *ibid.*, p. 1.

³ *Ibid.*



A meeting of the 1938 Stillwater Girl Scout Council—Mrs. W. F. Bernhardt, Mrs. Clemmer Wood, Mrs. Val F. Schott, Mrs. Paul C. McGilliard, Mrs. Henry W. Hoel, Mrs. Phillip Donnell, Mrs. Sol Frisch, Mrs. Horace J. Harper, and Mrs. C. Ray Smith were present.

large ceremony was held with many townspeople attending. The legal procedures for incorporation were handled by Judge Henry W. Hoel.⁴

The desire for incorporation in the 1930s made membership and money the primary concerns of the Stillwater Girl Scouts. The girls held annual fall membership drives at the schools, demonstrating activities and projects. There were also leadership drives among the town women.⁵ Cookie and calendar sales were started to pay for the charter fee, camping equipment, and office facilities. Cookies were homemade and sold door-to-

⁴ Interview, Mrs. Paul C. McGilliard, January 13, 1976; Interview, Miss Valerie Colvin, December 19, 1975.

⁵ *Ibid.*

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door by the scouts. Calendars, sent out by the national office, brought in the largest amount of profit. Both of these projects were supported widely by the citizens of Stillwater.⁶

A major objective of these money-making projects was to obtain equipment and temporary facilities for camping. Before the present Stillwater Girl Scout Lodge was built, summer day camps were held on the lawn of the old Stillwater South High School. The day's activities were supervised by volunteers, many times by women students from the Department of Health, Physical Education and Recreation at Oklahoma State University. They taught the scouts games, arts, crafts, archery, folk dances, dramatics, and nature lore.⁷

Established camp was held at Camp Redlands on Lake Carl Blackwell. The Girl Scout Council rented the camp for ten-day overnight excursions of the Intermediate and Senior Scouts. One of the first camp directors was Miss Valerie Colvin, professor of Health, Physical Education and Recreation at Oklahoma State University. Assisted by women physical education majors, she directed the scouts in swimming, horseback riding, handicraft, cooking, fire building, and outdoor survival. Although camping was a major concern in the 1930s, it was not until the 1950s that Stillwater Girl Scouts obtained their own Camp Sylvia Stapley.⁸

Meanwhile, a goal of more immediate importance was the acquisition of a meeting place or lodge. Prior to 1938, the Stillwater Girl Scouts had office space in the old library building, across from the Payne County Court House. When the old library building was moved to make way for the present structure, the Girl Scouts were offered its use. But the Girl Scout Council believed that it was not adequate for scouting needs. The lodge would have to house office equipment and serve as a meeting place for troops. The council wanted facilities for parties, overnight camping, cook outs, leadership training, and day camping. For these reasons, they picked a site directly south of the old Stillwater South High School and elected to build a new structure.⁹

The council, composed of women such as Mrs. R. O. Whitenton, Mrs. Edward R. Stapley, Mrs. Paul C. McGilliard, Mrs. Horace J. Harper, and

⁶ Girl Scout Council Record Book, 1930-1940, Stillwater Girl Scout Lodge Archives.

⁷ Interview, Colvin, December 19, 1975; *News-Press*, undated clipping, June, 1945, Stillwater Girl Scout Lodge Archives.

⁸ Interview, Colvin, December 19, 1975.

⁹ Interview, Mrs. Ray L. Six, January 12, 1976; Whitenton, p. 3; *News-Press*, undated clipping, December, 1950, Stillwater Girl Scout Lodge Archives.

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Mrs. Herbert Patterson, set out to find the funds necessary for a new building. A small part of the money was raised by the scouts themselves in cookie and calendar sales. But the bulk of the funds came from donations by the townspeople. Many of the civic organizations raised money for the Girl Scouts with raffles, dances, and rummage sales. The Women's Club donated \$500 and the Business and Professional Women's club \$150.¹⁰

Stillwater businesses donated free materials for the lodge. The carpenters', painters', and plumbers' unions donated considerable free labor, as did many other interested people. R. A. Peery acted as treasurer and all-around laborer. The City of Stillwater gave the Girl Scouts a ninety-nine year lease on the land on which to build their "Little House."¹¹ Although the building started in 1938, it was several years before the lodge had more than four walls, a roof, and a floor. In later years there were other additions and improvements, donated mainly by the generosity of Stillwater citizens. At the present time, the lodge contains a recreation room, troop room, kitchen, and office.¹²

During the 1940s, the Stillwater Girl Scouts performed much service in the World War II effort. In 1942, the Senior Service Scouts were formed to serve the community and nation in any worthy projects they could carry out. These girls packaged Tuberculosis Seals, made cookies for servicemen, served the Women's Reserve of the United States Naval Reserve refreshments, collected coat hangers, magazines, records, and other articles for Army Air Corps men. They also held a drive for grease salvage, which was needed by the government for the making of ammunition.¹³

The girls and their leaders received praise from the government and community. President Franklin D. Roosevelt endorsed Girl Scout work as the outstanding activity in which girls could participate in connection with the war effort. The mayor of Stillwater, Leslie E. McConkey, conferred service awards on the Senior Service Scouts at least twice during the war.¹⁴

Stillwater women were encouraged to help with civilian defense work by volunteering to lead Girl Scouts in their projects. The Stillwater Girl Scout Council used the slogan, "If you'll lead them today, they'll lead the

¹⁰ Interview, McGilliard, January 13, 1976.

¹¹ *News-Press*, undated clipping, December, 1950, Stillwater Girl Scout Lodge Archives.

¹² Whitenton, "Thirty Years of Scouting in Stillwater," p. 3.

¹³ *News-Press*, February 5, 1943 and March 31, 1944.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, September 15, 1943 and April 13, 1944.



Shortly after their organization, the Stillwater Girl Scouts performed one of their first community services—the planting of trees on the lawn of the Payne County Courthouse.

world tomorrow.” The leaders and girls put in many hours of painstaking work, receiving no gain except in pride and self-satisfaction.¹⁵

The largest service project in which all the Girl Scouts and Stillwater townspeople participated was the tulip sale. The event originated in 1943 because Miss Ruby Bowen and her parents, who lived near Coyle, wished to contribute something to the war effort. She received the cooperation of the Girl Scouts in Stillwater to sell the dozens of watermelon-pink tulips which came from her garden.¹⁶ Each spring the tulips were picked by

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, January 17, 1943.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, April 11, 1943; undated clipping, March, 1948, Stillwater Girl Scout Lodge Archives.

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the Stillwater Girl Scout leaders, carried by a city truck, and then sold door-to-door by the scouts. The proceeds went to Miss Bowen's chosen project, the Blood Plasma Fund. Blood plasma was widely used on battlefields and in hospitals to save the lives of wounded servicemen. In 1946, with the war over, the proceeds went to Holland Relief. Thereafter, the Girl Scouts received a portion of the profits, which was applied to their camp fund.¹⁷

Another project which originated during World War II and continued for a short time afterwards, was the Juliette Low Memorial Fund, or "Pennies for War." A special meeting was held during Girl Scout Anniversary Week, at which each girl attending contributed a penny for each year of her age. From Stillwater and troops all over the world, the fund collected over \$55,000 annually. The money was used for China Relief, Greek refugees, Russian Children's Milk Fund, British Girl Scout uniforms, and the Maltese Girl Guide's reorganization.¹⁸

Stillwater Girl Scout membership grew quickly during the World War II years. This can be partly attributed to the war effort, but also to the programs and activities the Girl Scouts offered. They offered ten fields for girls to take part in and earn badges—arts and crafts, community life, health and safety, homemaking, international friendship, literature and drama, music and dancing, nature, the out-of-doors, and sports and games.¹⁹ In 1943, the Stillwater Girl Scout Council, in conjunction with the national Girl Scout drive of "A Million or More by '44," had started a campaign to offer its program to every girl in Stillwater. Girls and parents were acquainted with the advantages of scouting through window displays, school assemblies, and neighborhood teas. By 1944, the number of Girl Scouts in Stillwater had reached 400 and there were 20 troops. From that time on, the number grew steadily until it peaked with 600 girls in 1962.²⁰

In order to keep the program functioning with the growing number of girls and the increasing need for a trained professional and equipment, the Girl Scouts solicited monetary help outside of Stillwater. From 1942 to 1945, Frank Phillips, through the Phillips Foundation, made it possible for Stillwater to have a trained professional visit one week a month. Mrs. Floyd

¹⁷ *News-Press*, April 10, 1944; Whitenton, "Thirty Years of Scouting in Stillwater," p. 2.

¹⁸ *News-Press*, May 5, 1943 and February 15, 1944; Interview, McGilliard, January 13, 1976.

¹⁹ *News-Press*, undated clipping, 1950, Stillwater Girl Scout Lodge Archives.

²⁰ *News-Press*, January 3, 1943; Interview, McGilliard, January 13, 1976; Interview, Mrs. J. Paul Devlin, January 13, 1976.

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Jones, a Girl Scout official, spent several years working in Stillwater and was invaluable to the growth, quality, and leadership of the Stillwater Girl Scouts. Phillips believed scouting to be the "best education for democracy" and over the years contributed \$12,000 to the Girl Scouts in Oklahoma.²¹

When the Phillips money was withdrawn in 1946 to help other underdeveloped areas of the state, Stillwater joined the North Central Area of Girl Scouts. This was a loosely knit group of eleven counties in Oklahoma, which organized the Girl Scout councils in the region into an area council, later called the Pioneer Council. Each individual council contributed funds to maintain the headquarters and helped pay the salary of a trained professional who served throughout the area. In 1947 and 1948 Miss Justine Stehl held the post.²²

Stillwater's affiliation with the Pioneer Council lasted until 1952, when the monetary quota set up by the national Girl Scout office for an area council became prohibitive. Instead, the Stillwater Girl Scout Council requested the national office to grant them a municipal charter in order to strengthen the local organization. For a number of years, the Stillwater Girl Scout Council operated successfully on its own. This laid the basis for the council's fight to keep its independence in the 1960s.²³

After the loss of a trained professional and funds from the Pioneer Council, the Stillwater Girl Scout Council relied on the Chamber of Commerce Community Chest for monetary support. The Chamber of Commerce continued its support until the Girl Scouts became part of the United Fund drive, which still finances a portion of the scouting program today.²⁴

Although the use of professionals contributed to the success of Girl Scout development in Stillwater, the real backbone of the program lay in the local Girl Scout Council and the leaders. The president of the council was a volunteer, willing to work long hours at the lodge, on the phone, and attending meetings. Other members of the council planned camps, activities, finances, leadership training, public relations, service projects, and cookie and calendar sales. Troop leaders also volunteered time and effort for the scouts, and were the most important link to the individual girl. The troops

²¹ Whitenton, "Thirty Years of Scouting in Stillwater," p. 2; *News-Press*, March 10, 1944.

²² *Ibid.*, October 8, 1950; Whitenton, "Thirty Years of Scouting in Stillwater," p. 2.

²³ Interview, Mrs. J. Herbert Loyd, January 21, 1976; *News-Press*, undated clipping, 1952, Stillwater Girl Scout Lodge Archives.

²⁴ Whitenton, "Thirty Years of Scouting in Stillwater," p. 1; *News-Press*, October 20, 1943.



During World War II, the Stillwater Girl Scouts conducted several war related services—here they are presenting the colors on the lawn of the old South Stillwater High School.

usually met once a week in the lodge, at school, in a church, or at the leader's home.²⁵

Stillwater Girl Scouts had an advantage over other small communities in Oklahoma. They could tap the talents, energies, and resources of Oklahoma State University. The university departments and professors willingly have helped the Girl Scouts with programs and information for their badges. In particular, the Department of Health, Physical Education and Recreation, the College of Home Economics, the Biological and Physical Sciences de-

²⁵ Interview, Mrs. Frank M. Durbin, January 12, 1976.



The laying of the corner stone at Kinaani, the lodge at Camp Sylvia Stapley, by the Stillwater Girl Scouts in the spring of 1954.

partments, and the College of Agriculture have been a great help to the scouts.²⁶

For the Stillwater Girl Scouts, the 1950s were dominated by the creation and building of Camp Sylvia Stapley, located six and one-half miles west and one-fourth mile south of Stillwater. The forty acres of trees, rocks, and grass were purchased in 1947.²⁷ In 1950, the Stillwater Girl Scout Council voted to name the new campsite in honor of the late Mrs. Edward R. Stapley. A local and area leader in the Girl Scout organization and a tireless worker in the special field of camping, Mrs. Stapley oversaw the incorporation of

²⁶ Interview, Colvin, December 19, 1975; Interview, Devlin, January 13, 1976.

²⁷ Interview, Mrs. Bustie Swim, January 13, 1976; Interview, Dean Irby, January 14, 1976.

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the council, the building of the lodge, and started a permanent camp fund in the 1930s.²⁸

The campsite and lodge "Kinaani" were paid for by individual and group donations, and by proceeds from cookie, calendar, and tulip sales. The Business and Professional Women's Club alone donated \$300 by holding a benefit square dance in 1950. Most of the materials and labor were given by Stillwater patrons.²⁹

The campsite was dedicated in 1950 at the annual Stillwater Girl Scout camporee with 250 girls and leaders in attendance. A short program, with the presentation of colors, a dedication address, and songs was held. Soon after, work was begun on drilling a well, clearing the land, and planning for a central building.³⁰ Once the campsite was established, work began almost immediately. Dean Irby was the architect and supervisor of construction. Elwood Sayer of Pawnee donated and helped lay the stone for the lodge. He split the stone so the fossils would be exposed and the girls could study them.³¹

On April 28, 1957, Kinaani was dedicated with every Stillwater Girl Scout participating in the ceremonies. Mrs. Bustie Swim, president of the council, gave the welcoming speech. Then followed the presentation of the colors and the singing of camp songs. Miss Valerie Colvin next gave an inspirational speech, followed by thank you comments from Mrs. Dean Irby, the camp chairman. The crowd attending the ceremonies was estimated at 500 or 600.³²

Along with camping objectives, the 1950s were filled with service projects which revolved around the theme of "World Understanding." In 1950, Stillwater Girl Scouts took part in "Schoolmates Overseas," a national project. They sent thirty-one school bags with supplies and pen pal letters. Brownies collected stamps in 1954, which were sold to collectors in England to benefit children at the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in London, England. Another project the Girl Scouts joined in was "Kits for Korea," to help that country's children after the Korean War ended. The girls also contributed to the United Nations International Children's Education Fund and the Co-Operative for American Remittances to Europe.³³

²⁸ Whitenton, "Thirty Years of Scouting in Stillwater," p. 2; *News-Press*, March 8, 1950.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, April 28, 1950.

³⁰ Interview, Swim, January 13, 1976; *News-Press*, May 2, 1950.

³¹ Interview, Irby, January 14, 1976.

³² *News-Press*, April 29, 1957.

³³ *Ibid.*, February 11, 1954; *ibid.*, undated clippings, 1950, 1952, Stillwater Girl Scout Lodge Archives.

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Local services which the scouts conducted were Christmas caroling at nursing homes and the Stillwater Municipal Hospital, packaging Tuberculosis Seals, and baby sitting at Parent-Teacher Association meetings. They also planted rose bushes around Stillwater to beautify the city. In 1953, the scouts started an annual lite-a-bike campaign to put reflector tape on bicycles and reduce the number of night accidents.³⁴

Stillwater Girl Scouts also became quite active in the Payne County Fair. With the help of Mrs. Paul C. McGilliard and Mrs. Oliver S. Willham, the girls made entries in baking, cooking, canning, and sewing. The fair officials gave money prizes for first, second, and third place winners in each group.³⁵

Throughout the 1950s the Stillwater Girl Scout Council was aware that the National Council was reorganizing the Girl Scout program. This reorganization hit small councils such as Stillwater the hardest. The plan was called the "Green Umbrella." Basically, it was a proposal to merge existing scout councils and individual lone troops into larger, stronger councils. These larger councils would serve the community better because they could utilize money and professionals, and make the scouting program uniform.³⁶

In the beginning, Stillwater was given a choice of merging with other Oklahoma groups in either Oklahoma City, Tulsa, or Enid. When the Stillwater Girl Scout Council refused to choose, Stillwater was assigned to the Magic Empire Council of Tulsa. From this point, the Stillwater Council led the anti-Green Umbrella movement.³⁷

The council, directed by women like Mrs. Oscar Cooper, Mrs. Robert L. VonGunten, Mrs. Lester W. Reed, and Mrs. Jon B. Wagner, decided that the loss of control over financing and administration would be too great a sacrifice for the few benefits that would be available in the large area council. They did not want to lose their assets—the lodge, camp, equipment, and money—that had taken so many years to obtain. Feeling that their case was unique because of Oklahoma State University and all of the able talent in Stillwater, they appealed to the national office for reconsideration.³⁸

³⁴ *News-Press*, undated clippings, 1950, 1952, Stillwater Girl Scout Lodge Archives.

³⁵ Interview, McGilliard, January 13, 1976; *News-Press*, July 9, 1943.

³⁶ Interview, Devlin, January 13, 1976.

³⁷ Interview, Loyd, January 21, 1976.

³⁸ Interview, Colvin, December 19, 1975; Interview, Mrs. Jon B. Wagner, January 13, 1976; Interview, Mrs. Robert L. Janes, January 13, 1976.

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The national Girl Scout office only confirmed what the Stillwater Council refused to accept. Instead of giving up, it began corresponding with other small councils in the same predicament. It hoped that with group action the smaller councils could apply pressure on the national office to withdraw the program. The Stillwater Council, with the help of the publicity chairman, prepared newspaper articles that won the sympathy and help of the townspeople. It investigated other alternatives to the Girl Scout program, such as the Camp Fire Girls and the Young Women's Christian Association organizations. And finally, it drew up a counter-proposal to the Green Umbrella and planned to present it at the national Girl Scout convention at Miami, Florida, in 1963.³⁹

The Stillwater Council's charter was due to expire on December 31, 1963, so its future rested with the success of its proposed amendment. At the convention, six amendments were presented, including one from the national office itself. Prior to the convention, the national organization had voted to include professional workers and board members as delegates. Because these comprised a vast majority of the delegates, and the Green Umbrella worked to their advantage by creating more jobs and better pay, the national office amendment won.⁴⁰

The national amendment moved the target date for the completion of the Green Umbrella forward several years. As a result, the Stillwater Council's charter was extended to December 31, 1964, so that it could get its affairs in order and prepare for the merger with Tulsa.⁴¹ The Stillwater Council realized that it was fighting a losing battle. During the merger, it lost a great many leaders because of discouragement or for personal reasons. The changeover was a difficult process and for a few years feelings still ran high against joining with Tulsa.⁴²

To ease the apprehensions and doubts of these leaders and interested citizens, Stillwater Girls, Incorporated, was created. This organization took over the assets that the Girl Scouts and townspeople had worked so hard to obtain. Camp Sylvia Stapley, the Girl Scout Lodge, the equipment, and the existing money held by the council were supervised by a board which continues to meet once a year. Mrs. Robert L. VonGunten, who oversaw the merger, was the first president of the board.⁴³

³⁹ Interview, Wagner, January 13, 1976; *Daily World* (Tulsa), June 24, 1963.

⁴⁰ Interview, Janes, January 13, 1976; Interview, Wagner, January 13, 1976.

⁴¹ *News-Press*, November 10, 1963.

⁴² Interview, Devlin, January 13, 1976.

⁴³ *Ibid.*; Interview, Mrs. Herbert A. Pohl, January 13, 1976.

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Stillwater Girls, Incorporated, obtained a contract with the Magic Empire Girl Scout Council of Tulsa, spelling out the responsibilities and the relationship of the two groups. Because Stillwater contributed a large sum from cookie sales and the United Fund, the Magic Empire Council paid for the camp utilities, a secretary's salary, and insurance. In addition, Stillwater was granted the use of Magic Empire Council camps and equipment and a professional worker for leadership training and scout programs.⁴⁴

Although the Green Umbrella altered the Stillwater Council's status and work in the early 1960s, the Girl Scouts remained relatively unaffected. They continued their activities and service projects as before. The scouts especially enjoyed the facilities at Camp Stapley. Each time a troop spent the night, it was asked to make an improvement on the camp. Often it planted flowers, cleaned and decorated the lodge, or picked up debris on the grounds. The scouts also took camping trips to other areas in Oklahoma. A favorite spot was the Girl Scout camp on Lake Murray in southern Oklahoma. A group of senior scouts in 1962 was selected to join a caravan which made its way to the Girl Scout Roundup in Vermont. These girls raised their money, cooked their meals, and slept at Girl Scout camps and churches along the way.⁴⁵

Another activity in which the Stillwater Girl Scouts became quite involved was pottery making. In the late 1950s, the Girl Scouts bought a kiln and the needed equipment for the lodge. With the help of an adult, the scouts enjoyed making their own wares, showing them in downtown store windows, and often selling them.⁴⁶

For the community, the Girl Scouts decorated trees at Christmas time, carried out city cleanup campaigns, helped with the sheltered workshop, and supported the Salvation Army clothing drive. They started the bicycle safety rodeo with the help of Oklahoma State University. This project was so successful that later it was taken over by the Stillwater Police Department and the Stillwater Kiwanis Club.⁴⁷

In 1964, when twenty acres of trees on the southwest end of Camp Stapley burned, the Girl Scouts started their tree planting project. With the help of the College of Agriculture and Mrs. George Gorin, the girls purchased trees at one cent each and planted them. Later this became an annual project each February.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Interview, Janes, January 13, 1976; *News-Press*, June 10, 1962.

⁴⁶ Interview, Durbin, January 12, 1976.

⁴⁷ Interview, Devlin, January 13, 1976.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*



Dr. Oliver S. Willham, President of Oklahoma State University, purchasing a box of girl scout cookies. Money raised by such sales was used on community projects throughout Stillwater.

There has been little change in the Stillwater Girl Scout program from the 1960s to the 1970. Scouts still celebrated two annual events which have been held throughout their history. Thinking Day, on February 22, which was the birthday of Lord and Lady Baden-Powell, is a time when Girl Scouts all over the world express their feelings of friendship by preparing a program and contributing money to the Juliette Low World Friendship fund. This fund helped send scouts to visit other countries. Girl Scout Week was held in the spring around March 12 and marked the beginning of Girl Scouting in the United States. Special programs and services were planned for the week by the troops and their leaders. One such program might be a Court of Awards, a ceremony in which the girls receive the badges that they have earned. Another important ceremony chosen to express the spirit of scouting was called a Scouts Own.

Names of the different levels of scouting have changed throughout the

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years, and recently the levels were modified to adapt to the changes in the school system. The Brownies are now comprised of the second and third grades, with the first grade optional, the Juniors are the fourth and fifth grades, and Cadettes are the sixth through ninth grades and the Seniors are the tenth through twelfth grades, but may include the ninth grade. Passage from one level to the next takes place at a Fly-up ceremony at the close of the school year. A relatively new level of scouting is the Campus Gold, composed of young men and women at the college level. They concentrate their program on community and scout service. At this time there is a Campus Gold unit on the Oklahoma State University campus which helps the Girl Scouts of Stillwater with workshops, camping, and programs.⁴⁹

Stillwater is now designated a neighborhood, one of thirty in the Magic Empire Council of Tulsa. The neighborhood chairman, currently Mrs. Herbert A. Pohl, has replaced the local council president in the position of leadership. Although Stillwater was reluctant to join the Magic Empire Council of Tulsa, most leaders agree that it has had little impact on the group. Although there has not been a significant increase in opportunities as the national Girl Scout office predicted, the girls have the same opportunities as before. They still enjoy camping, service projects, and other activities as they have in the past.⁵⁰

The Stillwater Girl Scouts have been an asset to the community. For many years they have given their service to charity, war efforts, international friendship, and to the aesthetic appearance of Stillwater. All of these efforts were given without profit except in pride and self-satisfaction.

⁴⁹ Interview, Loyd, January 21, 1976; Interview, Pohl, January 13, 1976.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*; Interview, Devlin, January 13, 1976.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN FROM OKLAHOMA, 1907-1937

By Philip A. Grant, Jr.*

Between the admission of Oklahoma into the Union and the thirtieth anniversary of statehood on November 16, 1937, many distinguished Oklahomans served in the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States. Although one of the nation's least populous states throughout this eventful thirty year period, Oklahoma furnished a notably high percentage of the overall number of committee chairmen. Eleven heads of standing congressional committees were from the Sooner State.

Three Oklahomans presided over committees in the House of Representatives prior to 1917. They were congressmen Bird S. McGuire of Pawnee, William W. Hastings of Tahlequah, and James V. McClintic of Snyder. Their combined congressional tenure extended over fifty years.

McGuire was Oklahoma's sole delegate in Congress during its final four years as a territory. Thereafter, he served four terms as a congressman during the administrations of Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson.¹ One of the principal leaders of the Republican party in Oklahoma, he was Chairman of the House Committee on Expenditures in the Interior Department between 1909 and 1911.²

In 1915, Hastings began the first of nine terms in Congress. Like McGuire, he chaired the Committee on Expenditures in the Interior Department.³ The years of Hastings' chairmanship coincided with the period of America's involvement in World War I.⁴

After serving his political apprenticeship in both houses of the Oklahoma Legislature, McClintic was first elected to Congress in 1914. His two decades in the House paralleled the administrations of five presidents.⁵ McClintic was Chairman of the Committee on Expenditures on Public Buildings from 1917 to 1919.⁶

* The author is a resident of Bronxville, New York.

¹ Lawrence F. Kennedy, *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 1377-1378.

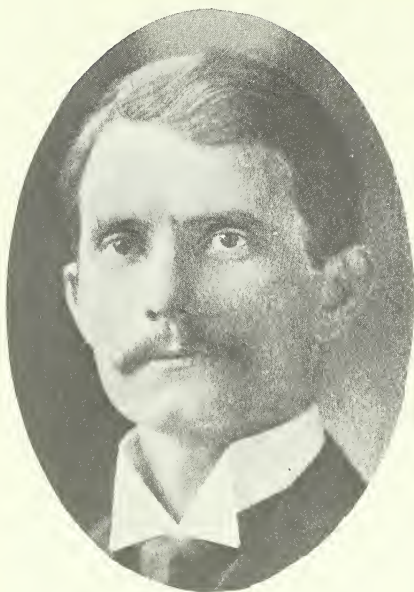
² United States Congress, *Congressional Directory, January, 1911* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1911), p. 193.

³ Kennedy, *Biographical Directory of American Congress*, p. 1085.

⁴ United States Congress, *Congressional Directory, January, 1919* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919), p. 197.

⁵ Kennedy, *Biographical Directory of American Congress*, pp. 1361-1362.

⁶ United States Congress, *Congressional Directory, January, 1919*, p. 198.



W. W. Hastings chaired the Committee on Expenditure in the Interior Department.



Thomas Pryor Gore played a pivotal role in the passage of numerous farm bills.

Among the other Oklahomans who held committee chairmanships between 1907 and 1937, were United States Representatives Charles D. Carter of Ardmore, Scott Ferris of Lawton, Will Rogers of Oklahoma City, and United States Senator John W. Harreld of Oklahoma City. Carter and Ferris were two of Oklahoma's original congressmen, while Rogers and Harreld launched their respective public careers somewhat later.

Carter served ten consecutive terms in Congress—a longevity record among Oklahomans which was not surpassed until 1967, when Representative Carl B. Albert of McAlester took the oath of office for his eleventh term. Albert later served as Speaker of the United States House of Representatives from 1971 to 1976. At the time of his retirement in 1927, Carter was outranked in seniority by only 8 of his 434 colleagues.⁷ Between 1917 and 1919, he was Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs.⁸

⁷ United States Congress, *Congressional Directory*, January, 1927 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1927), pp. 167–168.

⁸ United States Congress, *Congressional Directory*, January, 1919, p. 199.

A member of the Committee on Public Land throughout his fourteen years in Congress, Ferris chaired that panel between 1913 and 1919, and during this same period he was Congress' most articulate proponent of maximum federal involvement in waterpower development.⁹ It was largely due to his efforts that the United States House of Representatives voted to create a Special Committee on Water Power.¹⁰ Unfortunately, the Senate declined to take action on waterpower bills authored by Ferris and already approved by the House of Representatives. However, the House eventually approved the formation of a Special Committee on Water Power on January 11, 1918—designating Ferris as its ranking Democratic member. Ferris climaxed his political career by serving sixteen years as a member of the Democratic National Committee.¹¹

Rogers was Oklahoma's Congressman-at-Large between 1933 and 1943, and as one of the few House members representing the citizenry of an entire state, he served one of the nation's largest constituencies.¹² Rogers was Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs, 1935-1943.¹³

Oklahoma's first Republican senator, and one of only three during the first sixty-one years of statehood, Harrelld was elected to the United States Senate in 1920, after serving two terms in the United States House of Representatives.¹⁴ Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs from 1923 to 1927, Harrelld reported on the bill which conferred American citizenship on all native-born Indians.¹⁵

The four most renowned Oklahomans to occupy positions of high responsibility in Congress between 1907 and 1937 were Representative Wilburn Cartwright of McAlester, and senators Elmer Thomas of Medicine

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

¹⁰ United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 63rd Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1914), pp. 8864, 10581, 13671-13704, 13793-13819, 13931-13958, 14048-14072, 14138-14154, 14181-14183; *Ibid.*, 64th Congress, 1st Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916), pp. 23, 468, 524-561, 678-696, 730-744; *Ibid.*, 65th Congress, 2nd Session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), pp. 847-848, 902.

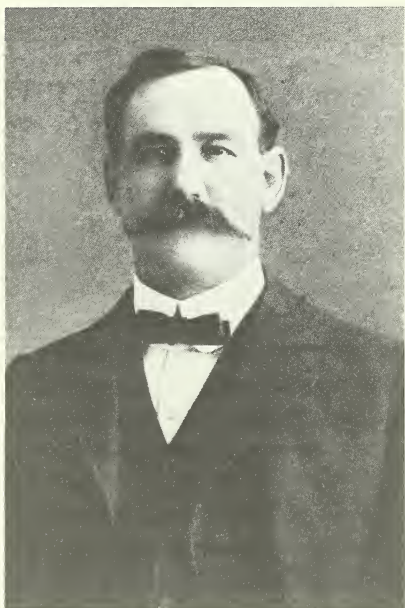
¹¹ Kennedy, *Biographical Directory of American Congress*, p. 937.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 1628; According to the 1940 Census, Oklahoma had a population of 2,336,434. Except for Congressmen-at-Large from the states of New York, Illinois, and Ohio, Rogers represented more people than any member of the House.

¹³ United States Congress, *Congressional Directory*, June, 1942 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1942), p. 202.

¹⁴ Kennedy, *Biographical Directory of American Congress*, p. 1072; Oklahoma's other Republican senators between 1907 and 1969, were William B. Pine of Okmulgee (1925-1931) and Edward H. Moore of Tulsa (1943-1949).

¹⁵ United States Congress, *Congressional Directory*, January, 1927 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1927), p. 192; United States Government, *Statutes at Large*, (multi vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1848 to present), Vol. XLIII, p. 253.



Bird S. McGuire was Oklahoma's sole delegate in Congress during its final years as a territory.

Park, Thomas P. Gore of Lawton, and Robert L. Owen of Muskogee. As chairmen of standing committees, Cartwright, Thomas, Gore, and Owen were instrumental in the passage of many pieces of major legislation.

Cartwright, who served eight terms in Congress, was a specialist in transportation problems, and Chairman of the Committee on Roads between 1934 and 1943.¹⁶ His foremost legislative contributions were the Emergency Road Construction Act of 1934, a measure designed to alleviate widespread unemployment, and the Federal Highway Act of 1936, a statute which greatly expanded the national government's commitment to overland transportation.¹⁷ After retiring from the United States House of Representatives, he began a long and distinguished career as a state official in Oklahoma, serving as Secretary of State, State Auditor, and as a member of the Corporation Commission.

Thomas served in Congress longer than any other individual in Oklahoma's history prior to Speaker Albert—twenty-seven years, nine months and twenty-seven days in Congress. After four years in the United States House of Representatives, he was elected to the Senate in 1926, and during

¹⁶ Kennedy, *Biographical Directory of American Congress*, p. 713; United States Congress, *Congressional Directory*, June 1942, p. 208.

¹⁷ House of Representatives, *Conference Report on the bill (H.R. 8781) to increase employment by authorizing an appropriation to provide for emergency construction of public highways and related projects, and for other purposes*, June 9, 1934 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934); United States Government, *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 993-996; *ibid.*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 1519-1522. Frederick L. Paxson, "The Highway Movement, 1916-1935," *American Historical Review*, Vol. LI, No. 1 (January, 1946), pp. 236-253; United States Congress, *Conference Report on the bill (H.R. 11687) to amend the Federal Aid Highway Act, approved July, 1916, as amended and supplemented, and for other purposes*, July 1, 1936 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1936).

his final six years in the Senate he was outranked by only two of his ninety-seven colleagues.¹⁸ Thomas was Chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs from 1935-1944, and he headed the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry twice—from 1944 to 1946 and from 1949 to 1959.¹⁹ He not only was deeply involved in the passage of the landmark farm bills during the early New Deal years, but also attracted nationwide attention by his vocal advocacy of currency inflation. A key participant in all monetary debates in the Senate between 1933 and 1936, Thomas sponsored several currency expansion amendments to the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933, Silver Purchase Act of 1934, Relief Appropriation Act of 1935, and Adjusted Compensation—Veteran's Bonus—Act of 1936.²⁰

Elected to the United States Senate shortly after Oklahoma was admitted to the Union, Gore served in that body from 1907 to 1921, and again from 1931 to 1937.²¹ As Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry from 1913 to 1919, he played a pivotal role in the passage of numerous farm bills. Moreover, he was especially prominent in the deliberations culminating in the Food and Fuel Control Act of 1917, and the Stimulation of Agriculture Act of 1918.²² Gore also chaired the Committee on Interoceanic Canals between 1933 and 1937.²³ Although a Democrat, Gore firmly opposed the foreign policies of President Woodrow Wilson during and im-

¹⁸ Kennedy, *Biographical Directory of American Congress*, pp. 1806-1807.

¹⁹ United States Congress, *Congressional Directory*, June, 1944 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1944), p. 181; United States Congress, *Congressional Directory*, January, 1950 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 193; United States Congress, *Conference Report on the bill (H.R. 3835) to relieve the existing national economic emergency by increasing agricultural purchasing power*, May 10, 1933; *Conference Report on the bill (H.R. 7478) to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act so as to include cattle as a basic agricultural commodity, and for other purposes*, March 26, 1934 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934); *United States Congress, Conference Report on the bill (S. 3612) to provide for loans to farmers for crop production and harvesting during the year 1936, and for other purposes*, February 11, 1936; United States Government, *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 31-54, 528.

²⁰ Elmer Thomas, "Money and its Management," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (January, 1934), pp. 132-137.

²¹ Kennedy, *Biographical Directory of American Congress*, pp. 1018-1019.

²² United States Congress, *Congressional Directory*, January 1919, p. 172; United States Congress, *Conference Report on the bill (H.R. 4961) to provide further for the national security and defense by encouraging the production, conserving the supply, and controlling the distribution of food products and fuel*, August 2, 1917 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917); United States Government, *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XL, pp. 276-287, 1045-1049; United States Congress, *Conference Report on the bill (H.R. 11945) to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1919, the purposes of the act entitled "An act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products," October 28, 1918* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918).

²³ United States Congress, *Congressional Directory*, April, 1936 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1936), p. 176.

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mediately after World War I, as well as most of the New Deal proposals of President Franklin D. Roosevelt.²⁴

Owen, like Gore, first was elected to the United States Senate in 1907.²⁵ An expert on financial affairs, he was Chairman of the Committee on Banking and Currency from 1913 to 1919; however, his most lasting achievement was the Federal Reserve Act of 1913, one of the most comprehensive banking statutes ever enacted by Congress.²⁶ He also was responsible in large measure for the Federal Farm Board Act of 1916 and the War Finance Corporation Act of 1918.²⁷ Owen eventually became one of the senior members of the Senate, outranked by only two of his forty-two Democratic colleagues at the end of his congressional career.²⁸

The eleven Oklahomans who presided over standing committees between 1907 and 1937, compiled records of genuine distinction as members of Congress. During this thirty year period the nation played a decisive role in the winning of World War I, participated in the Paris Peace Conference, endured the Great Depression, and experienced the sweeping reforms of the New Deal. Both in numbers and in quality of service, the committee chairmen from Oklahoma deserve a large amount of credit.

²⁴ Monroe L. Billington, *Thomas P. Gore* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1967).

²⁵ Kennedy, *Biographical Directory of American Congress*, p. 1501.

²⁶ United States Congress, *Congressional Directory*, January 1919, p. 172; *Conference Report on the bill (H.R. 7837) to provide for the establishment of Federal reserve banks, to furnish an elastic currency, to afford means of rediscounting commercial paper, to establish a more effective system of banking in the United States, and for other purposes*, December 22, 1913 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913); United States Government, *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 251-275; Robert L. Owen, *The Federal Reserve Act* (New York: The Century Company, 1919).

²⁷ United States Congress, *Conference Report on the bill (S. 2986) to provide capital for agricultural development, to create standard forms of investment based upon farm mortgage, to equalize rates of interest upon farm loans, to furnish a market for United States bonds, to create Government depositories and financial agents for the United States, and for other purposes*, June 23, 1916 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916); United States Government, *Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 360-384; United States Congress, *Congressional Record*, 50th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 2793-2805, 2849-2861, 2920-2927, 3040-3046, 3104-3109, 3130-3151, 4379.

²⁸ Wyatt W. Belcher, "Political Leadership of Robert L. Owen," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXI, No. 4 (Winter, 1953-1954), pp. 361-371.

THE CHOCTAW WARRANTS OF 1863

*By James F. Morgan**

As was the case with all the other Indian Nations following the formation of the Confederate States of America, the Choctaw Nation was faced with a dilemma. Should they stay with the United States of America, or ally with the Confederacy? Because of its institutions, economy, original area of settlement, and natural inclinations, the Choctaw Nation was extremely sympathetic towards the Southern people, their problems, and their desire for independence. The Choctaws eventually solved this predicament by joining with the Confederacy and loyally supporting it for the remainder of its history. Eventually the Choctaws, like the Cherokees before them, issued their own currency while allied with the Confederate government; but unlike their sister Indian nation, the Choctaws did not immediately set aside any money to redeem their paper. Instead they chose to hold back a part of any funds they received later. The Choctaw Nation, like the Cherokee Nation, obtained most of its funds from the government, both the Federal and, later, the Confederate authorities. The Five Civilized Tribes were all supposed to be paid large sums in settlement of treaties made with the United States, but those officials were reluctant to settle. Nevertheless, the Choctaws kept trying, even in early 1861, and they were partially successful in securing some of the money due them.

In March, 1861, the Choctaws were awarded a \$500,000 advance on an award granted in a treaty made with the United States on June 22, 1855. On March 8, 1861, the Choctaw delegation was in Washington, D.C., to collect this and made application for the sum due, in money and bonds. As late as April 8, they were still waiting and asked that they be paid in United States stock, which had a higher resale value, rather than in bonds. But this request was ignored and \$250,000 in bonds, which were kept by the Choctaws until after the war, finally was issued to them. By June 12, 1861, the Choctaw treasury had received a United States Treasury Department draft for \$112,000, in addition to the \$250,000 in bonds, and \$3,487.15 in specie.

* The author completed his Doctor of Philosophy degree at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, and he has previously published on the financial conditions of the Five Civilized Tribes during the Civil War.

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In 1861, the Choctaw Nation signed a Treaty at North Fork Village the terms of which excluded the Indians from assuming any of the costs of the war.

When this was added to the \$134,512.85 previously given the Choctaws for the purchase of corn, the total came to \$500,000.¹

But at the same time that this was transpiring in Washington, the Choctaw Nation was being courted by the Confederate States in the person of their delegate, Albert Pike. Pike was traveling among the Indians in an attempt to gain a treaty with all the tribes of Indian Territory, and he was extremely successful. Nonetheless, because the Choctaw delegates were absent at the time, arrangements with them were delayed. However, they were known to be entirely loyal to the principles of the infant Confederacy; thus, they signed a treaty with the Confederate States at North Fork Village

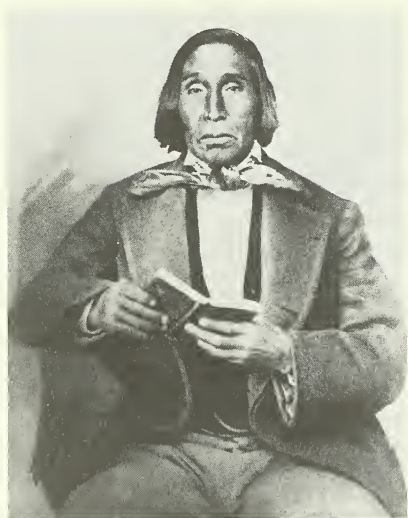
¹ Statement concerning sale of United States bonds, no date but after 1865, Peter P. Pitchlynn Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma; Peter P. Pitchlynn to T. Corwekly, March 8, 1861, *ibid.*; Choctaw Delegates to Salmon P. Chase, April 8, 1861, *ibid.*; Treasurer's Receipt, H. N. Folsom, June 12, 1861, *ibid.*; "Report of the Committee on the Mission of the Choctaw Delegation," October 23, 1861, *ibid.*

on July 12, 1861. By the terms of this agreement, the Choctaw Nation was not to assume any of the costs of the war, and, even though they had recently received a shipment of money from the United States government, the Choctaws clung to the letter of the treaty. On June 10, 1861, a law had been passed by the Choctaw Nation which set aside \$30,000 for the purchase of munitions to arm the Indian troops, and on June 14, 1861, Principal Chief George Hudson called upon all able bodied men to enroll in the militia. But on November 5, 1861, over a month before the treaty had been ratified by the Confederate Provisional Congress, the Choctaw Nation repealed their June 10, 1861, law and placed full responsibility for arming the troops in Confederate hands.²

The appropriations bill to pay all the Indians the money owed to them under the terms of the several treaties was voted on December 24, 1861. A total of \$265,927.55 of this was to be paid in coin and it quickly was procured through purchase from the banks. By January 28, 1862, Brigadier General Albert Pike, who had obtained the original treaties, was at Little Rock, Arkansas, and expected to be at Fort Smith, Arkansas, by the seventh of February at the latest. Pike carried with him over \$681,000 in paper money and specie and had requested that another \$3,000 be sent ahead of him to Major Elias Rector, the Confederate Superintendent of Indian Affairs. This last amount was to meet the expenses of the new Indian councils. Included in the money that Pike brought with him was a \$50,000 advance payment to the Choctaws. Most of this sum must have been in coin because Pike noted that "The Treasurer of the Choctaws means to sell the coin his people get, buy Confederate paper, and put the difference in his pocket." Pike believed that the treasurer must be stopped from doing this and urged that the principal chief be advised of the amount paid in coin and the treasurer paid this "in the presence of three Commissioners appointed by himself."³

² James E. Harrison and others to Edward Clark, April 23, 1861, United States Department of War, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols., 128 books, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Ser. IV, Vol. I, p. 323, Hereafter cited as *Official Records*; "A Treaty . . . between the Confederate States . . . and the Choctaw Nation [July 12, 1861,]," *ibid.*, pp. 445-466; "Proclamation," Principal Chief George Hudson, June 14, 1861, *ibid.*, Ser. I, Vol. III, pp. 591-592; "Resolutions of the Choctaw Nation," November 5, 1861, United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, Miscellaneous Documents, 1864-1865, Record Group 109, National Archives and Records Center, Washington, D. C. (copy deposited at Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma).

³ James M. Mathews, ed., *The Statutes at Large of the Provisional Government of the Confederate States of America* (Richmond: R. M. Smith, 1864), p. 237; Albert Pike to Elias Rector, January 28, 1862, Records of the Wichita Agency, 1861-1862, Record Group 75, National Archives and Records Center, Washington, D. C.



George Hudson called upon all able bodied men to enroll in the militia.

Even though Pike was at Fort Smith in early February, the money did not arrive at the Choctaw Nation until mid-April, 1862. It can not be said for certain why the delay, but it is possible that Pike had to await the final ratification of the treaty by the Choctaw Nation and then the appointment of the officials to receive the funds and transport them to the capital at Doaksville. It was in mid-April that F. E. Williams was paid to transfer the money to Scullyville, and L. L. Libby moved it from there to the capital. In all, a total of \$322 had to be paid the men who transported the money. But according to the treasurer's report, the total delivered by Williams, and paid by Pike, was \$35,520. It is possible that this was the sum paid in coin and the

rest was delivered at some other time in paper; because it also was mentioned that there was \$27,000 in the hands of E. Loman and T. Folsom, who may have been a relative of National Treasurer H. N. Folsom, as well as \$20,260 loaned from the delegation. Apparently there was sufficient money from the Confederates in the treasury to purchase munitions by May 6, 1862, because on that day Sampson Folsom received \$50,000 to purchase arms "as per treaty of 1861 and in accordance with an act of the Council in October A. D. 1861."⁴ The act to which the notation referred was the one stating that the Confederacy must purchase the implements of war.

Due to an excessive drought in 1862, the crop for that year was less than usual. However, a large supply of grain was still on hand from the previous year. Thus, agent S. S. Scott believed there was little likelihood of any of the Choctaws suffering. But some of the refugee Cherokees had settled in the area by that time, and if the supplies had to be shared, there must have been some hardship encountered. Also, the fact that many of the men were away

⁴ Choctaw National Auditor's Warrants paid by H. N. Folsom, Choctaw Papers, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Treasurer's Report from 1861 to 1862, *ibid.*; Sampson Folsom, Receipt, May 6, 1862, *ibid.*

THE CHOCTAW WARRANTS OF 1863

CHOCTAW TREASURY WARRANT.

No. 110 No. 1

The National Treasurer of the CHOCTAW NATION, pay to Bearer

ONE DOLLAR,

In three equal Annual Installments of One, Two and Three years from date hereof. Dated at Armstrong Academy, in said Nation, on this 1 day of March, 1863.

[Signature]
National Secretary of said Nation.

\$1. 1

*Received per
act of 17, 1865
with five per cent
interest from
this date.*

Allen Mighy
Nath. Tr.

Examples of Choctaw Treasury Warrants issued to the tribe during the 1860s.

CHOCTAW TREASURY WARRANT.

No. 2 No. 1

The National Treasurer of the CHOCTAW NATION, pay to Bearer

TWO DOLLARS and FIFTY CENTS,

In three equal Annual Installments of One, Two and Three years from date hereof. Dated at Armstrong Academy, in said Nation, on this 1 day of March, 1863.

[Signature]
National Secretary of said Nation.

\$2.50. 110000

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fighting in the war would have caused difficulty to some families. In order to provide for the suffering Choctaws, a bill was proposed in the Choctaw Council on October 18, 1862, to aid the indigent families. This legislation passed the Choctaw Senate on October 20, and the next day the House of Representatives amended it to include the blind and sent it back to the Senate where it passed the same day. The Principal Chief, Samuel Garland, signed it into law on October 21, 1862, the same day that it had passed out of the Council.⁵

By the terms of this act, \$25,000 was to be issued in the form of Choctaw National Treasury warrants, payable in one, two, and three years, in equal installments, and these bills were to be receivable for all money due to the nation. These warrants were to be given to those who were actually destitute and suffering, and any able bodied male citizen specifically was excluded. Those included were only the actually destitute and "more particularly the Females, Children, Sick, Crippled, Blind and Wounded." Monthly supplies of food also were distributed to these same groups. The sheriffs were required to make a list of the people receiving this aid, and it was subject to review by the Council. In essence then, this was a welfare act, designed to benefit those who were truly in need. But this law also provided for the only issuance of notes by the Choctaw Nation and gave them a status as currency.⁶

The warrants were issued without any individual's name on them, unlike all the previous warrants, and were for the denominations of fifty cents, one, two and one-half, and five dollars. The fact that no name appeared on them made them readily transferrable and served to give them status as a circulating medium. Even though the printing on the notes was crude and suggests that they were made quickly, it seems reasonable to assume that the majority of them were issued in early 1863 rather than in late 1862. As one surviving warrant bears the handwritten date of March 1, 1863, this conclusion appears reasonable. The day after this act was passed, S. S. Scott delivered \$35,520 to the Choctaw Nation. The first yearly installment of \$8,030.33¹/₃ was probably set aside from this shipment. Physical delivery of funds seem to have been halted after this, for on October 20, 1863, another \$35,520 was turned over to the treasury. However, in this instance,

⁵ S. S. Scott to George W. Randolph, October 22, 1862, United States Department of War, *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XIII, pp. 890-891; "Senate Journal, October, 1862 Session," Choctaw Papers, p. 251; "House Journal, October, 1862 Session," *ibid.*, pp. 59-60; "Senate Journal, October, 1862 Session," *ibid.*, p. 251.

⁶ "An Act entitled An Act for the relief of certain families or persons in this Nation," October 21, 1862, Acts and Resolutions of the General Council of the Choctaw Nation, October Session, 1862, *ibid.*



Robert M. Jones was elected to the Confederate Congress as a delegate from the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations.

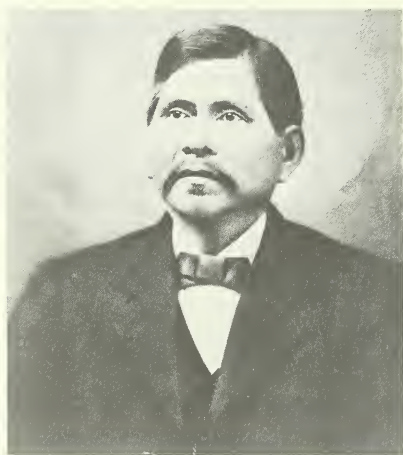
it cost the Choctaw Nation \$20.00 to travel to Paris, Texas and return with the sum, unlike the previous year when Scott delivered it to them.⁷

On August 6, 1862, Robert M. Jones had been elected to the Confederate Congress as the delegate from the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations. His total vote of 374 barely beat his closest opponent, Allen Wright's, 334, but was far ahead of Peter P. Pitchlynn's total of 137. Undaunted by their defeats here, Pitchlynn went on to be elected Principal Chief before the end of the war, and Allen Wright became his treasurer. Wright rose to even greater heights after the war. Jones, however, seems to have done little during his term in the Congress, and the Cherokee delegate, Elias C. Boudinot, overshadowed him in regards to legislation concerned with Indian affairs.⁸

With the Choctaw Nation continually receiving supplies of Confederate paper, it soon became the circulating medium in the nation and probably was used to redeem the warrants. But the issue of new currency by the Confederate government, and the decline in purchasing value of all of their paper, created a furor among the Choctaws which was reflected in the other Indian nations as well. In an effort to calm this, Major General Samuel B. Maxey, ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, asked the Confederate Treasury agent at Houston, Texas, Peter W. Gray, for advice on July 31, 1864. Maxey stated that according to the terms of the several treaties concluded with the Indians, the tribes were to incur none of the actual costs of the war, and it was believed that the thirty-three and one-third percent tax on the old issue was a way of passing along some

⁷ Maurice M. Burgett, "Obsolete Paper Currency of Indian Territory and Oklahoma," *Paper Money*, Vol. VI, No. 1 (April, 1967), p. 4; Treasurer's Report, 1862-1863, Choctaw Papers.

⁸ "Certification of election results, Douglas H. Cooper," October 7, 1862, United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, Miscellaneous Documents, 1864-1865 (copy deposited at Oklahoma Historical Society.)



Allen Wright was made the Choctaw Nation's treasurer just before the end of the war.



Peter Pitchlynn played a big part in aiding the Choctaw Nation with their monetary affairs.

of the costs to them. But these efforts, like those of the Cherokee delegate Boudinot, seem to have failed, and in January, 1865, Principal Chief Peter P. Pitchlynn decried this tax as well as the general depreciation of Confederate currency. From his remarks it appears that the Choctaws were being paid by the Confederate authorities as though the paper was at par with specie. The annuities were to be paid in coin, but instead they were given in paper with one dollar in paper being given for what would have been one dollar in coin.⁹

In January, 1865, Principal Chief Pitchlynn addressed himself to the question of money. He stated that "few articles can be purchased with Confederate paper and then only at ruinous rates of discount." He continued that most of the items needed by the Choctaw people were of foreign manufacture and required "specie, or those stable commodities which are readily convertible into specie." Pitchlynn wondered if the Choctaws should continue to suffer by receiving Confederate notes at par with specie, particularly as speculators had depreciated the currency with their actions. Even the Confederate government adjusted the conversion rate at twenty dollars

⁹ Samuel B. Maxey to Peter W. Gray, July 21, 1864, Peter P. Pitchlynn Papers; *Message of P. P. Pitchlynn . . . delivered before the Choctaw Council in Extra Session . . . January, 1865* (Fort Towson, Choctaw Nation: Government Printing Office, n. d.), p. 4.

paper to one dollar in gold and declared that no debtor in any state who had a sum of money due to him which was payable in coin "will receive payment in Confederate paper at any discount." Pitchlynn left it to the Choctaw Council as to what action to take, but he gave strong hints as to which course of action he favored.¹⁰

Shortly before this, the Choctaw Nation began to steer a course away from paper money and towards commodities, as was the case in other states. It was on October 11, 1864, that \$35,000 had been appropriated from funds in the Choctaw treasury to purchase cotton and wool cards, which were required to make the raw product ready to be converted into cloth. These were to be for distribution to needy wives of Choctaw soldiers. The law further specified that people to purchase these cotton and wool cards later were to be elected by the Council, and Dr. F. J. Bonds and Mrs. J. M. Nail were selected. On December 1, 1864, these individuals left on their appointed mission, and they carried with them the sum of \$11,500 that had been given them by the National Treasurer, Allen Wright, and a draft on the Treasurer of the Confederate States for the remaining \$23,500. This draft was to be an advance on the interest money due the Choctaw Nation from funds invested in Virginia bonds. In order to cash this draft, the men had to first journey to Jefferson, Texas, and speak to Samuel F. Mosley, the Confederate Treasury agent in that city. They also carried with them a letter of introduction from Major General Samuel B. Maxey, commander of the District of the Indian Territory and ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Maxey begged Mosley to do everything within his power to make certain that the draft was cashed so that the men could complete their mission of mercy. It is likely that the money was turned over to the two commissioners, although no documentation can be found to support this conclusion.¹¹

Monetary affairs in the Choctaw Nation were beginning to deteriorate even more rapidly by January of 1865. On January 19, a resolution was passed by the Choctaw Council regarding Confederate paper. It would seem that they had listened to the comments and suggestions made by Principal Chief Pitchlynn in his January, 1865, address and were prepared to act. But the action that they took was not as strong as it could have been. The resolution stated that the Confederate currency that the Choctaw Nation was accepting at par with specie was being heavily discounted, causing severe in-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

¹¹ "An Act entitled An Act to purchase Cotton and Wool Cards for the use and benefit of the indigent Choctaw Soldiers' Wives &c," October, 1864, Acts and Resolutions of the Choctaw Nation, Choctaw Papers; Samuel B. Maxey to Samuel F. Mosley, Peter P. Pitchlynn Papers.

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jury to their "financial condition and involving the Nation in heavy losses yearly."¹² However, their only action was to authorize the opening of correspondence with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in hopes of somehow improving the situation.¹³

In the meantime, cotton was beginning to play an even greater role in Choctaw monetary life, and on January 19, 1865, funds were voted to allow the transportation of cotton held by refugee Indians, in order to sell it and relieve their condition. This trade must have quickly grown in volume because on April 10, 1865, Confederate Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, directed a circular letter to the Choctaw officials and people. Cooper stated that only such quantities of cotton might be exported to Mexico as were absolutely necessary to obtain needed supplies. He further declared that all bales of cotton so exported must be the property of the Choctaw Nation collectively, and not of any one individual. Obviously, many of the Choctaw citizens had been shipping as much cotton as they could to Mexico or else this circular would have never been required.¹⁴

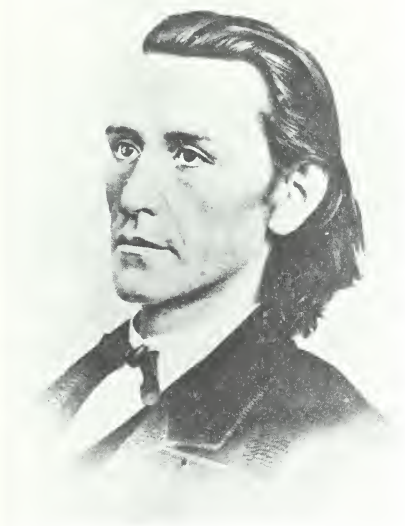
However, this was not the end of the Choctaw cotton trade. On January 17, 1865, the Confederate Congress, through the actions of the Cherokee delegate Boudinot, had authorized the Cherokee Nation to receive cotton at its specie value in lieu of the annual annuities which were due to them under the terms of the treaty. This law quickly was extended to all the other Indian nations and Boudinot carried copies of both laws back with him from Richmond. By May 15, 1865, Cooper had been informed of this and he gave the necessary orders to carry it into effect. By May 27, 1865, Cooper also empowered P. W. Gray, the Confederate Treasury agent at Marshall, Texas, to receive and receipt for cotton to be delivered to the Creek and Seminole nations in lieu of their annuities. It would seem reasonable to assume from this that similar orders were also given for the other tribes, and the cotton should have been delivered to the Indians before the final collapse came later that summer.¹⁵

¹² Resolution, January 19, 1865, Acts and Resolutions of the Choctaw Nation, 1865, Choctaw Papers.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ "An Act entitled An Act to appropriate Money to Enable James Thompson to Transport Refugee Cotton &c," *ibid.*; Circular, Douglas H. Cooper, April 10, 1865, Peter P. Pitchlynn Papers.

¹⁵ Charles W. Ramsdell, ed., *Laws and Joint Resolutions of the Last Session of the Confederate Congress* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1941), pp. 24-26; Elias C. Boudinot to Stand Watie, May 11, 1865, Cherokee Nation Papers, Western History Collections, Library, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma; D. H. Cooper to E. Kirby Smith, May 15, 1865, Confederate District of Indian Territory, Letters Sent, May 10-27, 1865, Record Group 109, National Archives and Records Center, Washington, D. C.



Elias C. Boudinot worked on the legislation concerned with the Indian Affairs.

With the fall of the Confederacy, the Choctaw Nation found itself in extreme financial difficulties. Most of the money they held was Confederate paper which was now totally useless, and crops could not be harvested or sold fast enough to satisfy the demands of the people for a medium of exchange. In order to deal with this problem, and pay the debts of the nation as well, the Choctaw Council decided to finance itself temporarily by resorting to credit or fiat currency. On October 17, 1865, a law was passed to authorize the National Treasurer, Allen Wright, to issue certificates of deposit, drawing five percent interest, for any national warrants that were returned to him. Apparently a sizable number of these were outstanding and unpaid, and they must have been issued after the end of the war. At the

same time, the National Treasurer also was authorized to reissue, again with five percent interest, the treasury warrants that had been issued and then redeemed under the terms of the October 21, 1862, law. In this way, the Choctaw issuance of 1863 performed a double duty: first, it gave funds to the destitute during the conflict and served as a minor currency; and second, it served as a national currency after the war. It seems to have done its job well in both roles.¹⁶

Thus it was that the Choctaw Nation, like the Cherokee Nation which acted before it, pursued a monetary policy which was highly orderly and founded on Confederate money as a basis. A heavy reliance initially was placed on paper, a small regional issuance was produced, and they eventually came to shun paper money and rely more upon commodities and the specie produced by the sale of it in Mexico. But the Choctaw Nation did one other thing; it created a welfare system that did not break down over time. Food, cotton, and wool cards and other necessities were distributed

¹⁶ "An Act entitled An Act creating interest on National and Treasury Warrants," October 17, 1865, Senate Records, Choctaw Nation, Choctaw Papers.

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to the destitute in the nation, and \$25,000 in money was also given to them. From the fact that so many of the warrants were returned to the National Treasurer, it would appear that the system worked in exactly the way it was designed to work. It is to the credit of the Choctaw Nation that they resisted the temptation to print money and give it away, hand-over-fist, to their needy. Some money was distributed, but there was great need and it appeared to be the quickest way to relieve the general suffering. And the amount of money given was very small and highly controlled. The primary reliance was on food, on cotton, and on wool cards. The last named items could not be used as money or eaten; their only value lay in the fact that they could be used to prepare the raw material for eventual conversion into cloth. In this way they provided an industry for the citizens, kept them active, and, if someone were industrious enough, could also give them a source of income. Any surplus cloth could always be sold. The poor might have been better off for this type of treatment than if they had just been given money or whatever else they needed.

The Choctaw Nation then had a highly ordered monetary policy and received most of its income from the central government. Because of this, the Choctaws were able to have a fairly steady, guaranteed income, but they had to accept that paper as though it were specie. When the value of this paper declined, however, and the deliveries were delayed, other means of finance had to be located. The sufferings of the people demanded also some action, and in an effort to alleviate their plight, a series of small denomination treasury warrants was authorized for distribution to them. The national issuance of paper was very small and easily handled, and the Choctaws never fell into the pitfall of over printing like so many of the other governments. The Choctaw Nation's people survived, their treasury endured, and their paper money was stable and quickly retired.

These policies enabled the Choctaw Nation and its people to be in better condition to recover from the monetary chaos that ensued after the war. Of course there were some problems, but nothing like the great difficulties that were to be endured by some of the former Confederate states that lay east of the Mississippi River. In the Choctaw Nation there was no need to authorize large issues of bonds after the war, no general feeling that it was up to the next generation to redeem the mistakes of the fathers. Those who had assumed the costs took it upon themselves to pay their own debts, and for the most part this was done. The next leaders could make their own mistakes and, perhaps, profit from the example, both good and bad, that their predecessors had set. Unfortunately, the Indian nations were in the minority—they still had a lot to “learn” from the white man.

THE CAMPUS CADETS: A HISTORY OF COLLEGIATE MILITARY TRAINING, 1891-1951

By Philip Reed Rulon*

The military history of the United States is again in vogue. Only the perpetual avalanche of literature on the Civil War and on the role of the army in exploring and settling the West kept the field alive as an academic discipline during the long waning period. But recent biographies and autobiographies of World War II figures, the economic and political intrigues of the so-called Cold War, anti-war film and television programming, and agitation over the role of minority groups in the armed forces are the catalytic agents chiefly responsible for reviving the drum and the trumpet in the Ivory Tower. Historians are currently taking advantage of the present situation by extending their researches into this aspect of the nation's past even further. One topic that has not received the attention it deserves is the student cadet, those men and women prepared for military leadership on the campuses of the country's institutions of higher learning. Scholarly investigation might have started earlier, but the unrest of the last two decades postponed analysis. Now, with a more reasoned atmosphere prevailing, it is possible to produce case studies which will provide data for future generalizations. This essay, then, focuses on the development and impact of military instruction at Oklahoma State University, a land-grant institution created under the auspices of the Morrill Act which charged agricultural and mechanical colleges with training students in military science.¹

Cadet instruction originated at Oklahoma State in 1891, the year that the organization opened its doors to the public. It reached its zenith sometime between the end of World War II and the beginning of the Korean Conflict. The Morrill Act was passed during George McClellan's Peninsular Campaign. This measure, among other things, authorized funds to teach students the martial arts. The critical need for Union officers to combat those, such as the men the Virginia Military Institute produced for the

* The author is currently an Associate Professor of History at Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff, Arizona.

¹ The standard histories of the land-grant college movement in the United States are: Earle Dudley Ross, *Democracy's College* (New York: The Iowa State College Press, 1942); Edward Danforth Eddy, *Colleges for Our Land and Time* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956); and Allan Nevins, *The State Universities and Democracy* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962). Justin Smith Morrill's rationale for including military science in his 1862 education bill is in the *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, Appendix, pp. 256-259.

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South, had much to do with securing the necessary Congressional approval. The specific intent of the legislation, however, appeared vague to the administrators who had to implement it. This led the legislative branch to appropriate funds in 1868 to station twenty regular army officers on land-grant institution campuses.² Four years, however, were needed to work out procedures in the War Department, and then there were not nearly enough people to fill the demand. Robert Barker, the first president of Oklahoma State University, inaugurated stopgap measures, as did many of his regional counterparts. He commissioned Alexander Magruder, a professor of agriculture, to give forty lectures on tactics and the composition of foreign armies and Captain Lewis Darnell, an ex-Confederate officer, to drill the students two afternoons per week. Despite a lack of military apparel and equipment, both men and women took the field. Barker exempted no one, for he feared that if the letter as well as the spirit of the law was not implemented, other Oklahoma communities would wrest the institution away from Stillwater to obtain the coveted federal subsidy. The initial efforts to instruct often were more humorous than educational.³

Chemist George Molter recorded his impressions of the coed drills. He wrote that the⁴

sight of this cadet corps . . . burned a hole in my memory, and the hole is there yet. You have possibly seen a cartoon of an Irish brigade, but if you have, it certainly does not give much light on the subject for a sight of this cadet corps beggars description. Picture if you can, a lot of girls in long dresses, in new dresses, having on their heads all shapes and sizes of sun-bonnets, and you have an idea, possibly of the general appearance of the uniforms. . . . Now take this battalion . . . of girls, form them into a company, and drill them in an average Oklahoma wind, and if the sight does not leave an impression in your memory, you are certainly puncture proof to all sights.

The males did not appear much more dignified. They evidenced a variety of clothing, too, from a discarded preacher's swallow-tailed coat to the customary homespun of the farm. Broomsticks substituted for rifles. And the giving of a command could place one's body in jeopardy. Lieutenant

² Eddy, *Colleges for Our Land and Time*, pp. 41, 64.

³ Alfred Edwin Jarrell, "The Founding of Oklahoma A. and M. College: A Memoir," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 3 (Autumn 1956), pp. 323-324; "Selections from the Record Book of Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1891-1941," (Oklahoma State University), p. 306.

⁴ Quoted from George Bowers, "Early Military Training," *The Oklahoma A. and M. College Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 1 (1930), p. 4.

Norris Gilbert once barked an improper order that resulted in his company toppling him to the ground and marching over his crumpled form. Nevertheless, a high degree of enthusiasm persisted among the cadets. An overzealous drummer once beat his instrument so hard during a parade that the head fell out of its moorings and rolled in front of the entire corps.⁵

Though behavioral objectives, as such, were not a part of the land-grant college curriculum during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the emphasis on accountability was far greater than today. College presidents personally had to defend their programs before members of the state Legislature, and they had to write detailed department-by-department reports for submission to the federal government. The absence of wars [excluding the Spanish-American fiasco], however, meant that military science had to be defended as well. Generally speaking, three reasons were circulated to justify retention of the martial arts in the curriculum prior to World War I. First, drill, plus work on the experiment station farm, was thought to impart manliness and prevent the students from demeaning manual labor. Second, Otto von Bismarck is alleged to have stated that two-thirds of all German university graduates died prematurely. His comment suggested the need for housing active minds in strong bodies in America. Field training, then, provided exercise until physical education classes made their way into class schedules. Third, many of the young people who attended Oklahoma State University came from families who had not attended an institution of higher education. Consequently, the administration and faculty devised a military demerit system to teach respect. This practice was not necessarily undemocratic, for the cadets may have received more due process under the Universal Code of Military Justice than from the autocratic deans of men and women who ruled without restriction before the breakdown of *in loco parentis*.⁶

Henry Elijah Alvord, the second president of Oklahoma State, as well as the founder of the American Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities, decided that a more dignified cadet image would attract additional students and lift the morale of those young men and women already

⁵ *The Eagle-Gazette* (Stillwater) December 13, 1894.

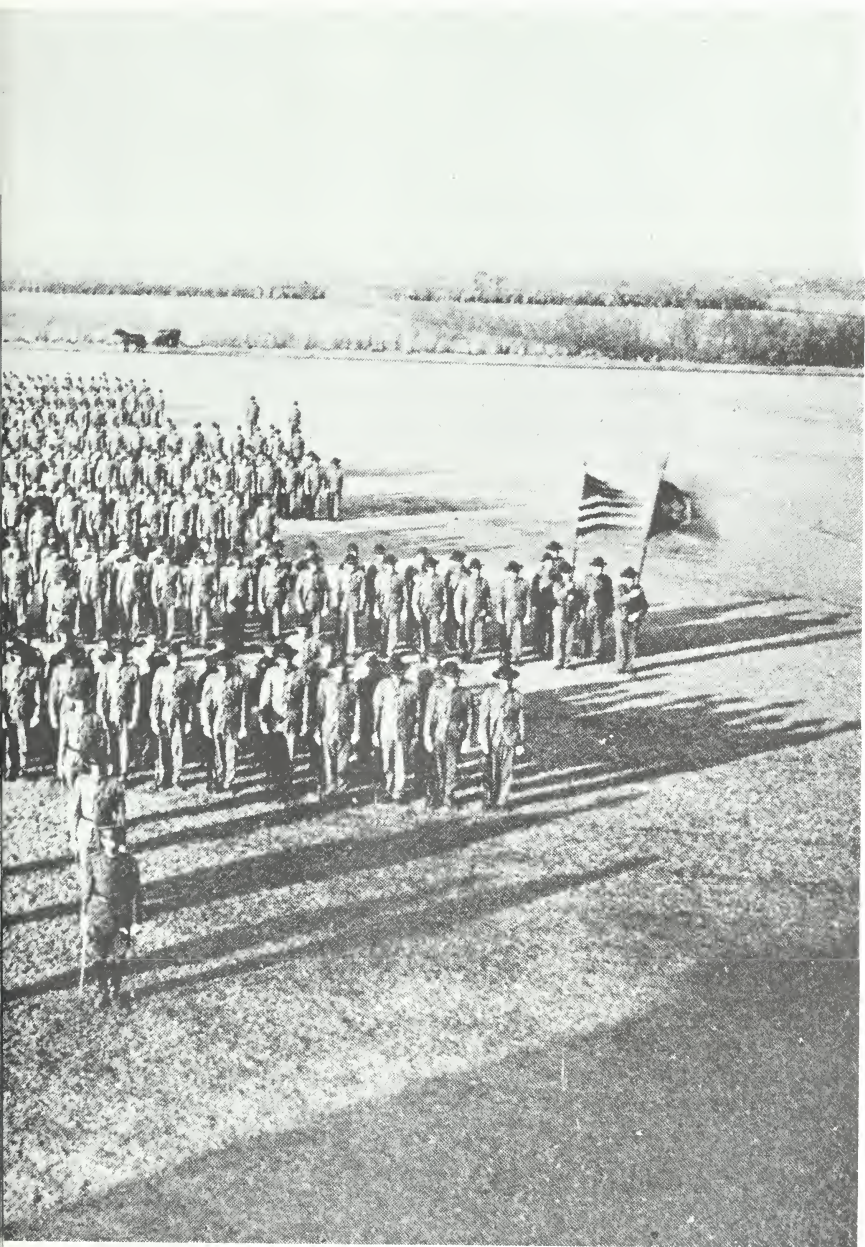
⁶ Kansas State Agricultural College, *Sixteenth Biennial Report of the Board of Regents and Faculty* (Topeka: State Printing Company, 1908), p. 82; Eldon Clemence, "A History of the Democratic Party in Oklahoma Territory" (Master of Arts Thesis, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, 1966), pp. 15-16; *The College Paper* (Stillwater), January 28, 1903. Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, *Annual Catalog* (Stillwater: n. p., 1894), p. 93; Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, "Minutes of the First Faculty, March 17, 1892-June 2, 1899," pp. 1-217.

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The Regiment in 1913 at Oklahoma State University getting ready to pass in review.

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enrolled in 1894. He, a soldier, scientist and scholar, had been the first officer detailed by the War Department to a land-grant college campus, the Massachusetts Agricultural College. Alvord codified the demerit system, eliminating many of the more cruel punishments. He also believed the "plowboys and blacksmiths" should have an eastern institution with which to identify just as students in the classical colleges of the Red River Region looked to Harvard, Yale and Princeton. Thus he made mandatory the wearing of a uniform similar to those employed at West Point. The wives of the faculty designed a sailorette costume for the girls. This policy not only instilled pride, but it also had democratic overtones as well. But unfortunately for the administration of Oklahoma State University, Alvord got into a heated debate with certain members of the Board of Regents and resigned at the end of the fall term. His short tenure, however, did leave at least one indelible mark. Henceforth, military training would be viewed in an altogether different light.⁷

In addition to Alvord's personal contribution, the times demanded change. The American Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities scrutinized military programs and offered suggestions to standardize and upgrade curricula. C. W. Dabney, the President of the University of Tennessee, spoke on behalf of a resolution aimed at persuading the War Department to expand the number of army officers detailed to college campuses. Simultaneously, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology discussed the possibility of providing specialized engineering courses for naval cadets.⁸ After the Spanish-American War, Leonard Wood pushed the creation of collegiate and civilian summer training camps throughout the nation, the most famous being Plattsburg, in upstate New York. This experiment encouraged businessmen, educators, professional people, and government officials to prepare themselves in the event that the United States became embroiled in World War I. The publicity surrounding Plattsburg put pressure on Woodrow Wilson to sign the National Defense Act of

⁷ Ronald Butchart and Philip Rulon, "Henry Elijah Alvord, 1844-1904: Soldier, Scientist, and Scholar," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LII, No. 1 (Spring, 1974), pp. 61-81.

⁸ United States Department of Agriculture, *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Convention of the American Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1890), pp. 68-69; United States Department of Agriculture, *Proceedings of Seventh Annual Convention of the American Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), p. 25; United States Department of Agriculture, *Proceedings of Twelfth Annual Convention of the American Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), pp. 64-65; Massachusetts Institute of Technology, *Annual Report of the President and Treasurer* (Boston: MIT, 1899), p. 16.

1916 and to issue an Executive Order authorizing the creation of the Student Army Training Corps on August 24, 1918.⁹

The advent of World War I interrupted the football and drinking craze so prevalent in institutions of higher education after the turn of the century, turning many faculty and students into idealistic patriots. In March, 1917, for instance, the male students at the University of Michigan voted 3,369 to 632 in favor of military training on their campus. A significant number volunteered for active duty. The United States Bureau of Education conducted a survey which revealed that enrollment in 113 liberal arts colleges decreased from 60,596 to 48,090 as a result of enlistments.¹⁰ The Oklahoma State campus responded in like fashion. The administration, along with other land-grant executives, helped Secretary of Agriculture D. F. Houston to form and implement the Lever Act of 1917.¹¹ Officials did not protest the Oklahoma Council of Defense's statewide search for alleged unpatriotic books and teachers. Students sold Liberty Bonds. And Ed Gallagher, who later gained fame as the foremost wrestling coach in the nation, captained the Home Guard. Except for the Green Corn Rebellion, and a certain element who thought that the war was a conspiracy designed to kill white males so that Anglo girls would have to marry black men, the war was popular in the Sooner State.¹²

Modern military training in Stillwater may be dated from 1914, the year when L. L. Lewis began serving as Acting President. Initially, though, the students seemed to think that the full scale maneuvers he ordered were more of an opportunity to have a good time than to develop critical military specialties. Mock wars on weekends usually ended with the losers buying the victors free beer at a tavern located near the fringe of the campus. The coeds performed Quartermaster functions, preparing hot meals, repairing

⁹ John G. Clifford, *The Citizen Soldiers* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1972), pp. 255-261.

¹⁰ Calvin B. T. Lee, *The Campus Scene, 1900-1970* (New York: David McKay, 1970), pp. 18-19.

¹¹ United States Department of Agriculture, *Proceedings of the AAACES* (Burlington, Vt.: Government Printing Office, 1918), p. 34.

¹² *The Stillwater Gazette* (Stillwater), January 11, 1918, January 26, 1918 and June 28, 1918; *The Orange and Black* (Stillwater), October 13, 1917, October 27, 1918, April 6, 1918 and April 12, 1918; "Minutes of the Oklahoma Board of Agriculture," IV (State Capitol Building, Oklahoma City), pp. 26-28; Melvin Frank Fiegel, "A History of Southwestern State College, 1903-1953" (Doctor of Education Dissertation, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater 1968), pp. 73-94; O. A. Hilton, "The Oklahoma Council of Defense and the First World War," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX, No. 1 (Spring, 1942), pp. 18-42; "Public Opinion and Civil Liberties in Wartime, 1917-1919," *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (1947), pp. 201-224.

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uniforms, sewing flags and distributing supplies. In 1916, First Lieutenant Arthur J. Davis arrived from West Point to assume command. He strengthened the military program and put the institution into step with procedures recommended by the War Department. The Board of Regents in October applied for the junior provisions of the Reserve Officers Training Corps. By January of 1917, the college stood ready to train young men for both the combat and technical services of the United States Army.¹³

In April, Davis, who had just been promoted to Captain, assembled all males on the campus. He asked the cadets either to enlist for active duty or to join the Oklahoma National Guard within a week. Approximately one hundred students and faculty took the former course. They, however, were permitted to remain until graduation. Clarence Ousley, former Editor of the Fort Worth *Record-Herald* and now the Extension Director for the Texas A. and M. College, and the Reverend Edward Henry Eckel, Secretary of the Southwest District of the Episcopal Church, spoke at commencement as well as a special ceremony for those entering active duty. The latter were sent to Fort Logan H. Roots in Arkansas. Eighteen received commissions; the others entered the army as non-commissioned officers. Concurrent with their departure, Walter Stimmons informed United States Senator Thomas Gore of Oklahoma that 400 men had volunteered for on-campus training.¹⁴

President James Cantwell notified the Board of Regents that 600 Aggies enlisted in the Armed Forces in 1917 and 1918. But both Oklahoma State University and the War Department were beginning to have second thoughts about conscripting students, because it was believed that the cadets should stay in the classroom until they received their degrees. Therefore, the university decided, as a result of a meeting of land-grant college presidents held at Fort Sheridan in Illinois, to participate in the Students Army Training Corps, a program designed to prepare men for technical rather than combat arms. Students had to possess a high school diploma and be over eighteen years of age in order to qualify. The college president and military commandant jointly were empowered to recommend which individuals should be commissioned when training ended. Male dormitories were commandeered and the Livestock Pavilion remodeled to house those who volunteered. For all practical purposes, the campus became a military installation.¹⁵

¹³ *The Redskin* (Stillwater), 1915, p. 143; *The Stillwater Gazette*, March 1, 1918; *The Orange and Black*, September 8, 1916; "Minutes of the Oklahoma Board of Agriculture," IV, pp. 59-60.

¹⁴ *The Stillwater Gazette*, April 27, 1917, May 4, 1917, May 18, 1917 and August 17, 1917.

¹⁵ "Minutes of the Oklahoma Board of Agriculture," V, pp. 214-15; *The Stillwater Gazette*, September 7, 1918.

Under Captain Michael McDonald, a retired officer who replaced Davis, the Student Army Training Corps or SATC program began in September, 1918, with 343 enrolled. The candidates were sworn in the next month. But World War I ended before the first class could graduate. Undoubtedly, many of the faculty were not unhappy to see the program terminated, for SATC personnel had not, as a whole, been interested in scholarship. Oklahoma did elect, nevertheless, to continue the Reserve Officer Training Corps or ROTC as reorganized by the National Defense Act of 1920. Here again President Woodrow Wilson had asked the assistance of the Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges in modifying the legislation enacted two years before. The revised measure divided collegiate military training into two segments. The first two years fulfilled the basic provisions of the Morrill Act. Those cadets who evidenced promise were then enlisted "in the advanced course during the last two years of college."¹⁶ Unquestionably, the new program was more strenuous than anything that had been attempted before, yet it would take another world catastrophe for military training to compare favorably with traditional academic instruction.¹⁷

World War I stimulated rather than retarded student and program growth at Stillwater. Since the institution was a developing one, the international conflict forced a more diversified curriculum. President Cantwell, always alert to new opportunities, secured, for example, about \$65,000 worth of surplus aviation equipment. He then hired his aviator son Robert to initiate instruction in gas combustion engines and in flight "training, radio work, aerial photography, and air gunnery and bombing."¹⁸ Cantwell also persuaded the Board of Regents to allocate funds for the purchase of additional machinery under the Caldwell Act, a law which enabled colleges to obtain surplus war materials at fifteen percent of the original production cost. This equipment broadened the curriculum and brought new students to the campus, particularly those interested in engineering. And before the end of the decade, engineering, education, and business had developed to the point where one no longer could refer to Oklahoma State simply as an agricultural college.¹⁹

In addition, Oklahoma State University participated in a postwar pro-

¹⁶ Eddy, *Colleges for Our Land and Time*, p. 164.

¹⁷ "Minutes of the Oklahoma Board of Agriculture," VI, pp. 106-107, 145-146, 183-184; *The Stillwater Gazette*, October 4, 1918; *The Orange and Black*, March 11, 1920.

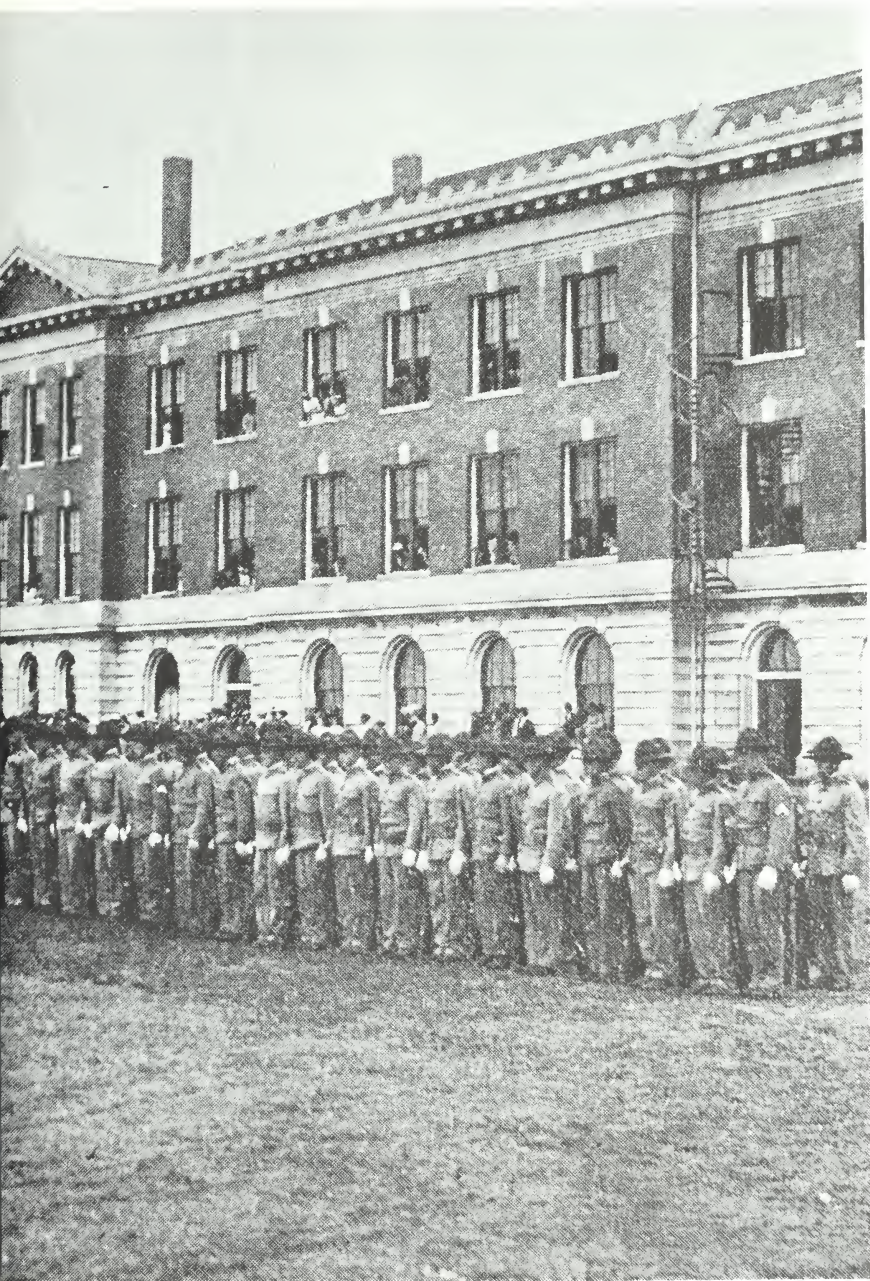
¹⁸ *The Stillwater Gazette*, September 12, 1919.

¹⁹ "Minutes of the Oklahoma Board of Agriculture," V, pp. 42-43; *Ibid.*, VII, pp. 198-199; *Ibid.*, VIII, pp. 156-157; *The Stillwater Gazette*, September 27, 1918; May 7, 1926.



The Regimental Parade at Oklahoma State University mustered for inspection.

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gram to train and retrain disabled combat veterans. On July 11, 1919, the Congress had passed legislation which provided federal funds to subsidize vocational instruction for 100,000 such individuals. About 200 enrolled in courses offered by Oklahoma State. The veterans were paid a stipend of from \$80 to \$147 per month, depending upon marital status. Henry C. Dunlavy, the Coordinator for the Fourteenth Federal District, served as liaison between the college and the government. The "vocational students," as their classmates referred to them, were excellent students in comparison with the young men enrolled in the SATC. They formed study groups to improve their grades as well as to examine their own unique situation. These men became staunch supporters of their *alma mater*.²⁰ When the institution found itself in political hot water, such as in 1921 when the Ku Klux Klan and Socialists engaged in a power struggle within the state that affected educational organizations, the veterans voluntarily went "out to the country school houses and spread the gospel of education."²¹

In 1927, Oklahoma's state university in Stillwater entered a new epoch with the employment of Henry Garland Bennett as chief executive. Bennett, the most capable of the institution's executives to that date and the man destined to have the longest presidential tenure in Oklahoma State University's history, brought with him a philosophy of public service that is almost unparalleled in American higher education. He obtained massive amounts of federal funds to combat the Great Depression in Oklahoma, and during World War II, and afterwards, he converted the campus into a military and veterans installation probably unequalled by any other college of its size in the United States. Moreover, he personally provided an example for his colleagues by giving much of his own time to national and international military affairs. He helped to charter the Food Agriculture Organization which tried to eliminate food shortages in war torn countries. The Civilian Agricultural Department of the Army and Cultural Relations Branch utilized his services as an educational consultant in Bavaria and Ethiopia. And finally, President Harry S. Truman appointed Bennett as the first head of the Technical Cooperation Administration, an organization which in part was designed to prevent the spread of communism in underdeveloped countries by sharing agricultural and scientific information.²²

²⁰ United States Department of Agriculture, *Proceedings of the AAACES* (Burlington, Vt.: Government Printing Office, 1919), pp. 74-79; "Minutes of the Oklahoma Board of Agriculture," VII, p. 267; *The Orange and Black*, September 17, 1919 and November, 1921; *The Stillwater Gazette*, December 12, 1919.

²¹ *The Stillwater Gazette*, February 25, 1921.

²² *The O'Collegian* (Stillwater), July 6, 1949, September 30, 1949 and March 30, 1950;

Dr. Bennett began a military preparedness program at Oklahoma State before the United States became involved in World War II. In August, 1939, he sent Philip S. Donnell and Professor V. W. Young to Washington to negotiate an agreement with the Civil Aeronautics Authority for the improvement of flight instruction at the college. When implemented, this program operated independently of ROTC, but graduates were eligible for commissions in the army. Males, especially those majoring in engineering, were accepted on a competitive basis provided they had finished their freshman year and could pass a rigorous physical examination. Instruction for the first 40 cadets commenced in late September. Candidates received free board and room and \$40 per month, while the university got an annual \$300 stipend per student. Later, the community, over a period of years, secured over \$2,500,000 to upgrade Searcy Field in Stillwater. The flying school and the existence of a modern airport stimulated civilian interest in the airplane, too. After World War II, Henry Bennett assisted William Enyart in obtaining a charter for the National Flying Farmers from the National Aeronautics Association.²³

In 1940, the maelstrom in Europe began to touch the Oklahoma Morrill institution. Three months before President Franklin D. Roosevelt drew the first name for the peace time draft, an editorialist for the student newspaper predicted that he and his classmates would be among those immediately called for military service. He wrote:²⁴

WAR . . . every able bodied man at Oklahoma A. and M. is threatened by it. WAR . . . every student at Oklahoma A. and M. has been taught the uselessness and ruinous results of it. WAR . . . every man has heard his mother read from the *BIBLE* those words of God's commandment, "Thou shalt not kill." WAR . . . the teeth of it are hungry for human bodies. Your body and mine brother Aggie.

The Stillwater Gazette, March 31, 1950; "Minutes of the Board of Regents for the Oklahoma A. and M. Colleges" (Oklahoma State University, Office of the Board of Regents, Student Union), June 22, 1949, p. 40; "President Returns from Abroad," *The Oklahoma A. and M. College Magazine*, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (1949), pp. 4-5; Henry Bennett to Philip Donnell, Summer, 1949, File Folder "Memorandums to President Bennett," in The OSU Collection, Oklahoma State University; Elmer Thomas to Harry Truman, June 6, 1950, OF 192-E in "The Papers of Harry S. Truman," Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.

²³ "Flying Course Progress," *The Oklahoma A. and M. College Magazine*, Vol. XI, No. 6 (1940), pp. 4, 16; "Lifetime Land-Grant Missionary," *The Oklahoma A. and M. College Magazine*, Vol. XXIII, No. 6 (1952), pp. 8-13; "Minutes of the Oklahoma Board of Agriculture," XLII, p. 154; *The Stillwater Gazette*, August 18, 1939, September 29, 1939 and June 7, 1940, January 8, 1943.

²⁴ *The O'Collegian*, May 9, 1940.



The Rifle Team in 1913 at Oklahoma State University.

President Bennett, whose three sons would all see military action in the future, understood the students' fears. Yet he attempted to persuade them that democracy was worth a supreme sacrifice. Like John Dewey in World War I, Bennett believed that force could be justified in wartime because he thought it would bring a new world order. In an address entitled "The American Way Shall Survive," he stated that as dark²⁵

and ominous as the clouds of disaster are that are spreading over the world today, I bespeak on your part, young ladies and gentlemen, an unshaken faith in the future. In the very unsettled condition of affairs lies the possibility of their reorganization in the dynamic nature of society and of men lies the necessity for the continual struggle to perpetuate a chosen way of

²⁵ Quoted from *The Stillwater Gazette*, September 27, 1940.

life as well as the desirability of timely modifications in it; in the long view of history lies evidence of the trend of human progress toward the enhancement of the lives of all; and in the essential unity of our nation for an invincible military and naval preparedness we find grounds for our faith that the American way of life shall not pass away. Let us, pray for a resurgence of that ardent idealism of an earlier day which led men to do great things because they believed in themselves and in their destiny.

Meanwhile, the Oklahoma American Legion and Civil Liberties League started another investigation to ferret out "unpatriotic" educators as they had in World War I. They looked, however, for Communists, not Fascists. A Stillwater man said: "There are not two sides to the question of communism against democracy. There is but one side, and that is the United States, and the preservation of this form of government."²⁶

On December 29, 1941, President Roosevelt sent telegrams to the nation's colleges and universities, asking them to support the war effort. Dr. Bennett conveyed this information to the faculty, staff, and students. He reminded them that a university:²⁷

is not an isolated institution but an integral part of the social order—and that its greatest contribution to society—is not in the creation of change as a direct objective but rather in its peculiar capacity to understand change and interpret it.

One hundred thirteen members of the faculty and staff enlisted in the armed services in the next five years. Almost all of those who remained had some connection with the nation's defense. For instance, H. Clay Potts supervised the collection of scrap metal; H. G. Theusen, the co-inventor of the parking meter, generated time study reports to increase factory production; and others compiled statistics for government agencies or conducted research, such as striving to find a rubber synthetic. Bennett provided overall leadership. He especially took an active interest in increasing agricultural production in the state and nation.²⁸

In addition to ROTC, Oklahoma State conducted twelve training programs for the armed forces during World War II. Most, but not all, were related to the field of engineering. Some 40,000 men and women received certificates for participation in other ventures such as:²⁹

²⁶ *The O'Collegian*, February 4, 1941.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, June 12, 1942.

²⁸ *The Stillwater Gazette*, January 16, 1942, January 23, 1942, May 22, 1942, July 24, 1942, September 18, 1942, October 2, 1942, October 16, 1942, November 6, 1942, November 27, 1942 and October 19, 1945.

²⁹ Henry Bennett, "Contribution of the Oklahoma A. and M. College to the State and Nation in World War II," in *The OSU Collection*, pp. 1-6.

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VEND	Vocational Education for National Defense	3,655
ESMWT	Engineering, Science, Management War Training	1,268
STARS	Specialized Training and Reassignment School	5,751
CAAWTS	Civil Aeronautics Administration, Civilian Pilot Training	300
CAACPT	Army Air Force College Training Program	3,980
ASTP	Army Specialized Training Program	1,450
AAFTD	Army Air Forces Training Detachment	2,585
ASTRP	Army Specialized Reserve Program	454
WAVES	Naval Training School	10,783
EERM	Naval Radar Training School	6,702
SOL	School of Oriental Languages	402
		37,503

Furthermore, the military took over the School of Firemanship and subsidized a laboratory for testing diseased plants. And A. E. Darlow left Stillwater near the end of the war to help create military study centers in Europe designed to assist soldiers in making the transition back to civilian life. The first of these was located in Shrivenham, England. It offered minicourses in agriculture, commerce, education, engineering, the fine arts, journalism, science, and the liberal arts.³⁰

George Whiteside, an Annapolis graduate, completed arrangements to bring the first naval operation to the campus. He and Commander H. W. Olds implemented plans devised by Oklahoma State University and the Stillwater Chamber of Commerce with military and governmental officials in Washington. The air force component of the army brought instructors from Fort Logan, Colorado, to offer flight training. The initial experiment proved so successful that Major General Jacob E. Fickel sent additional soldiers for pre-flight instruction. Several dormitories had to be emptied and barracks from Wilburton and Broken Arrow, Oklahoma, were moved in to accommodate the troops. So many military personnel were housed at the college that some people in Payne County felt that the institution might be closed to civilians. In 1944, however, Colonel Howard M. Yost began to

³⁰ Howard Floyd, "Campus Fire Station in War Time," *The Oklahoma A. and M. College Magazine*, Vol. XVI, No. 7 (1944), p. 8; "Minutes of the Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education," (State Capitol Building, Oklahoma City), June 15, 1945, pp. 312-314; *The O'Collegian*, June 11, 1943; *The Stillwater Gazette*, June 29, 1945, July 20, 1945 and September 21, 1945.

phase out the army programs, moving many soldiers to Camp Howze in Texas. Meanwhile, the options for the ROTC increased. Infantry training was initiated shortly after the passage of the National Defense Act of 1920 and in 1937 permission was received to offer commissions to engineers. Signal Corp and aviation programs were added during the war. The two new options were open to male students pursuing degrees in transportation, aircraft maintenance, engineering, statistical control, meteorology, supply communications, or armaments. The government provided free uniforms and textbooks and paid students twenty dollars per month.³¹

Without a doubt, the most popular and most publicized military program was the Women Appointed for Volunteer Emergency Service, usually called the WAVES. Oklahoma State became one of the first educational institutions to offer training in this area, and it eventually had the largest enrollment in the nation. The WAVES initially were housed in three dormitories, and later seven sorority and fraternity houses had to be leased to the government as well, for as many as 1,200 young ladies were stationed on the campus at the same time. Lieutenant Helen Sweat commanded. Most of the girls were schooled in clerical duties so that able bodied males could be freed for combat. The group was a diverse one and included an olympic swimming champion, a John Powers model, a golf professional, a Latin American botanist, a New York nightclub hostess, a stage ingenue, a torch singer, and a concert pianist. The ladies represented every state in the nation.

Local, state and national newspapers published human interest articles on the "sailorettes." The editor of the *Daily O'Collegian* even invited the girls to think of themselves as "alumni" of the institution. The first WAVE arrived on the campus in August, 1941; the last left in January, 1945. Male soldiers expended many jokes about them but the women put in long hours. A typical day started at six in the morning and ended with lights out at ten in the evening. Monday through Friday eight hours were spent in the classroom. Both on and off the campus the girls never lacked for attention. The Bluejackets of the radar school usually provided a welcoming dance. And school children in and around Stillwater got the names of the ladies and mailed them greeting cards on holidays, such as Valentine's Day. The WAVES, in their white blouses and blue skirts, added much femininity and charm to a campus that heretofore had been largely male.³²

³¹ "Minutes of the Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education," June 18, 1942, p. 74; "Minutes of the Oklahoma Board of Agriculture," XLVII, p. 182; Howard M. Yost, "Military Training Expands at Oklahoma A. and M.," *The Oklahoma A. and M. College Magazine*, Vol. XV, No. 3 (1943), pp. 8-10, 14.

³² *The Stillwater Gazette*, November 6, 1942 and March 17, 1944; *The O'Collegian*, November 20, 1942, November 28, 1942, January 6, 1943, January 13, 1943 and February 10, 1944; "Minutes of the Oklahoma Board of Agriculture," XLVII, p. 182.

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On April 12, 1945, the day Franklin Roosevelt died, United States Senator Elmer Thomas announced that the facilities vacated by the army would be utilized by the navy to develop a school of oriental languages. Captain John H. Morrill, a war hero who published his experiences in a best selling novel entitled *South to Corregidor*, assumed charge of this operation. James A. McAlpine agreed to serve as the civilian academic director. Dr. Bennett selected him for this task because he had been reared in central Japan by missionary parents. Washington officials charged Oklahoma State with offering instruction in the Japanese language, while the University of Colorado, in a companion venture, would teach Russian and Chinese. The navy expected that about 150 instructors would conduct classes for some 750 to 1,000 college graduates who ranked in the upper ten percent of their classes.

The oriental language program was the first to come to Stillwater which had the possibility of leaving some long term academic benefits. The other projects, rumors suggest, had sometimes been carelessly handled. Personnel records often were lost, attendance in class proved irregular and high instructional standards did not always prevail because the most highly qualified instructors were away from the campus or engrossed in research. On the other hand, the experience of simply spending time on a college campus inspired some, such as Robert B. Kamm, later President of Oklahoma State University, to consider formal undergraduate or graduate work once military obligations had been completed. The school of oriental languages was to be one of real rigor. The sponsors envisioned fourteen months of intensive work directed by second and third generation Japanese-Americans skilled in language instruction. Unfortunately for OSU, the project ended in summer of 1946. The surrender of Japan seemed to negate the value of continuing the endeavor.³³

Also in 1946, President Bennett released statistics to the Board of Regents which summarized the college's role in World War II. He calculated that 6,067 former students had fought from Pearl Harbor to Berlin, from Iceland to Hiroshima. Of these, 4,464 had served in the army, 1,162 in the navy, 278 in the marines, 48 in the coast guard, 18 in Red Cross service, 66 in the women's auxiliary corps and 19 had been nurses or dieticians. Four thousand, five hundred ten held commissions while 2,411 had earned decorations. These ranged from the Purple Heart to the Distinguished Flying Cross. Patrick Hurley, George P. Hays and Joseph Clark won international

³³ Interview, Robert Kamm, June 10, 1972; "Minutes of the Board of Regents for the Oklahoma A. and M. Colleges," August 3, 1945, n.p.; *The O'Collegian*, April 11, 1945 and June 21, 1946; *The Stillwater Gazette*, May 4, 1945, May 18, 1945, June 8, 1945 and June 22, 1945.

recognition for top echelon leadership. The military programs and the large number of regular students who served in the armed forces led Bennett on more than one occasion to claim that American education had been the key resource in ending the second great global conflict of the century.³⁴

World War II spawned new academic programs and increased veteran enrollments, too. The Oklahoma Institute of Technology is a prime example of curricular and organizational change. This project was initiated after fighting in Europe had ceased. In 1946, the United States Army, as a result of an international reparations agreement, brought the Klockner-Humboldt-Deutz Laboratory from Oberrusel, Germany to Alexandria, Virginia for storage in the Camden Quartermaster Depot. The government valued the equipment at \$2,500,000. The Department of Commerce selected a retired physicist from the National Bureau of Standards named H. C. Dickinson to head a committee to find a permanent location for the laboratory. Approximately 110 universities and foundations submitted grant proposals. Henry Bennett and Philip Donnell composed a strong rationale for placing the equipment in Stillwater. The writers stated that the central geographic location would protect the hardware from possible enemy attack and that the laboratory would help convert the Sooner State from an agricultural to an industrial base. Moreover, it would provide a testing site for engineering just as the experiment stations created by the Hatch Act of 1887 had for the school of agriculture. Dickinson bought the idea and rendered a decision in favor of this proposal.

President Bennett, before the equipment arrived, asked the Board of Regents to change the name of the division of engineering to the Oklahoma Institute of Technology. He also suggested that the Klockner-Humboldt-Deutz Laboratory be retitled the Oklahoma Power and Propulsion Laboratory and that it be made a sub-division of the institute. The trustees approved both of these requests and voted the expenditure of \$10,000 to build temporary quarters for the 110,000 pounds of steel until it could be made operational. OSU then employed the services of W. S. Burns of England to oversee the operation. He, in turn, scoured America to find academicians who had the background to assemble the equipment. Burns envisioned a staff of twelve specialists and fifty technicians. Donnell and Burns had become friends while the former man was on active duty in England. Together, these two

³⁴ Bennett, "Contribution of the Oklahoma A. and M. College to the State and Nation in World War II," pp. 1-6; "Minutes of the Board of Regents for the Oklahoma A. and M. Colleges," July 6, 1946, n.p.; *The Stillwater Gazette*, August 18, 1944 and September 14, 1945.

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conspired to make Oklahoma the deisel fuel research center in the United States.³⁵

When the seventy-two crates containing the Klockner-Humboldt-Deutz Laboratory were unpacked in Stillwater, it became apparent that a good bargain had not been struck. The Russians, unknown to the American Army, had removed many of the precision pieces and taken them back to the Soviet Union. What remained had only a value of \$200,000. Dean Donnell convinced Bennett to continue with the project, for he felt that Oklahoma had to industrialize to stop population losses. The Board of Regents searched for the funds needed to manufacture the missing parts but failed because state appropriations for higher education in the late 1940s fell lower than at any time since the middle of the Great Depression. The college signed contracts with the navy for defense research, hoping to at least get the Power and Propulsion Laboratory underway. The problems, however, could not be surmounted and PPL was closed in 1955, causing the faculty, staff, and students identified with the project many personal hardships. On the other hand, Dean M. R. Lohman softened the blow by obtaining funds from the Atomic Energy Commission to bring the first nuclear reactor in the Southwest to Stillwater. Oklahoma State University purchased the hardware from the Aerojet-General Corporation the same year the Power and Propulsion Laboratory shut down. Professor John B. West offered the beginning courses in this field: "Introduction to Nuclear Engineering" and "Introduction to Nuclear Technology."³⁶

While the college had only limited success in launching the Oklahoma Institute of Technology, the institution did achieve national recognition for the educational opportunities provided disabled veterans and those who wished to study under the benefits granted under the auspices of the GI Bill of Rights passed in 1944. Dr. Bennett told the faculty shortly after Italy surrendered to the Allies that it was time to begin thinking about postwar educational programs. In September, 1943, he reported that the university had some 7,000 students enrolled and that 14,000 more should be anticipated over the next decade. The president appointed a committee to make recommendations in regard to new offerings. Here Donnell's military background

³⁵ Richard Caldwell, "German Diesel Lab Here!" *The Oklahoma A. and M. College Magazine*, Vol. XIX, No. 8 (1948), pp. 16-17; "Engine Research at A. and M.," *The Oklahoma A. and M. College Magazine*, Vol. XXI, No. 1 (1949), pp. 34-35; "Minutes of the Board of Regents for the Oklahoma A. and M. Colleges," January 24, 1949, n.p.; *Ibid.*, March 13, 1948, p. 23.

³⁶ Philip Donnell to Henry Bennett, February 4, 1949, File Folder "Memorandums to President Bennett," in The OSU Collection; "Scientific Tools for Nuclear Technology," *The Oklahoma A. and M. College Magazine*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 7 (1957), p. 5.

and his long years of experience as an engineer worked to the advantage of Oklahoma State. He provided much of the leadership necessary to build the largest on-campus veterans program in the United States.³⁷

On December 1, 1944, Dr. Bennett charged Vance Posey with opening an office to assist students who wanted to secure educational payments under Public Laws 16 and 346. Posey did not have to wait for clients, finding that the institution already had some 500 veterans attending classes, many of whom were married. Housing reached a critical stage in a short period of time. Donnell moved veterans with dependents into the quarters being vacated by departing military personnel. But there never seemed to be enough space. Subsequently, Dr. Bennett made application to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to secure money to float bonds for married student housing, and by the summer of 1947 the college had a veteran's center valued at more than \$4,000,000. Beyond these facilities, the institution purchased 178 trailers, 410 apartments, and 693 hutments. Most of this equipment had been obtained from military bases in Kansas, Texas, Louisiana and Oklahoma. Still, however, there were 700 requests that could not be filled.³⁸

The complex became known as Veterans Village. Ethel Prosser and Val Connell, the managers, reported a population of 5,000 in 1949. Leonard West and his wife were the initial occupants. Mildred Lucille Bronker, born on February 3, 1946, had the distinction of being the first baby to be born. The Village contained its own laundry facilities, post office, grocery store, fire station, recreation center, nursery and maintenance shop. The main streets were named after the war theaters in which the engineers who built them had served. The roads in the west section were named after islands in the Pacific; the ones in the east section had French names. The smaller streets were christened in memory of towns and counties located throughout the state of Oklahoma. The presence of so many veterans necessitated a drastic change in the regulations that governed student conduct. Bennett, there-

³⁷ Philip Donnell to Henry Bennett, July 1, 1947 in File Folder "Veterans," in The OSU Collection; "Minutes of the Board of Regents for the Oklahoma A. and M. Colleges," December 8, 1945; pp. 19-20; *Ibid.*, October 6, 1945; n.p.; *The Stillwater Gazette*, September 22, 1944, January 5, 1946, February 15, 1946, March 15, 1946, September 6, 1945, November 23, 1945, April 27, 1945, January 4, 1946, and November 1, 1946.

³⁸ "Minutes of the Board of Regents for the Oklahoma A. and M. Colleges," March 9, 1946, p. 23; *Ibid.*, June 8, 1948, p. 27; *Ibid.*, June 22, 1949, p. 39; *Ibid.*, February 8, 1947, p. 24; *Ibid.*, May 3, 1951, p. 35; *Ibid.*, July 5, 1951, p. 67; "Minutes of the Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education," October 28, 1946, pp. 416-417; *Ibid.*, January 27, 1947, pp. 438-439; *Ibid.*, June 27, 1949, p. 629; *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), September 15, 1950; *The Stillwater News Press* (Stillwater) March 18, 1955 and January 23, 1949; *The O'Collegian*, May 7, 1946 and January 25, 1949; *The Stillwater Gazette*, June 4, 1948 and March 2, 1951.



The First Battalion standing in formation at Oklahoma State University in 1913.

fore, permitted them to form their own government. The inhabitants met on the evening of March 26, 1946, in the Prairie Playhouse and elected John Kelly of El Reno as Mayor and Clifford Byrd of Sallisaw as vice-mayor. These individuals supervised the affairs of a city that was larger than many of the rural settlements that dot the green Oklahoma countryside.³⁹

Henry Bennett took great pride in the development of the Veteran's Village, and he spoke about the project in the community and over the radio as often as he could. Federal and state officials and candidates running for political office recognized the public's human interest in the complex, and they spoke frequently in the Mooney Recreation Hall—a building named after an immigrant janitor who had helped young wives with plumbing, lighting and heating problems. The Village incorporated as a municipality and residents procured the right to vote in state and federal elections. Professors Foster Dowell, Guy Donnell and John H. Hall believed the project so unique that they created a course entitled "Problems of Municipal Administration" in order that political science majors on the campus could see social ideas tested in a real social situation. The veterans also pub-

³⁹ "Veterans Village Comes of Age," *The Oklahoma A. and M. College Magazine*, Vol. XX, No. 1 (1948), pp. 4-5; *The Stillwater Gazette*, March 8, 1946 and March 22, 1946; *The O'Collegian*, January 9, 1946 and March 29, 1946.

lished their own newspaper, *The Village Times*. It helped newcomers to get acquainted, highlighted the achievements of the veterans in the classroom and on the athletic field, carried low cost food recipes, and reported the names of the hundreds of new babies that were born. Different people probably liked different features of *The Village Times*. However, there must not have been many who did not enjoy reading about the practical jokes that Anita Roberts, the dispensary nurse, and Clyde West, a maintenance man, played on each other. Their antics provided chuckles for young married who needed to retain their sense of humor in order to tolerate the academic, financial and social stresses of the unusual environment in which they lived.⁴⁰

In December, 1943, the same month that Vance Posey opened an office at Oklahoma State University to assist students receiving financial aid under the GI Bill of Rights, the Board of Regents discussed with Dr. Bennett the possibility of doing something for disabled veterans. The trustees had sponsored such a program after World War I, and now they heard that the Glennan General Hospital in Okmulgee, Oklahoma would be closed and the facility sold. This prospect raised the question as to whether or not the site might be acquired. Okmulgee, the Old Creek Nation's capital, was located south of Tulsa and fifty miles west of Muskogee. It lay in the center of the State's industrial belt. One year later, Roy R. Tomkins explored the provisions of "Public Law 16." This bill stated that handicapped veterans could be paid as much as \$95 per month for on-the-job or classroom vocational training. Bennett and Donnell went to the nation's capital to seek permission to convert the Hospital into a facility for technical training. In June, 1948, the Regents submitted a bid of \$1,300,000 to be discounted at one hundred percent for future services rendered. The following January the board received title to the buildings and grounds, making Glennan Oklahoma State's second campus.

Okmulgee Tech opened under the supervision of L. K. Covelle, a man personally selected by Dr. Bennett. The institution emphasized terminal technical training, but it also possessed a separate division that functioned as a multipurpose community college. Enrollment quickly jumped from 500 to 1,500. One of the most unusual characteristics of this organization is that it operated without state funds. Student tuition of \$250, which in almost every case was paid by the Federal government, supported the various divisions, including agriculture, food trades, industrial trades and related subjects. The only major exception is that funds were appropriated to purchase printing equipment and to guarantee self-liquidating bonds for

⁴⁰ Compiled from *The Village Times* (Stillwater) September 16, 1946-July 22, 1949.

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the construction of dormitories. Less than ten percent of those enrolled had any previous college training and only fifty percent had graduated from high school. Most offerings could be completed in three sixteen-week terms. One survey revealed that sixty percent of the students who attended from 1948 to 1951 were veterans, of which two percent had a physical impairment. In 1955, legislators from the Okmulgee region tried to separate the satellite from the main campus. The effort failed, but it did result in creating a more healthy financial base for the technical school.⁴¹

On January 18, 1952, the Board of Regents elected Oliver Siralvo Willham as President.⁴² He continued to implement the on-campus military programs in a positive manner. But coming events, such as the questioning of the Korean Conflict and the eventual unpopularity of the Viet Nam War, the McCarthy purge and the Civil Rights crisis, projected another new era aborning. The martial arts, though they had helped the college to institutionalize a mission, trained leadership for the armed forces, spurred defense research and assisted veterans to make the transition back to civilian life, increasingly became subject to question. Dr. Willham, a nationally-renowned agriculturalist, avoided immediate polarization at Oklahoma State University by reminding his constituents that an educational institution can not wholly sever itself from its roots. In his Inaugural Address he said: "We are privileged to reap where others have sown. . . ." At the same time, he employed the university's resources to expand the land-grant college movement overseas, particularly attempting to lessen international tensions by raising agricultural production in underdeveloped countries. By keeping one foot implanted in the past and one raised boldly to step into the future, he preserved a stable atmosphere in Stillwater until a more modern image could be molded for the campus cadet. And today, as yesterday, whether required or voluntary participation, the American college and university remains the civilian backbone for the Nation's defense.⁴³

⁴¹ "Minutes of the Board of Regents for the Oklahoma A. and M. Colleges," March 9, 1946, p. 23; *Ibid.*, June 8, 1948, p. 27; *Ibid.*, June 22, 1949, p. 39; *Ibid.*, May 3, 1951, p. 35; *Ibid.*, July 5, 1951, p. 67; "Minutes of the Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education," October 28, 1946, pp. 416-417; *Ibid.*, January 27, 1947, pp. 438-439; *Ibid.*, June 27, 1949, p. 629; *The Oklahoman*, September 15, 1950.

⁴² "Minutes of the Board of Regents for the Oklahoma A. and M. Colleges, January 17, 1952, p. 23.

⁴³ "ROTC in Historic Thatcher Hall," *Outreach*, Vol. XV, No. 8 (November, 1974), p. 10; Theodore Wyckoff, "Required ROTC: A New Look at an Old Institution," *The Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 3 (March, 1965), pp. 147-152.

☆ NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

NATIVE AMERICAN ART FROM THE COLLECTIONS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society Museum will present a special showing of Native American art from its holdings Sunday, March 4 through Sunday, June 3, 1979. The exhibit may be viewed in the West Gallery, third floor, Wiley Post-Historical Building, Oklahoma City. Special gallery hours for the exhibit will be 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. Monday through Saturday and 2:00 to 4:00 p.m. on Sundays.

A number of paintings will include work from the late nineteenth century through the 1950s, with such media as pencil on ledger paper; organic paints on deerskin; pencil, ink, and crayon on muslin; and other more conventional media on paper, linen, and canvas. Noted Oklahoma Indian artists whose works will be represented include Auchiah, Big Bow, Buffalo Meat, Buzzard, Hokeah, Geinnet, Jake, Maschal, Mopope, Naiche, Silverhorn, Silver Moon, Spybuck, Stone, Sweezy, Jerome, Lee TsaToke, Monroe TsaToke, Wagoshe, and Wolf Face. In addition to the paintings, examples of beadwork, leatherwork, hand-carved pipes, and other forms of decorative Native American art will be exhibited.

In conjunction with the exhibit, the Education Division will schedule showings of two films on Native American art. "Dawn Riders: American Indian Artists" is an intimate look at many Indian artists; "American Indian Exposition" is an acclaimed film produced by native Oklahoman Shawnee Britton.



CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR AMERICAN STUDIES. WESTWARD MOVEMENTS FIFTEENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE NOVEMBER 1-3, 1979, VANCOUVER, B.C.

The fifteenth annual conference, in the tradition of previous meetings, will continue to offer an interdisciplinary program centered on a single theme. In the past, speakers from the disciplines of history, literature, economics, fine arts and architecture, communications, geography, sociology, political science, and women's studies have discussed such themes as The 1930s, Business and Politics in North America, Women in North America, and Antebelum American Reconsidered. This year's theme, Westward Movements, has been chosen in conjunction with the conference setting to encourage an examination of the diverse aspects of the western environment.



NEW BOARD MEMBER ELECTED



Dr. Donald E. Green

Dr. Donald E. Green, Professor of History at Central State University and a well-known Western writer, has been elected to the board of directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Dr. Green edited *Rural Oklahoma*, published by the Oklahoma Historical Society, and has written numerous magazine articles.



NATIVE AMERICAN ART SHOW

The Museum and Historic Sites Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society is currently presenting a special showing of Native American art from its holdings through Monday, September 3, 1979.

The exhibit may be viewed in the West Gallery, third floor, of the Historical Building at 2100 North Lincoln, Oklahoma, City. Special gallery hours for the exhibit will be 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., Monday through Saturday and 2:00 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. on Sunday.

A number of paintings will include a number of works from the late nineteenth century through the 1960s in a variety of media. In addition to the paintings, examples of beadwork, leatherwork, hand-carved pipes, and other forms of decorative Native American art also is exhibited. Among the artists featured in the show include Auchiah, Mopope, TsaToke, Hokeah, Willard Stone, Woody Bigbow, Dennis Belindo, and Callie Jane Maschal.

A sixteen-page brochure, with nineteen color reproductions, is available by mail order for \$3.00 through the Museums and Historic Sites Department, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105.

☆ BOOK REVIEWS

PREHISTORY OF UTAH AND THE EASTERN GREAT BASIN.

By Jesse D. Jennings (Salt Lake: University of Utah *Anthropological Papers* number 98, 1978. Pp. xii, 263. Illustrations. Maps. Bibliography. Appendices. \$8.00).

This long awaited monograph by a giant of Great Basin archaeology fulfills all expectations the reader could have about a readable, non-technical synthesis of large area archaeology. Professor Jennings has been "on the scene" for the last thirty years of Great Basin archaeology, and his personal involvement with most of the major projects in the area provide him with the first-hand familiarity necessary to bring authority and insight to this work. The text is structured in a cultural history format using the traditional Lithic, Archaic, Formative, Classic, Post-Classic scheme; this does not prevent him, however, from exploring the processual and ecological topics of contemporary archaeology. Each chapter is broadly conceived around a general topic such as: "Natural Setting" (Chapter 2), "The Desert Archaic" (Chapter 4), "The Fremont" (Chapter 6), "Utah's Prehistoric Heritage" (Chapter 8).

Useful to all American prehistorians will be the presentation of the earliest American culture stage. The Lithic stage is recognized as having two traditions, and in a straightforward manner, Jennings presents the arguments for and against the "preprojectile" stage without resorting to personalities. Using the hybrid term "Desert Archaic," Jennings draws upon his long experiences with the concept and presents what may be the best statement to date on this concept. He dexterously weaves a tapestry of historic perspective, cultural diversity, crucial inferences and excellent scholarship to present the reader with a vivid picture of the lifeway in the arid west for a span of several millennea.

The dual expression of formative cultures in Utah is dealt with in separate chapters on the Anasazi and Fremont. This separation here is a useful heuristic and demonstrative device, for it points out both similarities and differences in historical, cultural, and ecological terms. Given the vast data base, wide interest, and many opinions on southwestern cultures, Jennings does an able job of distilling the major cultural outlines of the architects of the arid west.

The final three chapters deal with the historic Amerindian peoples, Utah's prehistoric heritage, and a summary of life in the arid west for the past 10,000 years. The ethnographic sketch is just that and appears superfluous, though it does serve to underscore historic expressions of the pre-European life-way of Great Basin and Southeastern Utah. Jennings admits

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that most of the findings are "more pure than they are applied science," (p. 251) but also points out that all the data "underscore once again the overriding necessity for a lifeway that is in harmony with nature—a situation where man's behaviour is keyed to the combined yet finite resources of the biosphere and landscape" (p. 251).

Technically the publication is superb with easy to read type and excellent illustrations, including photographs of a wide assortment of artifacts and excavations which bring the text alive as only well planned graphics can. This is a useful book for professional, student, and layman alike.

Guy R. Muto
University of Oklahoma



NAVAJO BLESSINGWAY SINGER: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FRANK MITCHELL, 1881-1967. Edited by Charlotte J. Frisbie and David P. McAllester (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1978. Pp. x, 446. Photographs. Notes. Genealogical Data. Chronology. Documents. Bibliography. Index. \$8.50).

In northeastern Arizona, a small stream meanders into a canyon at a place the Navajos call Tsaille. The little stream winds its way through what is known today as the Canyon del Muerto (the Canyon of the Dead One) and passes through magnificent sandstone walls until it reaches the mouth of the canyon at Chinle. For hundreds of years, Navajo Indians have revered this beautiful country and sang their prayers to the spiritual world which rules *Dinetah*, the Land of the People. This was true of a Blessingway singer known to Navajos as *Ólta'i Tsoh* (School Boy) and known to Anglos as Frank Mitchell. He was famous among his people for his contributions to the *Diné* (the People) as a ceremonial singer, judge, and council leader. It is fortunate indeed that non-Navajos now will know of this man, his philosophies, and his works through this fine book and the excellent scholarship of Charlotte J. Frisbie and David P. McAllester. Without a doubt, *Navajo Blessingway Singer* is the most accurate and sensitive volume published about Navajos in a number of years.

Mitchell speaks for himself as he traces his life as a child, a student in a B.I.A. school, railroad employee, tribal council member, and judge. Yet, the heart of the story lies in his abilities as a Blessingway singer. The Blessingway originated with the Navajo spiritual world, the Holy People and is the central core of all Navajo ceremonies. It is performed by highly trained individuals who know the many songs associated with this sacred cere-

mony. Mitchell was one of the most renowned singers on the reservation, for he knew and understood the traditional teachings of the Blessingway. He performed the Blessingway for young men before they went off to war; he performed the ceremony for women who were about to have a child; and he performed for individuals who wanted themselves and their personal property (i.e. jewelry) blessed in traditional fashion. Mitchell was keenly aware of his place and the place of his people in the natural world and strove to maintain a balance between the physical and spiritual worlds as perceived by Navajos.

The autobiography is a work which spans eighteen years of research by the editors who formed a close personal relationship with Mitchell and his family. The book begins with an explanation of this relationship, the methods of research, the editing procedures (of tapes and documents), and an analysis of the work completed. Notes accompany each chapter which provides documentation, explanation, and interpretation. In addition, the editors provide useful genealogical and census data, documents, and an extensive bibliography. The book successfully portrays the thought and culture of the Navajos through the life of Frank Mitchell, and it depicts significant interactions and feelings between Navajos and Anglos. The "Navajoway" is seen through the eyes of a traditional Navajo as he describes in a colorful dialect his views of the changing world about him. Both the editors and the publisher are congratulated on the production of this important contribution to the history and culture of Navajo people.

Clifford Earl Trafzer
Washington State University



WEST OF HELL'S FRINGE: CRIME, CRIMINALS, AND THE
FEDERAL PEACE OFFICER IN OKLAHOMA TERRITORY,
1889-1907. By Glenn Shirley (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press,
1978. Pp. xv, 495. Illustrations. Maps. Index. Notes. \$14.95).

Hell's Fringe, according to Glenn Shirley, was the name early U. S. deputy marshals gave to the "imaginary border between the Twin Territories" of Oklahoma and the Indian Nations. He also says that the activity of bandit gangs "gave Oklahoma a name synonymous with the word *outlaw*." For many people, especially the history "buff" and readers of pulp magazines, Western History is first a study of "outlaws," gunfighters and gold-seekers, with Indian Wars and pioneer settlement as additional stories. What other area of American Studies offers more legends, folk-lore, and mis-informa-

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tion passed on as "the true facts" than early day Oklahoma outlaws? Glenn Shirley has done as much as any historian in correcting the misconceptions of early day law and disorder. *West of Hell's Fringe* is much more than an attempt to correct the myths about various details of "outlaw days," although that alone makes it an incredible resource document for the Western History buff. Like Shirley's *Six-Gun and Silver Star* (1955) in format and theme, *West of Hell's Fringe* places the contest between law and outlaw in a solid context of the general turmoil of the land openings between 1889 and 1901, the "railroad wars," and the political changes, thus giving a more substantial view than the previous studies.

Shirley says in the Preface that the twenty years of research since his *Six-Gun and Silver Star* (now out of print) called for a new work, and, indeed, this is. Chapters that are similar are always fleshed out with much more detail and a wider vision, and there are additional chapters. The first two chapters describing the Opening of the Unassigned Lands in 1889, the struggles of settlement, and the formation of government, make the book a welcome addition to any library's Oklahoma collection. The additional chapters on later land openings, especially the Cherokee Outlet, place the book even higher as a reference book. The explanation of the economic and political pressures on the office of the U. S. Marshal of Oklahoma Territory (particularly E. D. Nix) is excellent in both detail and clarity.

It takes a great deal of dedication for an author to admit mistakes in previous works, and this is not the first time Shirley has corrected himself in print. Undoubtedly he will continue to keep his files updated with new information, and we can look forward to clarifications in the future. A few minor details in the current offering will need to be connected, such as the common mistake in referring to Abner Norman as a "Santa Fe surveyor." He worked on a government survey crew in 1872, not the Santa Fe survey of 1886 (according to John Womack in his *Norman: An Early History*). Also, the old red brick with the name of badman "Red Buck" scratched on it has been replaced in the Arapaho cemetery by a marble marker not much larger than a brick. A more serious question comes from the description of the search for the Daltons after the robbery of the Santa Fe train at Wharton (May 9, 1891). Shirley utilizes the memoirs of Fred Dodge, *Undercover For Wells Fargo*, in relating two stories of Indians bringing in dead "outlaws" to claim the rewards for the Daltons. Dodge claims all six of the dead men "needed killing" and stopped a movement to bring the Indians to trial. Shirley does not question Dodge on either dates or details. According to the *Oklahoma State Capitol*, June 6, 1891, "Three men, one C. E. Greenway, the others unknown, were killed . . . (June 2) . . . on Leo Whistler's ranch" on the Sac and Fox lands. One of the three was described as "a mere boy,"

and the conclusion of the article is that the “dead men are supposed to be Oklahoma boomers and innocent parties” and that Greenway “held a final receipt from the Guthrie land office for a claim in Oklahoma.” They were looking over lands that were to be opened for settlement on September 22, 1891.

These are small questions for a work on the scale of *West of Hell's Fringe*, recommended for all with the patience to check “the facts” in detail.

Frank Parman
Norman, Oklahoma



HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON: THE HISTORIAN AND THE MAN. By John Francis Bannon (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1978. Pp. xix, 296. Illustrations. Maps. Chronology. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$8.95 paper; \$15.00 cloth).

There are a few historians around whom legends have grown until their distinct outline has been lost. We begin hearing tales about them as undergraduates; in graduate school we add to our collection of myths; and as professional historians we accumulate yet more stories as we listen to the endless swirl of talk at conventions. Eventually men such as Herbert Eugene Bolton (along with Walter Prescott Webb, E. E. Dale, and Frederick Jackson Turner) no longer seem human. We conclude that somehow they were born of heroic stature and that their contemporaries immediately recognized their genius. For such men there was no dabbling in academic quarrels, no quibbling reviews of their books, no day-to-day humdrum. As a third-generation Boltonian weaned on such legends, I read Bannon's biography with relish—and a growing sense of proportion about the historical profession.

Born in 1870 in Wisconsin, Bolton knew rural hardship as a youth, struggled to complete high school, graduated from Milwaukee State Normal, intermittently taught public school, and did graduate work at Wisconsin under Turner. In 1899 he completed his doctorate at Pennsylvania under John Bach McMaster, writing on the topic “The Free Negro in the South Before the Civil War”; afterward he taught two years at Milwaukee State Normal before moving in 1901 to the University of Texas to teach medieval and European history. In Austin he began carving a niche for himself in the field of the Spanish Southwest—trips to Mexico unearthed hundreds of previously unknown documents which eventually led to pub-

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lication of *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico*.

In 1909 he moved to Stanford University, then two years later to the University of California at Berkeley where shrewd politicking brought a full professorship. At Berkeley many books, some written, some edited, flowed from his pen; he chaired the Department of History for two decades; he directed the Bancroft Library and built it into a great archive; he taught history to thousands; and he escorted a hundred Ph.D.s and three times that many M.A.s through the graduate maze—in addition to serving as president of the American Historical Association and on many boards and commissions.

John Francis Bannon has aptly subtitled this book “The Historian *and the Man*.” Here we learn of Bolton’s painful quarrels with his colleagues as he sought to make Berkeley a center for regional historical studies and as he contended with their jealousies; we observe his absent-minded treatment of his family; we are astonished to discover that *The Spanish Borderlands* was so poorly written that Constance Lindsay Skinner had to be employed as a ghost for it; we find that Bolton was a cantankerous author capable of sitting on galleys, failing to meet deadlines, and rewriting in page proof until he was sued by one publisher; we see him agonizing when the presidency of the University of Texas was offered to him in 1924; and we sympathize with him in his efforts to raise money for his many projects and publications. In short, Bannon has reached beyond the legend and the hero worship to show us an intensely—albeit talented—human.

Historians tend to trace their intellectual geneology as intensely as any individual climbing his family tree. Inasmuch as Bolton produced many “descendants,” this book probably will get a warm reception—and deservedly so. Based on solid research, interestingly written, and handsomely printed, the work should be required reading for those just entering the profession, as well as for many already in it.

Odie B. Faulk
Memphis State University



WILL ROGERS' DAILY TELEGRAMS. Volume I The Coolidge Years: 1926–1929. Edited by James M. Smallwood (Stillwater, Oklahoma: Oklahoma State University Press, 1978. Pp. xviii, 453. Photographs. Notes. Index. \$14.95).

Almost anyone who is aware of American history during the 1920s and 1930s knows of the importance of Will Rogers as a humorist. Most also

know that his Daily Telegrams, syndicated ultimately in approximately 600 newspapers, represented his major claim to public attention and importance.

This is the first of four planned volumes reprinting all of the telegrams. This volume begins with the initial efforts, written while Rogers was touring Europe, and ends with the conclusion of the Coolidge administration. Since these are the first, it is probably true, as Will Rogers, Jr., says in the Preface, that they are not his best. He was still learning and establishing the style that would make his telegrams so famous. There are included here, however, enough examples of his more memorable comments to make this publication useful.

Politics is the major subject that attracted his attention, whether it was making fun of the President, the Congress or some particular politician. The 1928 conventions and the subsequent election are, of course, important. Will's love of and interest in aviation is a recurring subject, with Lindbergh an ideal hero. Will's interest in national defense, concern about disarmament, and semi-isolationist views already are apparent in these early years.

Another aspect of Will's life and career that recurs in this volume is his basic humanitarianism, his willingness to aid those in need, whether the cause was an earthquake in Nicaragua or a flood on the Mississippi River. His identification with the plight of the farmer during the Coolidge years and his life-long attachment to his native Oklahoma and his Indian ancestry also surface in many of this telegrams.

As was true with most of Will's efforts, whether in performance or in writing, there is a topical nature to his humor that causes much of it to lose its impact with the passage of time. The demands upon Will to keep producing something new also caused him to repeat himself or sometimes try too hard to be funny. Nonetheless, any reader will find something of value in this collection though it is not recommended for reading through at one sitting.

The editing is well done and the format convenient though the end-notes, designed to identify people or explain events not so commonly known, are somewhat overdone. As usual with any work of Will Rogers, this publication will, and should, have an audience.

Ed Cadenhead
University of Tulsa



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NORMAN: AN EARLY HISTORY, 1820-1900. By John Womack (Norman: Bicentennial Committee of the Norman Chamber of Commerce and the Norman-Cleveland County Historical Society, 1976. Pp. xii, 172. Illustrations. Maps. Photographs. Index. Bibliography).

In celebration of the bicentennial, John Womack, a resident of Noble, Oklahoma, has produced a brief history of Norman's early years. The book is limited to the early life of the town because, as Womack notes, "Norman . . . has existed for most of a century without having the events of its earliest beginnings recorded in one volume." Included in the narrative are accounts of Stephen Long's trek in 1820, the first land surveys, and the building of the railroads through the Indian Territory in the 1870s. The work ends a decade after the area had been opened to whites—unfortunately, for the reader finds himself asking for more.

The book is primarily a collection of facts pertaining to the establishment and maturation of the town. A legion of names, places, and events are combined to form the basis of Norman's roots. For the antiquarian, Womack meticulously has listed each of the town's firsts. Municipal leaders, popular saloons, famous and infamous citizens, and early businesses—virtually all aspects of the town's life and activity—receive attention, and are accompanied by vintage photographs. Fortunately Womack has taken the pains to closely identify and locate the various subjects, allowing the modern reader to grasp the physical growth of Norman. The only problem is that many important and interesting people are given only a sentence or two. Of course, Womack suffered the malady of all writers—he was writing one volume, not twenty.

The calvacade of factual material presented in the book evinces the extensive research which Womack used in compiling his manuscript. Each section of the work demonstrates the author's dedication to his subject. Although many scholars will criticize Womack for including only explanatory and anecdotal footnotes, the majority of his readers—the present and former residents of central Oklahoma—will enjoy uncluttered pages.

There are many methods of writing local history. One of the most popular and useful is to set the relationship of the area in context with the larger scenario. However, Womack has chosen to make his work a detailed and colorful "regional" account. This he has done well. *Norman: An Early History, 1820-1900* stands ready to take its place alongside Roy Stewart and Pen Wood's *Born Grown* and Robert Cunningham's histories of Stillwater and Perry.

Michael Everman
Oklahoma State University



INDIAN-WHITE RELATIONS: A PERSISTENT PARADOX. By Jane F. Smith and Robert M. Kvasnicka, eds. (Washington, D. C.: Howard University Press, 1976. \$15.00).

The reader may question the use of the word "paradox" in reference to Indian-White Relations, for this volume describes in paper after paper the relationship as a case of conquest of the American continent by the European colonists and their descendents, whether couched in terms of warfare, missionary zeal, or the machinations of an expanding bureaucracy. D'Arcy McNickle, one of the Conference participants, summed the relationship in this manner:

. . . before the white man came the Indians had the buffalo and the buffalo gave them everything they needed—food, shelter, clothing. The white man came and took the buffalo away. But he gave them the government and now they want to hold onto the government. That is their buffalo.

Despite the misleading sub-title, this volume is valuable for two basic reasons. First, it contains a large amount of information about the records pertaining to Indian-White relations. Second, it offers a number of insights into the critical period of change in Indian policy during the Nixon Administration.

Since 1967, the National Archives has held a series of conferences for the exchange of ideas and information between archivists and scholars. The conferences were designed to inform the researchers about the collections of material housed in the National Archives system and to provide an inter-change among the interested parties about improving the means of making the records available for research purposes.

This particular meeting occurred June 15-16, 1972, at the Bureau of Indian Affairs Building in Washington, D. C. six months before that building was invaded by the Indian people of the Trail of Broken Treaties. As a participant in the Conference, I recall the tension between the Indian spokesmen and the white scholars. Vine Deloria, Jr. was particularly critical of the Conference organizer, Dr. Francis Prucha, in an article in the *Indian Historian* just prior to the meeting and chose not to attend.

Of particular interest was Oliver W. Holmes' discussion of the Bureau of Indian Affairs practice of holding records far longer than most agencies in the Federal government. One now wonders if the removal of the records in the Trail of Broken Treaties invasion has now distorted the historical perspective of the Twentieth Century Indian-White relations. Holmes did make the point that: "Oklahoma, through its State Historical Society, its

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university, and the Oklahoma University Press, continued during the past generation to carry the torch, and I still feel Oklahoma has a sophistication about Indian history that other states need to consider."

This volume offers Oklahoma historians added tools to carry out their research purposes. Not only the Washington records are discussed, but also an excellent discussion of collections of materials in Oklahoma was made by Miss Angie Debo. In addition, Dr. Gregory Crampton offered an overview of the Duke Projects in American Indian Oral History, which are collected at state universities in Arizona, Florida, Illinois, New Mexico, Oklahoma, South Dakota and Utah.

Invaluable insights into contemporary Indian policy and the need for reform were outlined in the papers and discussions of Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., Louis R. Bruce, D'Arcy McNickle, Richard LaCourse, and Ernie Stephens. The outcome of the proposed reforms and intense pressure of the series of engagements from Washington to Wounded Knee, known collectively as "Mr. Nixon's Indian Wars," led to the Indian Policy Review Commission that is currently completing its efforts to alter again the Indian-White relations.

Howard Meredith
Oklahoma Historical Society



FRONTIER AMERICA 1800-1840: A COMPARATIVE DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE FRONTIER PROCESS. By James E. Davis (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1977. 220. Illustrations. Maps. Tables. Bibliography. Index. Appendices. \$15.50).

Three generations of American historians have heeded the charge made by Frederick Jackson Turner that they must examine our frontier experience to understand fully our past. Theories and generalizations have flowed from their pens explaining why Americans moved westwardly, who settled in the West, and the make-up of frontier society. Professor James E. Davis has contributed to this literature in his work, *Frontier America 1800-1840*.

Professor Davis clearly states in his introductory chapter that the purpose of his research was, "to identify and analysis some of the individuals, households and groups that were lured or shoved into the West between 1800-1840." The author divided the era into four ten-year periods and then compared household size, racial composition, occupations and the median age of the northern frontier to the southern frontier; he then compared the two frontier societies with the more densely populated East. The pri-

mary source for the demographic study came from census records of selected frontier counties and eastern settled areas. The author analyzed the data using a computer program.

The results paint an interesting demographic picture of the American frontier. Pioneers lived in smaller sized households than citizens dwelling in the East, but the northern frontier households were larger than those in the southern frontier. Thus, the author concluded, westward migration was more individualistic in the South than in the North. The median age of the frontier settler was lower than that in the East, and the southern pioneer was younger than his northern counterpart. Yet, the ratio of male to female on the frontier was surprisingly less in the south than in the north, possibly due to the comparatively smaller southern population. As one would expect, few Blacks moved west during this pre-Civil War period, and those who did came as slaves. Farming dominated the various occupations throughout the frontier society, followed by milling, journalism, trapping and logging which were often supplementary sources of income for the husbandmen. These characteristics, combined with the knowledge that the frontier was so thinly populated, lead one to see a rather decentralized, unstratified society.

Professor Davis includes in his work numerous illustrations, informative tables, helpful maps and an extensive bibliography. Six appendices list the states and counties examined in the study, and the author kindly includes a thorough index. Unfortunately, the turgid writing style detracts from the effort. The author states in his preface that the work began as a doctoral dissertation, and it reads like one. Also, one must question how much new information the book contains. Quantification has done little more than lend minimal support to already accepted generalizations. For these reasons, I recommend the work only for the professional historian.

Glen Roberson
Seminole Junior College



THE AMERICAN WEST IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A SHORT HISTORY OF AN URBAN OASIS. By Gerald D. Nash (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973 (1st printing), 1978 (reprint). Pp. x, 311. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliographical note. Index. \$5.95 paper).

The American West in the twentieth century has received little specific treatment in the plethora of books presently being printed. Thus, Nash's book provides a valuable service in filling a void in the literature on the

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history of the West. The book compliments such standard works on the frontier West as Billington's *Westward Expansion*, taking up where that book ended and carrying the western saga to the present. Nash attempts to give a simple introduction to what he describes as one of the most significant events in twentieth century America—the growth and maturation of the trans-Mississippi West. Synthesizing a voluminous amount of primary and secondary information, Nash shows that the history of the twentieth century West is an integral part of the American experience. The author admits that he has made broad generalizations, but he tries to compensate by selecting pertinent examples to support his statements.

Nash focuses on five sub-regions of the West: California, the Pacific Northwest, the Rocky Mountain states, the Southwest, and the Plains. California receives a majority of the attention, but Nash justifies this imbalance by pointing out the state's significant impact on national as well as regional trends during the development of twentieth century America. Factors that shaped the western regions were a combination of cultural traits, institutions, and environment. The Anglo, Indian, Spanish-American, Oriental and Mexican all combined to give the twentieth century West its unique flavor. These varied ethnic groups brought with them their traditional institutions, some evolving into new amalgamated forms while others remained traditional. The geography of the West was as varied as the people of the region. The terrain, climate, and topography changed like a chameleon as travellers crossed the West, and each factor had a distinct influence on the sub-regions and people.

Nash writes how most of the West's population was located in cities near water sources. Some cities were San Francisco, Salt Lake City, and El Paso. Therefore, the twentieth century West was not a rural frontier society but a complex urban society—an urban oasis. According to Nash the twentieth century West developed in two stages. From 1898 to 1941 the region was not unlike a colony with the East functioning as its mother country. This colonial dependency continued until World War II at which time the symbiotic relationship began to change. After the war the West cast off its fetters and became an independent pacesetter for the rest of the nation. The social mores, customs, economy, politics, and culture were imitated by the rest of the United States and occasionally the world. The West became America's barometer. A major theme underlying this evolutionary development was one of rapid growth, especially that of western cities.

The format in which Nash presents his picture of the developing West is much like textbook style. He divides the narrative into sections which deal with such topics as the people, economy, industry, politics, literature, music, art, and science of the various sub-regions during different time

periods. Because of the brevity of the book, each topic receives only a cursory view, and broad conclusions were made to interpret the material presented. A number of photographs are included which enhance the attractiveness of the book; however, several typographical errors detract from the scholastic intent of the author. Nash's style is fluid and lucid, which adds to the value of the work, as does the bibliographical note and analytical index. The scholar and layman will find this study important because it fills a void in the literature on the twentieth century American West.

Timothy A. Zwink
Oklahoma State University



THE POTAWATOMIS: KEEPERS OF THE FIRE. By R. David Edmunds (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978, pp. xii, 275. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. Notes. \$19.95).

Within and around Shawnee, Oklahoma, live approximately two thousand members of the "Citizens Band" Potawatomis. Known formerly and variously as the Wabash or "Mission Band," these are descendants of landless Potawatomis living in Kansas who accepted the Oklahoma reservation in 1861. While this reserve was allotted under the Dawes Act there remains a small reservation in northeastern Kansas near Mayetta occupied by the "Prairie Band" Potawatomis. Both the Oklahoma and Kansas bands were originally removed from the Great Lakes area in the states of Illinois, Michigan, and Minnesota. Some Potawatomi refugees from the government-imposed removal still reside in Canada.

Professor Edmunds has assumed the considerable task of detailing the tribal history of the widely scattered Potawatomis, known as "Keepers of the Fire," from the encroachment of the Anglo-American frontier through the removal period of the 1830s and 40s. The high standard of scholarship exhibited by the authors of the *Civilization of the American Indian Series* is manifested anew in this 145th volume. Over fifty pages of endnotes and a bibliography which lists manuscript materials in seventeen archives attests to the author's determination to exhaust the research possibilities in regard to his subject.

After compiling this mass of knowledge, the researcher's next problem was to perceive some patterns by which to explain the course of Potawatomi tribal history beyond a simple recital of a morass of fact. Professor Edmunds may be congratulated upon successfully surmounting this obstacle. Foremost among the determinants of tribal existence and cultural change after white contact, the author identifies the close Potawatomi-French relation-

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ship dating from the seventeenth century. The tribal was reckoned the most loyal of France's Indian allies with interesting and significant ramifications for the Potawatomis. A large portion of the book's narrative is given over to a lucid examination of the economic, diplomatic and military interrelationships of the tribe and the French, British and American traders, trappers, soldiers, missionaries and governments. The events covered include the colonial wars, Pontiac's and Tecumseh's confederations, and the removal policies and practices of the new American nation. Edmunds pays special attention to the activities of Potawatomi leaders and their influence on events which swirled the tribe along a path of constant challenge and change.

Perhaps the most significant contribution that *The Potawatomis* makes is found in the author's discussion of the increasingly important role of mixed-bloods in tribal affairs. Edmunds maintains that these "frontier opportunists," the product of mixing two and often three cultures, dominated the tribal councils during the crucial removal period, acting as mediators between tribe and government "often protecting Potawatomi interests, but also amassing personal fortunes in their negotiations with the federal government." Mixed-bloods have not been adequately treated in many tribal histories and Edmunds has made a genuine contribution by emphasizing this often overlooked aspect of adapting Indian cultures.

Terry P. Wilson
University of California, Berkeley



☆ OKLAHOMA BOOKS

By Vickie Sullivan and Mac R. Harris

AMERICAN FRONTIER CULTURE. By Ray Allen Billington (College Station: Texas A & M University Press. 1978. \$5.00).

AMERICAN INDIAN FICTION. By Charles R. Larson (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1978. \$9.50).

ARCHITECTURE IN OKLAHOMA: LANDMARK AND VERNACULAR. By Arn Henderson, Frank Parman, and Dortha Henderson (Norman, Oklahoma: Points Riders Press, P.O. Box 2731, Norman 73070. Pp. 215, 234 photographs. \$11.95).

THE END OF INDIAN KANSAS, A STUDY OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION, 1854-1871. By H. Craig Miner and William E. Unrau (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas. 1978. \$12.50).

FREDERIC REMINGTON AND THE WEST. By Ben Merchant Vorpahl (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1978. \$15.95).

FROM THE HIGH PLAINS. By John Fischer. (New York: Harper & Row. 1978. \$10.00).

GLASS MOUNTAIN COUNTRY. By Major County Historical Society (Privately published by author. 1978. \$32.00. Available from the Fairview Chamber of Commerce, Fairview, OK 73737).

HISTORICAL McCURTAIN COUNTY. By McCurtain County Historical Society (Privately published by author. 1978. Pp. 32. \$1.00. Available from Chambers of Commerce in Idabel and Broken Bow, Oklahoma).

THE HISTORY OF THE FIRST UNITED METHODIST CHURCH OF CLINTON, OKLAHOMA 1903-1978. By Dee Ann Ray (Privately published by author. 1978. Pp. ix, 18. No price given. Contact Dee Ann Ray, Director, Western Plains Library System, P.O. Box 627, Clinton, Oklahoma 73601).

HISTORY OF THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT. By Frederick Merk (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1978. Pp. vii, 660. \$20.00).

HISTORY OF TILLMAN COUNTY VOLUME II. By Tillman County Historical Society (Privately published by author. 1978. \$35. Available from Tillman County Historical Society, Box 833, Frederick, Oklahoma 73542).

INDIAN CULTURES OF OKLAHOMA. By Lu Celia Wise (Oklahoma City: State Department of Education. 1978. Pp. xi, 176. No price given).

LAND OF SPOTTED EAGLE. By Luther Standing Bear (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1978. \$12.95).

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THE NATIVE AMERICAN HERITAGE, A SURVEY OF NORTH AMERICAN INDIAN ART. By Evan M. Maurer (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1978. \$20.00).

NATIVE AMERICAN TESTIMONY: AN ANTHOLOGY OF INDIAN & WHITE RELATIONS: first encounter to dispossession. Edited by Peter Nabokov (Scranton, PA: Thomas Y. Crowell. 1978. \$8.95).

THE 1978 STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF OKLAHOMA. By Center for Economic and Management Research, College of Business Administration, University of Oklahoma (Published by author. 1978. Pp. 495. \$10.00. Available from the Center at 307 W. Brooks, Norman, Oklahoma 73019).

PLAYING MY PART. By Earle E. Emerson (Oklahoma City: Quintella Printing Company. 1978. Pp. i, 154. \$8.50).

SUCH AS US, SOUTHERN VOICES OF THE THIRTIES. Edited by Tom Terrill and Jerrold Hirsch (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1978. \$14.95).

200 YEARS AGO IN THE RED RIVER VALLEY. By Len Green (Privately published by author. 1978. \$1.50. Available from the McCurtain County Historical Society, P.O. Box 922, Idabel, Oklahoma 74745).

W. R. LEIGH: THE DEFINITE ILLUSTRATED BIOGRAPHY. By June DuBois (Kansas City, MO: Lowell Press. 1978. \$40.00).

☆ FOR THE RECORD

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

October 26, 1978

President W. D. Finney called to order the quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society at 1:30 p.m., October 26, 1978, in the Board Room of the Historical Building. Executive Director Jack Wettengel called the roll and those present were Mrs. George L. Bowman; Q. B. Boydston; O. B. Campbell; Jack T. Conn; Joe W. Curtis; Harry L. Deupree, M.D.; Mrs. Mark R. Everett; Dr. Odie B. Faulk; W. D. Finney; Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer; Senator Denzil D. Garrison; Dr. A. M. Gibson; C. Forest Himes; Mrs. L. E. Hodge, Jr.; Earl Boyd Pierce; Jordan B. Reaves; Genevieve Seger; Britton D. Tabor; and H. Merle Woods. Those who had asked to be excused were Bob Foresman, E. Moses Frye, Nolen J. Fuqua, John E. Kirkpatrick, and Mrs. Charles R. Nesbit. Dr. Gibson and Dr. Fischer moved that the absent members be excused; Mr. Bowman seconded and the motion carried unanimously. Also present was Robert L. Damm, director of Project AWARE.

Mr. Finney accepted a copy of a history of western Oklahoma, *Prairie Fire*, published by the Western Oklahoma Historical Society and sent to the Oklahoma Historical Society by O. Ronald Savage, Jr. Mrs. Hodge's book, *The Cheyenne-Arapaho Cattle Ranch*, was one of the sources used in the narrative of *Prairie Fire*.

A letter of thanks from Mrs. Lloyd Carlisle, Vice President, Laverne Community Museum, for the certificate presented to them by the Society was read to the Board by President Finney. Mr. Finney also announced that Dr. Gibson's latest book, *The Oklahoma Story*, is being published by the University of Oklahoma Press and that Dr. Faulk will soon have a new book published. The Historic Preservation Division's "Preservation and Maintenance of Brick Streets" has been mentioned in a recent issue of "Preservation News," the National Trust for Historic Preservation newsletter.

Mr. Wettengel reported that forty-four persons had applied for membership during the quarter and asked that they be approved for membership and that gifts received in the Library and Museum be accepted. Colonel Himes so moved, seconded by Dr. Fischer, and the motion carried unanimously.

Dr. Gibson moved that the directors approve the minutes of the July 27, 1978 meeting; Dr. Fischer seconded and the motion carried unanimously.

Dr. Faulk moved that the minutes of the October 18, 1978 meeting of

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the Executive Committee be approved; Dr. Fischer seconded and the motion carried unanimously.

Mrs. Bowman presented the quarterly report of the Cash Revolving Fund 200. Senator Garrison moved that the report be approved, Miss Seger and Dr. Fischer seconded and the motion carried unanimously.

Mr. Wettengel reported on an inquiry he had made to determine the possibility of hiring a Historical Society building maintenance crew, rather than using a crew supplied by the State Board of Public Affairs. Mr. Wettengel had been instructed at the July Board meeting to make the inquiry. Mr. Robert Lester, Chairman of the State Board of Public Affairs, pointed out that his agency is designated by Oklahoma statutes to supervise all Capitol Complex building maintenance. Mr. Lester said a change of the statute would be required to provide separate custodial service for the Oklahoma Historical Society. An increase in the Society's appropriation and number of employees would also be required, as well as a corresponding decrease in the Board of Affairs appropriation and number of employees. Mr. Lester said he would be opposed to this because he believed it would be detrimental to the Capitol Complex custodial service. He offered to do all his budget and staff would allow to correct any deficiencies brought to his attention. Mr. Wettengel said efforts are being made to improve the building storage areas and that the Monday opening time in the Library has been changed from 8:00 a.m. to 10:00 a.m., providing time for Library and custodial personnel to service the Library.

On a motion at the July 27 meeting of the Board, an election was to be held at the October 26 meeting to fill the position vacated by H. Milt Phillips, who retired and was elected Board Member Emeritus at the January 26, 1978 meeting. Nominees were Colonel Martin A. Hagerstrand, Tahlequah, and Dr. Donald E. Green, Edmond, both of whom had been nominated prior to the April 27, 1978 Board meeting.

Following is the record of the roll call vote: For Dr. Green, eleven votes (Bowman, Conn, Deupree, Everett, Faulk, Finney, Fischer, Gibson, Hodge, Reaves, and Seger); for Colonel Hagerstrand, eight votes (Boydston, Campbell, Curtis, Garrison, Himes, Pierce, Tabor, and Woods). Dr. Green having received eleven votes to eight for Colonel Hagerstrand, Dr. Green was declared the new Board member.

Mrs. Everett presented the report of the Library Committee. She referred briefly to the motion passed at the July 27 Board meeting to hire Library personnel on a temporary basis only until a review of personnel requirements and job descriptions is completed. Mrs. Everett said the State Merit Board had been tremendously helpful in providing information about librarian positions within the State Merit System.

On the recommendation of the Library Committee, Dr. Gibson moved that the request from the Phoenix Art Museum for a six months loan of the H. B. Molhausen sketch, *Opuntia Divisii/Lu Cum Cusi Nits*, be honored and that it be noted in the exhibit that the sketch is the property of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Dr. Fischer seconded the motion and it passed unanimously.

Mrs. Everett then gave the Black Heritage Committee report. At the October 24 meeting of the executive committee of this committee, it was agreed to request the Board of Directors to approve the expenditure of \$200 to bring an exhibit from the Smithsonian Institute for display during Black Heritage Week in February. Mrs. Bowman moved that the request be approved; Miss Seger seconded and the motion carried unanimously. It was noted that Mrs. Zella J. Patterson of the Black Heritage Committee would publish a book in the spring of 1979 entitled, *The History of Langston University*.

Senator Garrison reported that the Indian Archives Division was visited by Kent Carter of the Federal Records Center, Fort Worth, Texas. This was the annual inspection to verify that the archival material is being cared for in accordance with guidelines agreed upon in 1977. A rating will be forthcoming. Senator Garrison said that an additional microfilm reader is needed for Archives patrons.

Dr. Deupree advised that a combined meeting was held with the Historic Sites and Museum committees, as some of the directors are members of both committees. He told the Board that since the resignation of Museum Director R. W. Jones, C. E. Metcalf has assumed the responsibility of directing both divisions until a successor is chosen. Dr. Deupree said that the Historic Sites Division is understaffed with only Mr. Metcalf and Ms. Patricia Lester handling the direction and continuous supervision of nineteen Society owned sites around the state.

Mr. Boydstun reported that a subcommittee, chaired by Dr. Fischer, of the Honey Springs Commission has been researching various sites of historic interest within the battlefield boundaries; that condemnation suits have not yet been filed on certain sites within the battlefield area; that settlement is nearing on a site condemned previously; that work has been completed on an access road into the park; and that blacktopping has been promised from the county commissioners of McIntosh and Muskogee counties and the State Highway Department.

Mr. Woods said that the Newspaper/Microfilm Division continues to be short staffed, thus delaying the microfilming of some forty years' collection of state newspapers, some of which are gradually deteriorating. He said that four microfilm readers are available to patrons in the division but

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

the number of genealogists using the facilities is increasing. He also called attention to complaints of lack of heat in the basement microfilm section of the division.

Dr. Fischer reported that two staff members left the Museum Division during the quarter: Mr. Jones resigned and Roy Pope, Exhibits Technician, retired. Mr. Jones is presently director of the Forty-fifth Infantry Division Museum. Donald Reeves and Mrs. Ann Covalt have been assisting Mr. Metcalf with Museum Division operations. Revision of the organization of the Museum and Historic Sites divisions will be studied after the receipt of the Project AWARE report.

Dr. Fischer presented the recommendation of the Museum Committee that a contract for \$6,000 be let immediately for the restoration of the 7' x 10' painting, "Cavalcade." A restoration expert from Fort Worth has examined the painting and has advised that the painting should be sent to Fort Worth for restoration. The money requested will include the restoration as well as insurance and shipping charge. Dr. Gibson placed the recommendation in the form of a motion; seconded by Mr. Reaves and passed unanimously.

Dr. Fischer announced that the Burkhart Estate case had been settled and that the case would probably be finalized in two or three months. The Museum Committee will determine at their next meeting the plan they will follow in working with the collections which are to become the property of the Oklahoma Historical Society as provided by the will of Lillie M. Burkhart.

The Publications Committee report was given by Dr. Faulk who said that the Publications Division was also short staffed since the resignation of Dr. Kenny Franks during the quarter. He said that Associate Editor Martha L. Mobley will work with Dr. Fischer and Dr. Gibson in the editing of the Fall, 1979 issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, which will be dedicated to Will Rogers on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of his birth. Dr. Deupree recommended that one of the articles should be a biography of Will Rogers and that an overprint of 500 copies should be made of the issue. He anticipated that the issue would become a collector's item.

Dr. Faulk reported that the Publications Committee had recommended that Mr. Wettengel negotiate with the University of Oklahoma Press for the reprinting of The Oklahoma Series on a royalty sharing basis.

The committee requested that Mr. Wettengel post and advertise the position of Director of Publications and that files of all applicants be passed on to the Publications Committee who will present their recommendations to the Executive Committee. They in turn will recommend a selection for

approval to the full Board as provided in Article VI, Section 4, of the constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mr. Campbell gave the report of the Education Committee for Mr. Foresman, who had been seriously injured in an automobile accident. Mr. Campbell said that Mr. Foresman is improving. Copies of the Education Division's new publication, *The Oklahoma Reader*, for elementary school children were distributed.

President Finney referred to intensive research by Mr. Boydston of the Society's constitution and the Oklahoma statutes as they pertain to the Oklahoma Historical Society. He asked Mr. Boydston to present a resolution which he had drafted as the result of his research. Mr. Boydston said the resolution had been studied by the Executive Committee and that the Executive Committee had recommended that the resolution be presented to the Board. He said primarily the resolution asks the Governor and the Legislature to act into law three principal requests:

1. To authorize and provide for the Oklahoma Historical Society to build, operate and maintain a historical museum and appropriate \$100,000 for the planning and plans for such a building;
2. To authorize and empower the Society to invest any funds it may receive other than appropriations; and
3. To transfer the Fort Gibson Military Park from the Tourism and Recreation Department to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mr. Boydston moved that the resolution with the three petitions be adopted; Mrs. Bowman seconded and the motion passed unanimously. Dr. Gibson commended Mr. Boydston for his efforts and for his eloquence in presenting the resolution. Mr. Campbell also expressed his congratulations.

Mr. Boydston asked that it be further resolved that the Executive Director deliver copies of the resolution to the Governor and the Legislature.

Mr. Conn asked to be excused from the remainder of the meeting because of another appointment.

Dr. Fischer presented for the Board's consideration a request from the Fidelity Bank N.A. for the loan of one of the Baum Building cupolas. These were preserved at the time of the Baum Building demolition; one is standing on the front lawn of the Historical Building, another is mounted in the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce courtyard and a third is stored, disassembled, at the Will Rogers World Airport warehouse. It was noted that the Fidelity Bank had been located in the Baum Building from the 1920s until 1957 and the display of the cupola at the Fidelity Bank Plaza was considered to be very fitting. Dr. Fischer moved that the loan be allowed and that the cupola be transferred to the Fidelity Bank N.A.,

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with a clause in the loan agreement stating that all restoration costs would be borne by the bank and that the cupola would revert to the Oklahoma Historical Society if at any time it would not be properly displayed and used as a historical exhibit. Mrs. Everett seconded the motion and it passed unanimously.

Dr. Deupree noted that Mr. Shirk had gotten a group together to finance the removal of the cupolas from the Baum Building and that he had kept one on his property. Dr. Deupree said that it was now on his driveway. Mr. Reaves commented that Miss Lucyl Shirk had expressed a desire to present to the Historical Society a number of items of historical interest which Mr. Shirk had collected. Mr. Finney asked that any Board member who had suggestions for the distribution of the items should contact a member of the Executive Committee prior to the November 22 meeting of the committee.

Mr. Finney then presented Robert L. Damm, director of the self-study Project AWARE, who distributed a portion of the report to be published later in the year. He read some of his recommendations for the future development of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Meeting adjourned at approximately 6:00 p.m.

W. D. Finney
President

Jack Wettengel
Executive Director

GIFT LIST

The Oklahoma Historical Society wishes to acknowledge the following people who donated gifts during the third quarter of 1978:

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* All members in Oklahoma unless otherwise designated

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The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are \$5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is \$100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is \$6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine \$1.50 unless otherwise stipulated by the Historical Society office. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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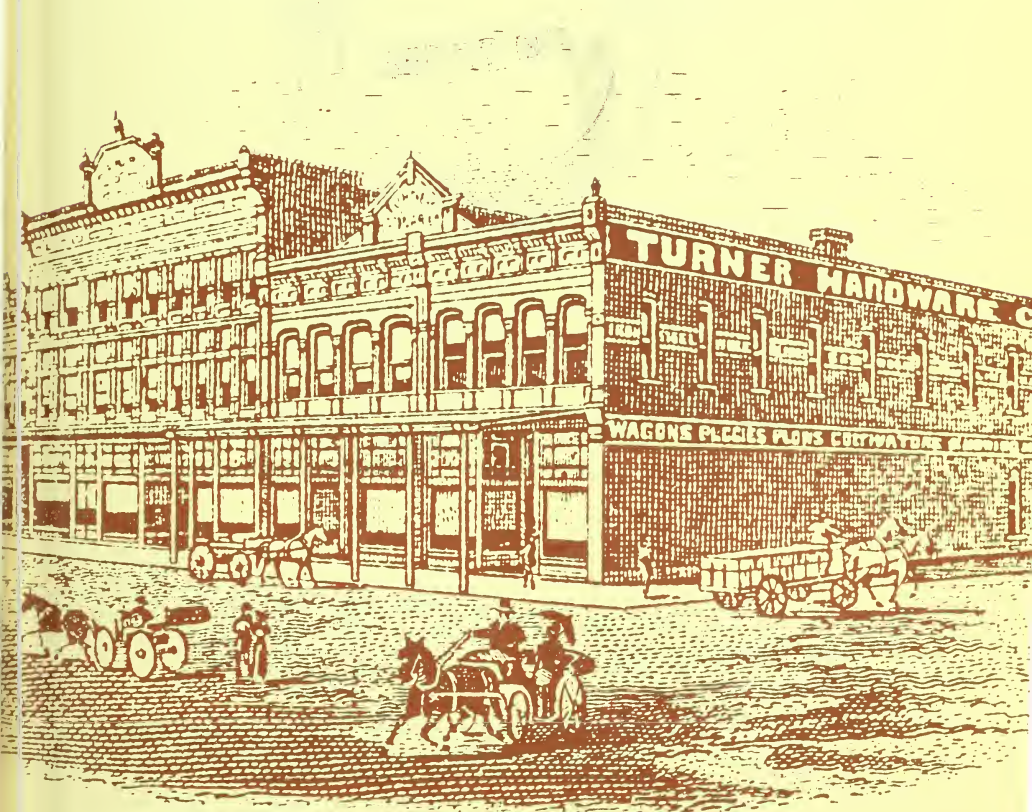


CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article I, Section 2—The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and to perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people; to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research; and to promote and to disseminate historical knowledge. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State of Oklahoma, it shall maintain a library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts, documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits, busts, statuary and other objects of art and all other appropriate museum material with special regard to the history of Oklahoma. It shall perpetuate knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers of this region; it shall collect and preserve the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes; it shall maintain a collection of the handiwork of the same, and an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods. It shall discharge all other duties and responsibilities placed upon it by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

the chronicles

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OF OKLAHOMA



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Joseph E. King, *A Mine to Make A Mine: Financing in the Colorado Mining Industry, 1859-1902*, by William P. Corbett

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THE COVER This is a line drawing of the Turner Hardware Company store in Indian Territory. Built in 1887 and expanded in 1895, the store was destroyed by fire in 1899. Hailed as "The Largest Retail and Jobbing House in the Southwest," and "Doing a Business of Nearly a Half Million Dollars a Year," the store was founded by pioneer merchant Clarence W. Turner, grandfather of Manon Atkins, Photograph Librarian of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

GENERAL STORES, RETAIL MERCHANTS, AND ASSIMILATION: RETAIL TRADE IN THE CHEROKEE NATION, 1838-1890

By Duncan M. Aldrich*

The image of the frontier trader as a half-civilized, half-savage individual who spent his life in the wilderness exchanging guns and trinkets for animal pelts has been firmly implanted in the minds of many Americans. From James Fenimore Cooper's hero in the *Deerslayer* to Robert Redford's portrayal of Jeremiah Johnson, the image of the Indian trader as the deserter of civilization's complexities for the cleansing environment of virgin forests has remained. Clothed in animal furs, although speaking English, the Indian trader has been portrayed as the heroic product of the cultural marriage between European institutions and the American frontier. As a mythological figure the Indian trader was freed from geographical roots and directed his actions toward adventure. Trade was merely an excuse for his lifestyle.¹

Less romantically, the government of the United States viewed the trader as white America's major contact with Indian people. In order to insure that commercial activities fostered friendship rather than belligerence, the government enacted various regulations designed to eliminate unruly traders and unfair practices. Thomas Jefferson, among others, believed that a well regulated trading system would demonstrate to the Indians the benefits of white American material culture and would thus encourage them to adopt Anglo-America's agrarian civilization. The maintenance of a series of government owned and operated Indian trading posts during the first three decades of the nineteenth century represented the peak of such intervention in commercial relations with the Indians. Yet, government posts failed to displace private operators. And the army, incredibly undermanned, seemed unable to prevent violations of trade regulations.

Although the government posts were unsuccessful, their failure does not imply that the assumption that assimilation would result from trade contacts was incorrect. Rather, failure merely demonstrated the inadequacy of the government's trading system. The examination of retail merchants and general stores within the Cherokee Nation between 1838 and 1890 indicates the extent to which commercial relations fostered assimilation regardless of federal policy, and discredits, in one case, the popular image of the Indian trader as a footloose adventurer.²

* The author is currently a graduate teaching assistant and a candidate for the Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

¹ Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (New York: Vintage Books, 1950), pp. 88-98.

² Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts 1790-1834* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 84-93.



By the late nineteenth century the general stores of Indian Territory were providing a new injection of Anglo-American Culture.

The development of commercial relations between Anglo-Americans and the Cherokees occurred in three distinct phases: the period of initial contacts, the frontier period, and the post Civil war period. The initial period, which extended from the first Indian/white encounters until the federal removal of the Cherokees to Oklahoma in 1836, was characterized by the entry of private traders into Cherokee territories in Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama. Establishing residences within the Cherokee homeland, some of these traders became members of the tribe through marriage. Unless officially adopted by the tribe, Cherokees forbade white traders from opening stores. On the other hand, the adopted white traders provided the first permanent retail establishments within Cherokee tribal territories. The development of general stores in the Nation prompted the establishment of supply routes for wholesale goods between Cherokee settlements and Anglo-American cities and towns. White men constructed roads to connect Tennessee and Kentucky with the East and such routes hastened the growth of

merchant activities in the Cherokee Nation. The sons of white traders who had married into the tribe opened stores along these highways. Overall, the replacement of buckskin clad transient traders by general stores and wholesale purchases characterized the first phase of commercial relations.³

During this time, Daniel Ross, a white trader, married a Cherokee woman and set up a trading post in the Cherokee Nation. Although accepted as a member of the tribe, Ross retained his Anglo-American business principles, and soon became one of the tribe's wealthiest members. Ross also retained his respect for white American educational institutions, and sent his mixed-blood sons to American schools in Tennessee. His third son, John Ross, was a member of the first generation of native born Cherokees who became successful merchants. John received his education in Kingston, Tennessee. When he returned to his Cherokee homeland John opened a store in partnership with Lewis Ross and John Meigs. John Ross started his second store in partnership with Timothy Meigs in 1816. Cherokee merchants of Ross' generation whose backgrounds resembled his included John Ridge, Elijah Hicks, and Richard Brown. All were educated in white schools and entered the mercantile business in their Georgian homeland. Generally obtaining their wholesale goods from Savannah, Georgia, and Charleston, South Carolina, these merchants occasionally travelled as far as New York City to make purchases.⁴

Removal to the Indian Territory in 1836 marked the beginning of the frontier phase of Cherokee commercial relations with the United States. The federal government hoped that by removing the Cherokees from the influence of encroaching whites the government would give the Indians room in which they could more easily adopt Anglo-American civilization. The Cherokees found themselves in an isolated and unimproved wilderness. Like so many frontiersmen before them, they faced the problem of establishing new communities within the social vacuum of the frontier. The opening of new trade routes with eastern wholesaler centers comprised the merchants' greatest difficulty. The establishment of stores in profitable locations and the development of a surrounding market also constituted major

³ The division into periods is made to facilitate the discussion of the material. Early Cherokee history is presented in David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740-1762* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962); Grace Steele Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963); and Rachel Caroline Eaton, *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians* (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1914). For the development of roads and trade routes see Eaton, *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians*, p. 20.

⁴ Eaton, *John Ross and the Cherokee Indians*, pp. 2-3, 5, 28, 33.

problems. John Ross, John Ridge, and others of their generation, forming the nucleus of the Cherokee trading community in their new homeland, shouldered the responsibility of reestablishing connections with eastern centers. The immigration of white traders into the area dwindled during the frontier period.⁵

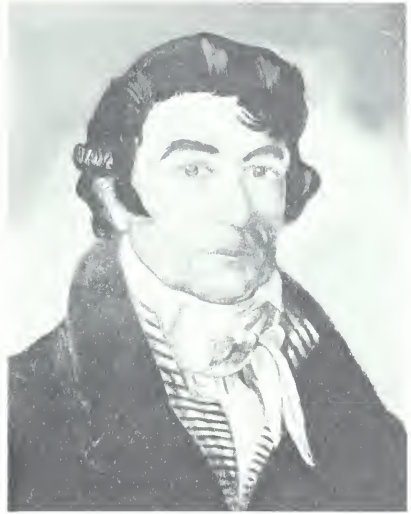
An influx of more white American entrepreneurs into the Cherokee merchant community typified the post Civil War period. The Civil War had undermined the Cherokee economy and the subsequent loss of capital demanded that new sources be found. The immigration of white merchants into the Nation in part helped alleviate the problem. Moving into the Nation to establish profitable business, these white store operators inadvertently improved the Cherokee economy by bringing both money and capital goods into the Indian Territory. As in the past, tribal laws required that all merchants who set up business in the territory marry into the tribe. Thus the Cherokee Nation received a new injection of Anglo-American culture after the Civil War. The merchant community tacitly remained Cherokee although practically all of its members were either white men or their descendants. After Oklahoma attained statehood in 1907 the laws no longer required that immigrants marry Cherokees and incoming white merchants soon superseded the Cherokees as leaders of the merchant community.⁶

The frontier and post Civil War periods function as indicators of the extent to which the Cherokees accepted and retained the principles of the

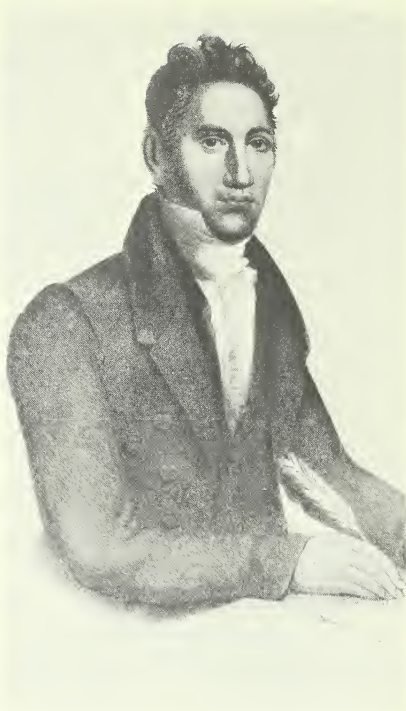
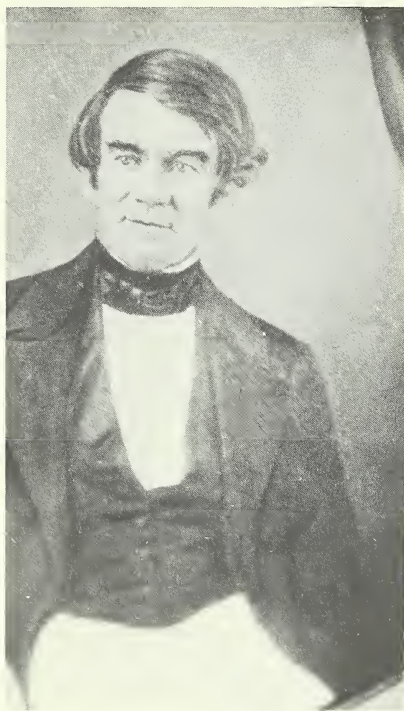
⁵ Bernard W. Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (New York: Norton and Company, 1973); Mary E. Young, "Indian Removal and Land Allotment: The Civilized Tribes and Jacksonian Justice," *American Historical Review*, Vol. LXIV (1958). For a discussion of the effects of the frontier environment see Ray Allen Billington, *America's Frontier Heritage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), pp. 1-22. The notion that immigration of whites into the Cherokee Nation dwindled is founded upon the statistical survey of merchants conducted for this study. The individual merchants included in the sample taken were selected from newspaper advertisements and from tax records. Small merchants who evaded both mediums are not included. This approach may, therefore, tend to incorporate only the more well-to-do merchants into the sample. The sample is composed of 28 merchants of some 123 merchants who could be identified as operating within the Cherokee Nation during the period under consideration. Sufficient evidence was available for only the twenty-eight individuals considered in the sample. Short biographies of each member of the sample were constructed from evidence in the *Cherokee National Papers* and the *Indian-Pioneer Papers* in the Western History Collections at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma and the *Cherokee Advocate* (Tahlequah).

⁶ On post Civil War economic disruption in the Cherokee Nation see Arrell M. Gibson, *Oklahoma: A History of Five Centuries* (Norman: Harlow Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 217-218.

Daniel Ross, a white trader who married a Cherokee woman and opened a trading post in the Cherokee Nation, Georgia.



white American market economy. Their initial adoption of white traders and their open reception of retail trade indicates that the Cherokees appreciated the material benefits of white culture. The Cherokees learned of these benefits in their eastern homeland and carried the institution that provided such material goods, the general store, to the Indian Territory. The Cherokees who established their society in the Indian Territory had actively engaged in retail merchandising for only slightly more than a generation before their immigration. Yet, prominent historians have suggested that for many pioneer groups the frontier environment tore society down to its fundamental premises and then gradually replaced the old social values with a new hybrid society partially shaped by the hardships of frontier life. If this was true among the Cherokees then the Anglo market economy had become a fundamental premis of Cherokee society within less than two generations, for in Oklahoma the Cherokee retained their geenral stores as major links between Anglo material wares and the Cherokee economy. The large number of stores Cherokees established in the Indian Territory suggests that acceptance of the market economy may even have increased after the migration to Oklahoma. That a society would so readily accept the methods of another in so short a period, however, seems unusual. A more likely explanation for Cherokee establishment of a market economy in Oklahoma is that having been forcefully removed en masse from their homeland the Cherokees had no mother country to turn to for assistance



John Ross (left) and John Ridge (right), two Cherokee merchants who helped form the nucleus of the trading community after the Cherokee removal to present-day Oklahoma.

during their initial years of frontier settlement. Anglo-America was the only viable alternative for material assistance.⁷

Immediately upon arrival in the Indian Territory the Cherokees established general stores. Functioning as service centers for nearby agriculturalists, the Cherokee stores catered to farm demands. Selling nails, cloth, rifles, medicines, dry goods, needles, yarns, farm implements, and practically every other item manufactured in the United States or Europe, the Cherokee general stores carried products identical to those sold in white frontier communities. By providing the local residents with a large variety of items

⁷ Billington, *America's Frontier Heritage*, pp. 97–116; Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History*, in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association 1893* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1893), pp. 190–227.

manufactured outside of the Nation, the merchants freed their patrons from the chores of hand fashioning their own household and farm tools.⁸

The physical structures of general stores resembled those constructed in Anglo-American frontiers. As in other frontiers, variety was the rule. Most of the earliest stores were simple log structures. As small crossroad centers developed into towns, however, many of the original log buildings were replaced by wood, brick, or stone edifices. Yet, stores established in outlying communities throughout the period were still constructed from logs. For example, the major store in Flint, Indian Territory, was a mere log structure built in the 1870s. Located on the edge of a swamp, the Flint store rested in the center of the tiny village and, like many similar establishments, also functioned as the local post office. Many stores throughout the territory included a second story in which the store managers or clerks resided.⁹

Most Cherokee stores were located in small towns like Flint. Even Tahlequah, the Nation's capitol and largest town in 1894, had fewer than two thousand residents. The town's forty-eight business establishments were situated on the main street. Three drugstores, three cobbler shops, three restaurants, two hardware stores, a billiards hall, three grocery stores, two dressmaking shops, two barber shops, a photography parlor, an opera house, a tin shop, one bank, two jewelry stores, one meat market, and a variety of stables and harness shops were scattered along Tahlequah's main thoroughfare. The capital's six general stores were located on the three blocks of the main street which centered on the capitol building.¹⁰

Vinita, the second largest town in the Cherokee Nation in 1886, had a population of six hundred. Somewhat smaller than Tahlequah's business district, Vinita's business district contained three general stores; all of them located on the main intersection of town. Scattered along six of the main street's central blocks were three restaurants, two meat markets, five groceries, three hotels, two drugstores, two confectionary shops, an ice cream parlor, an agricultural implements shop, and various other businesses ranging from hardware stores to jewelry shops. Such smaller towns as Webber's Falls, Oaks, Claremore, and Bartlesville usually had from two to four general stores. Many other small towns possessed only one merchandise establishment.¹¹

⁸ Browse through any issue of the *Cherokee Advocate*.

⁹ Interview, Tuxie Miller, *Indian-Pioneer Papers*, Grant Foreman, ed., Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

¹⁰ *Map of Tahlequah, Indian Territory* (New York: Sanborn-Perris Map Company Limited, 1894).

¹¹ *Vinita, Indian Territory* (New York: Sanborn Maps and Publishing Company Limited, 1886).

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Merchants removed to the Indian Territory overcame problems of supplying themselves with wholesale goods soon after their arrival in Oklahoma. Exploiting the transportation potentialities of the Arkansas River, the Cherokee merchants quickly opened business relations with wholesalers in Van Buren, Arkansas. Until the railroads opened other options to the merchants, Van Buren remained the major source of wholesale goods. Steamships provided the facilities needed to transport goods along the Arkansas. In 1828 the steamship *Fidelity* made the first run from Van Buren to Fort Gibson. By the late 1830s, steamship companies made weekly round trips between the two river ports. Two firms, Henry, Cunningham & Company and P. H. White & Company competed for freight business on the Arkansas in the pre-war period. Van Buren merchants received their goods by way of the Arkansas and Mississippi rivers from New Orleans, Louisiana. By the 1890s the river trade extended into the Indian Territory as far as Tulsa. Railroads absorbed much of the river traffic after the 1870s. As a consequence, steamboats and railroads dominated transit of goods.¹²

The initial importance of the Arkansas River as a line of supply and the later impact of the railroads as carriers of wholesale goods had some impact on urban growth patterns within the Cherokee Nation. Fort Gibson on the Arkansas and Vinita on the intersection of two major railroads grew in response to their strategic locations. These towns possessed varied business establishments centering on the import, export, and distribution of products. Towns not located along the transportation networks generally remained small in size and centered on the single general store, blacksmith shop, and post office. Tahlequah, although lacking a railroad or waterway, attracted a relatively large urban population because of the location of the Cherokee Government there. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century the discovery of coal and oil generally fostered the establishment of larger urban centers.¹³

Although the advantages of river transportation and the relative proximity of Van Buren to Cherokee settlements encouraged Cherokee store owners to purchase their goods from Van Buren wholesalers prior to the construction of the railroads, several Cherokee merchants chose to order their goods from wholesalers in St. Louis, Missouri; Kansas City, Missouri; Chicago, Illinois; New York City; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and New Orleans. The firm of Martin & Adair of Fort Gibson, for example, ordered goods from a variety of cities prior to the Civil War. In August 1856, the firm pro-

¹² *Cherokee Advocate*, March 23, 1853, April 10, 1845, January 30, 1855, May 14, 1849 and July 17, 1848.

¹³ *Tahlequah*, Sanborn Map.

cured general merchandise from three separate St. Louis firms, and in September of the same year they bought hats, caps, and hardware from St. Louis. In the same year they purchased their drugs and medical supplies from a Philadelphia firm. They invested from \$50.00 to \$450.00 in each transaction.¹⁴

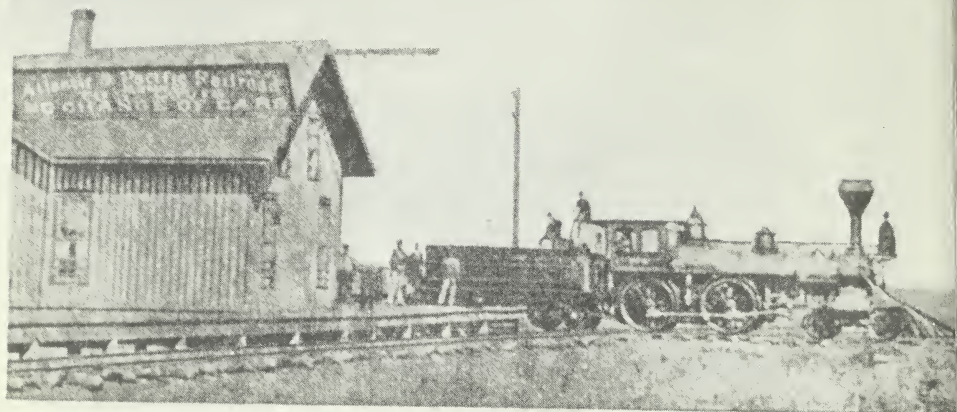
Eastern wholesalers attracted prospective Cherokee purchasers through newspaper and brochure advertisements. The official newspaper of the Cherokee Nation, *The Cherokee Advocate*, contained advertisements from Van Buren, New Orleans and New York City. Wallace & Ward, Van Buren wholesalers, advertised regularly in the *Advocate* as did Sickles & Company drug wholesalers of New Orleans. Both P. H. White & Company and Henry, Cunningham & Company, located in Van Buren, advertised in the *Advocate*. The steamboat *Menedo* was also advertised in the Cherokee papers. Throughout the period the number of companies that advertised in the *Advocate* increased. From the first, however, enough ads were run weekly to keep the local merchants informed of prospective eastern wholesalers.¹⁵

Eastern wholesalers also provided the Cherokee merchants with credit. Contracts detailing credit transactions between Cherokees and outside wholesalers are scarce. The major indications that Cherokee merchants sought outside credit are collection notices from Missouri lawyers and questionnaires from credit rating services. Acting as debt collectors, John O. Day & Brothers, attorneys of Springfield, Missouri, wrote a letter demanding that a Cherokee merchant pay a debt he owed to a St. Louis firm. The Cherokee National papers contain many questionnaires from credit rating bureaus. Most credit questionnaires originated in the St. Louis branch of the National Credit Bureau and were addressed to merchants residing in Vinita. Asking for information on the business habits and personal lives of Cherokee merchants, these questionnaires indicated to outside creditors the reliability of individual members of the Cherokee business community. Available evidence indicates that most loans simply involved the exchange of wholesale goods for promissory notes.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Cherokee National Papers*, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. For invoices received by Martin & Adair, see Cherokee National Papers box 11 folder 146, box 36 folder 58, box 36 folder 49, box 36 folder 52, box 36 folder 55, and box 36 folder 57.

¹⁵ *Cherokee National Papers*, box 142, box 37 folder 77; *Cherokee Advocate* contains advertisements which demonstrate ads in most issues. See the June and July issues of 1845 and 1875 for a comparison of number of ads run in differing decades.

¹⁶ O'Day & Brothers to Messers Bill and Douglas is in the *Cherokee National Papers* box 19 folder 50. Commercial agency questionnaires are in box 20 folder 109, and are throughout box 142.



RAILWAY STATION (ATLANTIC & PACIFIC) AT VIN

Vinita, once the second largest town in the Cherokee Nation, was an important commercial center because of its railway connections.

The preceding description of the products merchants offered for sale, their sources of credit, the transportation networks they exploited, the towns in which they lived, and their sources of wholesale goods indicates that in Oklahoma entrepreneurial capitalism formed the basis of the Cherokee economy and that as frontiersmen the Cherokee merchants established a functioning market system. The merchants themselves are left to be described. Forming a diverse group, the most notable similarity among the merchants who set up business in the Indian Territory was membership in the Cherokee tribe. In the following discussion of a sample of twenty-six Cherokee merchants neither race nor culture are employed to define tribal membership. Legal membership in the tribe is the only criterion used to differentiate members from non-members.¹⁷

¹⁷ The simple percentages presented in the remainder of the paper are based upon the sample of twenty-eight merchants discussed in footnote seven.

From the sample of twenty-six, thirty-eight percent of the merchants were born in the South. More than one-half of the southern born merchants who operated within the Cherokee Nation were native born Cherokees. The career of Johnson Thompson, born in Cass county, Georgia, in 1822, illustrates the background of Georgia born Cherokee merchants who moved to the Indian Territory during the removal period. The son of a white man and a Cherokee woman, Thompson attended missionary and private schools until age fifteen. At that time his family moved to the Indian Territory. He continued school in Arkansas for three years and then began clerking for his uncle, proprietor of the J. M. Lynch & Company. In 1843 Thompson married Eliza C. Taylor, the daughter of a Cherokee chief. Thompson embarked upon his own mercantile venture in the winter of 1846-1847.¹⁸

A minority of the Southern born merchants who migrated to the Cherokee Nation claimed European ancestry. Like the Cherokee merchants, these whites generally entered business in the Territory prior to the Civil War. Raised in New Orleans, Florian H. Nash moved to the Indian Territory at age sixteen in 1853. Soon after arriving in the Territory he secured a clerkship in the store of William P. Dencla in Fort Gibson. By 1863 he bought out his employer's interest in the store. Before obtaining the business he married Fanny R. Vann, a grand niece of John Ross.¹⁹

Thirty-five percent of the sample were raised in the North. Coming from New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, New Jersey, and Kansas, most of the northerners arrived in the Cherokee Nation after the Civil War. Born in Ohio in 1837, John S. Scott's background typified the careers of Yankees who moved to the territory in the post bellum years. Attending school until age fourteen, Scott moved with his family to Humboldt, Kansas, in 1857. There he started a mercantile firm in 1860, but it was burned by a Confederate raiding party. Enraged by the attack, Scott recruited a company of Indians and entered the United States army in May, 1862. He soon changed sides, however. Taken captive and incarcerated in Fort Smith, Arkansas, Scott became sutler for a Confederate regiment. In 1863 he accompanied the regiment in their move to Fort Gibson. After returning to Kansas in 1865, Scott moved back to Fort Gibson in 1871 and opened his own general store. In the same year he married Margaret Coody, a member of a prominent Cherokee family.²⁰

¹⁸ H. F. & E. S. O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory: Its Chiefs, Legislators, and Leading Men* (Saint Louis: C. B. Woodward Company, 1892), p. 380.

¹⁹ *Indian Territory* (New York: Lewis, Firm, Publishers, 1901), pp. 568-570.

²⁰ O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory: Its Chiefs, Legislators, and Leading Men*, pp. 273-274.

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A small group of foreign born merchants also moved into the Cherokee Nation after the Civil War. Joseph Heinrichs, born in Germany in 1851, emigrated to the United States in 1867. Landing in New York, he soon moved to Fort Smith, Arkansas, to live with his brother and sister. He then moved to Little Rock where he worked as a cobbler's apprentice for three years. In 1871 he returned to Fort Smith where he went into the shoemaking business for himself. Nine months later he moved to Tahlequah and set up a shoe-making establishment. Heinrichs began buying and selling furs and hides soon after he opened his store in the territory; he bought a stock of groceries in 1879, and by 1891 operated a shoe store which had expanded into a general merchandising firm. Heinrichs married Lucy Kilpatrick, member of the prominent Hilderbrand family, in 1874.²¹

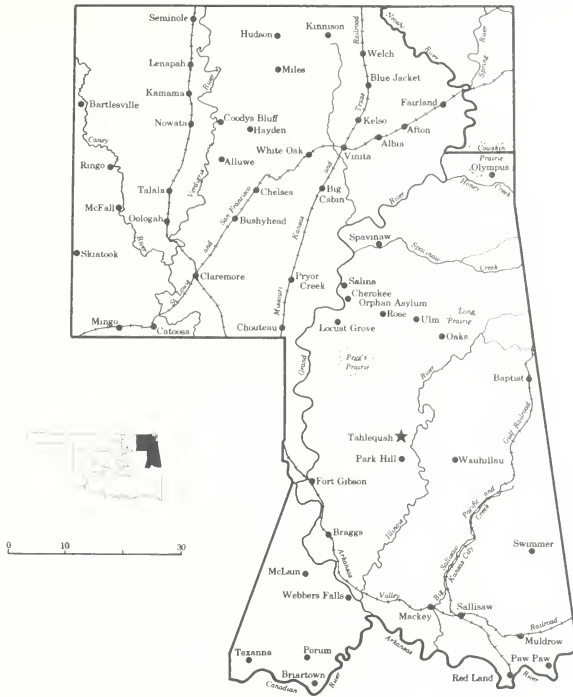
A final group of the sample, native Cherokees born within the Indian Territory, accounted for nineteen percent of the merchant community. Representative of this group, Major De Witt C. Lipe was born near West Tahlequah in 1840. The son of a white New York entrepreneur and a Cherokee woman, Lipe attended a seminary in Cane Hill, Arkansas, after graduating from the Cherokee common schools. His first business experience came as a clerk in his father's general store in Tahlequah. In 1870 he became a full partner with his father in a branch store located in Fort Gibson. Lipe soon sold his share, however, and reinvested his capital in the livestock business. In 1861 Lipe married Victoria Hicks, the daughter of the prominent merchant, Elijah Hicks.²²

Other than the fact that they were merchants and operated within the Cherokee Nation, the most noticeable similarity among all of the above individuals was that they all married into important Cherokee families. Seventy-seven percent of the sample of twenty-six merchants belonged to one of ten Cherokee families. The Rosses, related to about nineteen percent of the merchants, were by far the most influential merchant family in the Nation. The Ridges, Mayes, Hicks, Thompsons, Vanns, Coody's, Lynches, Bryans, and Hildebrands comprised the other important families within the merchant community. Cherokee laws, which required that all merchant and traders operating within the national boundaries marry into the tribe, encouraged the adoption of promising entrants into Cherokee families. The newcomers quickly became well known and respected citizens of the tribe. Of eighteen merchants who belonged to the ten major mercantile families between 1838 and 1890, forty-four percent were white men who had married

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 244-245.

²² *Indian Territory*, pp. 606-608.

RETAIL TRADE IN CHEROKEE NATION



After the 1870s railroads began to play a great role as carriers of wholesale goods within the Cherokee Nation (Source: Adapted from Morris, Goins and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 2nd ed., Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1976, map 36).

into the tribe while only thirty-three percent were family offspring. The remaining twenty-two percent consisted of Cherokees who married into other Cherokee families. Frequent intermarriage among the leading families tied the merchant community together with bonds of kinship.²³

The influx of white stock into prominent Cherokee families from colonial times through the second half of the nineteenth century, slowing only in the years immediately following the removal of the Cherokees, diluted Chero-

²³ Among the Cherokee families ties were very strong, especially in such matters as political appointments.

kee blood tremendously. Among the merchant class, cultural values were diluted as well. Most merchants who were neither white nor half blood had either a grandfather or great grandfather who had been a white trader who married into the tribe. Cherokee merchants of all blood types participated in economic pursuits introduced by their forefathers. For most, general store operations were merely one aspect of their capital investment. Many owned ranches, farms, gristmills and railroad stock. One, Elias C. Boudinot, attempted to establish a tobacco factory in the Indian Territory. Failing in the venture, he reinvested his funds in a hotel in Fort Gibson. Throughout his life he developed schemes for incorporating Cherokee national railroads and for acquiring valuable Cherokee real estate. Boudinot's schemes involved him in at least one lengthy civil suit. Joel Mayes Bryan, an early immigrant to the territory, owned at least ten stores in the Cherokee Nation when he died. Bryan also owned two grist mills and a part in the salt licks located near Saline, Cherokee Nation.²⁴

Tremendous geographical mobility among the Cherokee merchants also indicated their affinity to Anglo-American capitalism. On the average they changed residences four times in their lifetimes. The most common change was from one state to another. Shifting from one community to another within the same state also accounted for a high percentage of the moves. Very few of the relocations, on the other hand, were international. Johnson Thompson made his first move with his family from Georgia to the Indian Territory in the 1830s. Establishing a store in Tahlequah, he remained there until the Civil War ended, at which point he shifted his operations to Vinita where he also ran a farm. In 1876 he returned to Tahlequah. George Washington Tarvin moved ten times. Born in Baldwin County, Alabama, his family relocated into Fort Bend County, Texas, when Tarvin was a small boy. After the Civil War Tarvin moved to Mexico for ten years. Returning to Texas, he lived in San Angelo for several years. In 1885 he changed his residence to Muskogee, then to the Verdigris River, on to Vinita, and then to Red Fork. Tarvin finally settled permanently in Okmulgee.²⁵

The employment records of the merchants in the sample further illustrates their entrepreneurial tendencies. At least fifty-four percent of them clerked in a merchandise store at some point in their lives. Thirty-one percent had farmed, nineteen percent had raised cattle, twelve percent had been

²⁴ *Cherokee National Papers*, box 3 folder 31, box 1 folder 35, box 3 folder 57; Interview, J. M. Bryan, *Indian-Pioneer Papers*, Foreman, ed., Western History Collection.

²⁵ O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory: Its Chiefs, Legislators, and Leading Men*, pp. 380, 386-387.

involved in the buffalo hide trade, and eight percent had edited newspapers. Other occupations represented in the sample were steamboat captains, drovers, college professors, doctors, cotton planters, school teachers, and shoemakers. One individual, Dr. Morris Frazee, pursued farming, stock raising, doctoring, newspaper editing, and teaching before he took up general merchandising.²⁶

The business discipline needed to operate a large mercantile organization on the frontier remains the strongest indication that the Cherokee merchants, as a group, were successful capitalists. Besides establishing connections with outside wholesalers, the merchants had to locate outside markets for Cherokee agricultural products. As in most agricultural frontiers, the Indian Territory rarely contained enough currency to service the local economy. In order to alleviate the currency problem merchants accepted payment in produce from their patrons. Exporting the commodities they obtained from their customers, the merchants functioned as produce middlemen. Furs, hides, butter, cotton, chickens and corn constituted the majority of products exported from the Cherokee Nation. Responding to a barter economy, Cherokee merchants stated clearly in the *Cherokee Advocate* that they would accept commodities instead of cash. Likewise, several Arkansas firms indicated that they would also exchange wholesale goods for produce. Often owning their own ranches and farms, many Cherokee merchants were involved in the economy from production to marketing, wholesaling and distributing.²⁷

Socially and politically the Cherokee merchants, along with cattlemen, farmers and other entrepreneurs, formed the upper class of the Cherokee Nation. Rather than comprising a unified political group, however, the merchants clung loyally to two opposing political parties. The issue that divided the Treaty party and the full bloods was bitter. Led by Elias C. Boudinot, Stand Watie, and John Ridge, members of the treaty party signed a document which ceded all Cherokee territory located east of the Mississippi River to the United States in exchange for federal lands lying in what is presently northeastern Oklahoma. The full bloods insisted that the treaty was illegal, refused to sign it, and remained in their eastern homeland until the federal army removed them in 1838. Arriving in the Indian Terri-

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149.

²⁷ Advertisements throughout the *Cherokee Advocate* indicate that Cherokee merchants were willing to accept commodity payments in lieu of cash. For a discussion of currency problems in colonial regions see, Curtis P. Nettles, *The Money Supply of the American Colonies Before 1720* (New York: Augustus M. Kelly, Bookseller, 1964), pp. 179-228.



After statehood incoming white merchants soon superseded the Indians as leaders of the merchant community in many areas.

tory, the full bloods, under the leadership of Chief John Ross, murdered several of the treaty party's leaders. From these murders until the Cherokee Nation became a part of the state of Oklahoma in 1907, politics within the tribe centered around those two groups.²⁸

Although the full bloods are popularly considered a conservative group whose main objective was to retain Cherokee culture, full blood leaders actually comprised one of the most Americanized elements in the Indian Territory. John Ross received his education in an Anglo-American school and engaged in general merchandising. His brother-in-law, John Stapler,

²⁸ For a background to Cherokee politics see Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934), pp. 284-295.

operated one of the most successful merchant establishments in the territory. Both were aggressive entrepreneurs whose capitalistic goals reflected the ambitions of white American businessmen. Merchants of the treaty party also operated within the principles of the American economy. Elias Boudinot, editor of the *Cherokee Advocate*, attempted to establish a tobacco factory, and Stand Watie engaged in various general store operations during his long life. A large percentage of Cherokee merchants participated in politics, several of them attaining high national office. As leaders of their nation's two major political factions, the merchants shared the common belief in the dictates of American capitalism. They did not attack the fundamental premises of the American economy, the only assaults they made against the capitalists of the United States were efforts to prevent American corporations or businessmen from attracting the patrons of Cherokee merchants. The quarrels between the treaty party and the full bloods involved matters other than economic philosophy.²⁹

In fact Cherokee laws which restricted immigration of whites tended to strengthen the socio-political condition of the merchants. Anglo-Americans who decided to do business in the Cherokee Nation had either to ally themselves with a Cherokee family through marriage or give up their businesses. Whether consciously or not, such laws limited competition to existing factions. By forbidding outsiders to establish branch offices in the nation, the merchant community prevented non-Cherokees from undermining local enterprises.³⁰

By 1890 the Cherokee economy closely resembled its counterpart in the larger society. In fact, the Cherokee Nation was strongly tied to American markets and wholesalers. Railroads owned by Americans crossed Cherokee dominions and white-owned steamboats plied up the Arkansas River from Little Rock and Fort Smith. General merchandising was not carried on by bearded frontier Indian traders. Rather, Cherokee descendants of Indian traders who had married into the tribe and more recent immigrants whom the tribe adopted performed the nation's mercantile functions. The Chero-

²⁹ *Cherokee National Papers*, box 54 (unprocessed). Cherokee merchants who attained political prominence included John Ross, John Ridge, W. P. Ross, Samuel H. Mayes, John Bullette, De Witt Clinton Lipe, Wallis Webber, and others.

³⁰ For full bloods see Foreman, pp. 284-295. Laws relating to merchants are listed in *Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation* (Saint Louis: R. & T. A. Ennis, 1875), pp. 204-206, 238, 240. Other than railroads, which they saw would benefit shipping, the Cherokees were reluctant to allow outside corporations into the Nation. Federal laws designed to weaken the Cherokee's rights to legislate their own economic organization, such as the Dawes Severalty Act, brought the ultimate end to Cherokee sovereignty.

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kee merchant community had in fact assimilated the values and principles of American entrepreneurial capitalism. The acceptance of white traders into the tribe formed the key to the advent of assimilation. By the time the Cherokees founded their frontier settlements in the Indian Territory the descendents of the adopted traders were important tribal leaders. These individuals accepted capitalist values and functioned, in effect, as America's first pioneer settlers in northeastern Oklahoma.

A CIVIL WAR EXPERIENCE OF SOME ARKANSAS WOMEN IN INDIAN TERRITORY

By *Francena Lavinia (Martin) Sutton*

Edited by *LeRoy H. Fischer**

Not the least of the sufferers during the Civil War years were the women who faced hardship at home while their husbands faced danger on the battlefield. Moreover, Southern women often suffered the direct effects of battle as campaigns raged about them. The following account is the story of five women and three children who sought to escape such perils by flight southward during the autumn of 1864. They began their trek in Fayetteville, Arkansas, with Washington, Arkansas, as their intended destination. Losing their way, they wandered into the war-desolated Choctaw Nation of Indian Territory. Only after a series of harrowing experiences did they eventually reach safety along the Red River.

The author of this account, Francena Lavinia (Martin) Sutton, was a resident of Fayetteville. Her husband James was a merchant there but apparently was away from home, probably in Confederate service. In 1864 Mrs. Sutton was twenty-four years old. Her son William Seneca, the author of the foreword of this reminiscence, was four years old. After the Civil War Mrs. Sutton returned to her home in Fayetteville and became an instructor at the University of Arkansas. Her son, who received degrees from the University of Arkansas in 1878, 1880, and 1905, became a professor at the University of Texas at Austin in 1897. In the course of his career he served that institution as dean of education and as president.¹

Foreword

The story accompanying this note was written by my mother, Mrs. Francena Martin Sutton, of Fayetteville, Arkansas. From time to time, for years prior to her death, which occurred in 1914, I asked her to write a series

* The editor is Oppenheim Regents Professor of History at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

¹ Biographical data supplied by Chester V. Kielman, Archivist, Barker Texas History Center, University of Texas at Austin; William S. Campbell, *One Hundred Years of Fayetteville* (1928), p. 100; manuscript returns of the 1860 federal census, Arkansas History Commission, Little Rock, Arkansas; *Who Was Who in America* (5 vols., Chicago: Marquis-Who's Who, 1943-1973), Vol. IV, p. 919. The original manuscript of the Mrs. Francena Lavinia (Martin) Sutton Civil War account is not known to be extant. A typescript is in the Barker Texas History Center of the University of Texas at Austin.

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of articles to set forth her experiences during the Civil War. Again and again she promised to comply with my request; but she was always a busy woman, and she repeatedly postponed the task which I hoped she would perform. I thought that she had passed away without writing even a portion of her war reminiscences. My sister, Mrs. Mary Sutton Kinsworthy, who lives in Little Rock, Arkansas, some time after mother's death found the paper which gives an account of a trip some Southern women made in 1864 from Fayetteville, to Paris, Texas. This paper was evidently written a short time before my mother's final illness. I greatly regret that she did not live to describe other scenes which she witnessed, and in some of which she was a participant, during the war between the states, which tried not only the souls of men, but of women also.

University of Texas
May 22, 1922

W. S. Sutton



Nestled in the heart of the Ozarks, whose sides glowed with a wealth of green in summer and sparkled with ice jewels in winter was the delightful town of Fayetteville, Arkansas. It seemed securely sheltered from all possible foes. Though cut off from the busy marts of the world, undisturbed by screech of railroad whistle or hum of factory wheel, she still was far from idle. Picturesque scenery, fine climate, gushing springs, clear flowing streams, balmy breezes and a soil that yielded abundantly—these were the inducements held out to the people of the older States. And many responded by placing their families and their all into the ships of the American plain—the prairie schooner—to find new homes under fairer skies. The place grew steadily from a simple village in the forties to a thriving town in the sixties.² Its people enjoyed a feeling of freedom and contentment denied the strained life of the city. A few years sufficed to make it quite a business and educa-

² In 1860 Fayetteville had a population of 967,673 white and 294 slave. *Population of the United States in 1860; Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864), p. 19.



Francena L. Sutton in 1906
(Courtesy of Mary Ann K. Wilson).



William S. Sutton, shown here as President of the University of Texas, was four years old when his mother, Francena L. Sutton, and her traveling party became lost in the Choctaw Nation in 1864 (Courtesy of Jane Sutton Phillips).

tional center. The number of churches, colleges and nice homes indicated the refined, enterprising classes of people attracted hither.

But time brought civil strife to the nation, and this unsuspecting town with the adjacent country, became a common battle ground. Men and lads were forced to take sides, and not infrequently families were divided. There was hot blood and bitter hate.

When the war cry resounded every yard stick was dropped on the counter; the plow left in the furrow, books piled on students' desks, and without regard to station in life, every man was expected to report for army service. The fortunes of war played fickle with this part of the territory—this special town being an object of dispute—sometimes held by one army; again, the other. But the close of the second year found it in the close grasp of the Federal forces. Yard-fences and garden-walls melted away as it were. The space they formerly enclosed was now occupied by soldiers' tents. In 1864,

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the fall campaign was over and the troops generally were going into winter quarters.³

The command at Fayetteville was already settling down to a long season of costly comfort and luxurious ease. The soldiers feasted and frolicked and sang their camp-fire songs. About this time, General Price of the Confederate Army, lovingly known among his men as "Old Pap Price," was on the march from Missouri to Texas.⁴ With slight detour he could strike the town of Fayetteville. Colonel F's regiment was made up of soldier boys who were intensely fond of the girls they had left behind them, which girls were now forted up, and paying unwilling allegiance to the Stars and Stripes. An earnest appeal to General Price that this portion of the command be permitted to tap the Fort, and worry the garrison for a while, gained his consent. The Gray Coats were granted a few howitzers, some Enfields and a quantity of shot and shell. Off they bolted on double quick to surprise the napping Fort. They had no ambition to capture the place, as conditions made it impossible to hold it; but they so longed to catch glimpses of the sweet girl faces, get a few morsels of palatable food, snatch some articles of sorely needed clothing—then retire as surprisingly as they had dropped down.⁵

³ Federal forces under Brigadier General Samuel Curtis scattered a few Confederate pickets and raised the Union flag over Fayetteville on February 23, 1862. The Federal hold on the city thereafter was threatened several times. In July, 1862, 550 mounted riflemen and detachments of cavalry under Major William H. Miller routed a Confederate force a few miles southwest of Fayetteville. The Battle of Prairie Grove was fought near the city on December 7, 1862. After this Fayetteville was garrisoned by the First Arkansas (Union) Cavalry Regiment under Colonel M. La Rue Harrison. On April 18, 1863, they repelled an attack by 900 Confederates under Brigadier General William L. Cabell. However, Southern partisan Captain William Brown seized the city for a few hours on August 23, 1863, while Harrison's regiment was absent from the city. In October Colonel William H. Brooks and the Thirty-fourth Arkansas (Confederate) Infantry Regiment besieged the city's garrison of 500 men of Harrison's regiment under Major Thomas J. Hunt. Hunt refused to surrender, and Brooks withdrew. In the fall of 1864, the entire First Arkansas (Union) Cavalry Regiment was in Fayetteville. United States Department of War, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 vols., 128 books, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. VIII, pp. 68-70, Vol. XIII, p. 163, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, pp. 67-158, 305-313, 594-595, 701-704. Hereafter cited as *Official Records*.

⁴ Major General Sterling Price's defeated army was retreating southward after his futile raid along the Missouri border and crucial defeat at the Battle of Westport, Missouri. Price had taken 12,000 men north in a desperate attempt to regain control of Missouri. Union forces under Major General Samuel Curtis pursued Price as far as northern Arkansas. Albert Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), pp. 238-255; *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, pp. 303-729.

⁵ "Colonel F" refers to Major General James F. Fagan, commanding one of Price's three cavalry divisions. Actually he did not bring his own regiment to attack Fayetteville. On November 1, 1864, Price was in Cane Hill, where Fagan learned that Brooks' regiment and Brown's partisans again were besieging Fayetteville. Price gave Fagan 500 men from Brigadier General



Major General James F. Fagan, Confederate commander who attacked Fayetteville, Arkansas, in November of 1863 (Courtesy National Archives).

The early morning twilight was deepened by a dense fog, which concealed their approach until they were well upon the sentinels. As the bugle had not yet sounded, the Blue Coats were still wrapped in slumber. The Boys in Blue hastily threw on their uniforms, thrust sockless feet into their boots and with empty stomachs hastened to answer the call "to arms." By this time the hills were fairly teeming with Gray Coats, and they rained shot

Joseph O. Shelby's brigade and two pieces of artillery to join the attack. The "soldier boys" who had left their girls in Fayetteville were the men of Brooks' regiment, all or most of whom came from Fayetteville or Washington County. Harrison's men had erected a fort of extensive earthworks within the city. Fagan probably attacked the city to procure provisions for his men, who suffered from want of food and clothing. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, pp. 638, 397-400, Pt. 400, Pt. 4, p. 1004; Robert E. Waterman and Thomas Rothrock, eds., "The Earle-Buchanan Letters of 1861-1876," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2 (Summer, 1974), p. 103.

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and shell into the inner lines of the enemies breast-works. Private dwellings were sometimes in range, and the inmates driven to cellar and basement. The bombardment was continued during the entire day, hence many citizens were pent up in these close, stuffy quarters during the entire time. When the conflict ceased, the women found their pantries and larders empty—even the churns and side-boards betraying proof that strange, hungry visitors had ventured in.⁶

The day, of course, was crowded with thrilling incidents, shading all the way from the most pathetic to the most ludicrous. Very early in the day it was discovered that the garrison was minus the commanding officer. Whereupon a subordinate, who bore his chief no love at any time, and whose love of drink was much stronger than his love of country, especially at the cannon's mouth, leaped upon a conspicuous part of the breast-works and screeched out: "Where is Colonel H?"⁷ Echo answers, "Where?" These terse speeches found local fame and are still fresh in the minds of some who heard them on that long gone-by day.

A most amusing quarrel, (yet regrettable, as showing the debasing influences of war on woman), was heard by the teller of this story, between a Federal officer and a rebel woman of gentle birth and careful rearing, but who was now under the iron heel of fate, boarding Yankee officers for a livelihood. A few minutes after the cannonading opened she informed the first official of her household that there was no wood to get dinner with. (He always provided all things to run a first-class house.) He gruffly replied, and that in army terms; "In the name of G-d, Mrs. S., you must be crazy! Don't you hear those d-d rebel guns? I've no time to think of wood or dinner either!" In like voice and equally strong terms she retorted: "Yes, Major G., I hear them and thank the Lord for the music; and Major, maybe you'll not need any d-d dinner and, to be honest, I don't care a d-n whether you do or don't, so there!"

He got his dinner and supper at one and the same time—nine o'clock that night. And to his amazement, his landlady was in much sweeter temper towards him, for the Gray Jackets had sent a bomb crashing through her house that day, doing considerable damage; this she held against them as an unpardonable outrage.

⁶ Fagan led his detachment, Brooks' regiment and Brown's partisans in an attack on Fayetteville on November 3, 1864. The two Confederate guns bombarded the fort, many shots striking nearby residences. The Confederates invested the city except for the fort. Three times the Confederate officers attempted assaults on the Federal works, but each time their weary men refused to attack. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, pp. 400, 515; Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West*, p. 247.

⁷ Colonel Harrison.

One of the most touching incidents of the day was that of an old Black Mammy, a member of your story-teller's family. Mammy had again and again refused to listen to the appeals of Northern friends to leave her Southern Folks to go with them to the happy land of freedom. Early in the day she had gone with the family to the basement for safety, as the Enfields from the fort were being levelled towards the house, the balls now and then entering the windows and dropping upon the floor. She turned a large barrel sideways and crept into it, and remained there all day. Mammy not long afterwards, showed signs of mind failure, which grew worse and worse until she finally suicided by jumping into the well. She insisted that schools for colored children would not be allowed by white folks, and if attempted the children would be waylaid and killed.

But Black Mammy still lives in the minds and hearts of those who knew her, and their mouths still water for her waffles, cake, pies, and turkey done to a brown.

The bombardment closed with the day, and strange to say there were few fatalities on either side.⁸ The Gray Jackets had seen a happy realization of their dream—a sort of strategic feint worthy of veterans. They drew off as slyly as they had entered, leaving the Blue Coats greatly disconcerted, and filled with surmises as to how these Gray Foxes got into the Fort, and what would be their next audacious move.⁹

The smoke from the cannonading had scarcely lifted before the officers at the post began to cast up their losses and gains. They found they had held their own, though at the expense of considerable nerve tension and the agonizing dread of being bottled up, as at that time they had no knowledge of the near approach of General C. with a fresh force.¹⁰

Personal losses among the officers counted for much. These arch rebels had ventured over the dead line to get a feast for eye and appetite. On entering houses (usually of friends) after a hurried greeting, they put the question: "Have you Yankee officers stopping with you, if so where are their apartments?" A beck or nod would suffice to point the way, and they were usually rewarded by a rich find of good clothes, cigars, pistols, etc., for

⁸ Harrison reported his losses as 1 killed and 8 wounded, and Confederate losses as 100 killed, wounded and taken prisoner, no doubt an inflated figure. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, p. 400.

⁹ The attack on Fayetteville was no "strategic feint," but it was the last engagement of Price's long retreat. The Confederates abandoned the city on November 4, 1864, and escaped just ahead of the advancing Federal troops of Major General James G. Blunt. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, pp. 400, 515, 638; Castel, *General Sterling Price and the Civil War in the West*, p. 247.

¹⁰ This was Blunt's army. A message from Harrison had reached Curtis the night before at Cross Hollows, eighteen miles away. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, p. 515.



FAYETTEVILLE, ARKANSAS. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH.

Fayetteville, Arkansas, on the eve of the Civil War (Courtesy Washington County, Arkansas, Historical Society).

Federal officers revelled in citizens' dress when off duty, and enjoyed life to the full. To soothe their consciences these Boys in Gray sometimes left the most grotesque articles in lieu of those taken, arguing than an "even exchange was no robbery."

The attack on the Fort served to stir up fresh strife and suspicion grew stronger against the Southern sympathizers. There were blood signs on the moon—dark whisperings in the air—women convinced against their will were made responsible for the late mischief. Underground messages were received by these women that filled them with grave misgivings. They, too, began to hold what they called "councils of war." A few families would meet, bound by ties even stronger than blood, to recount the past, weigh the present and forecast the future. Some woman from the country would perhaps be the oracle of the occasion, coming, ostensibly to shop—in reality, to distribute the latest budget from the South-land.

Soon after the late surprise party, a council of this kind was held at the home of a representative family, a member of which had recently suffered because of a breach of loyalty. The meeting was on a night so dark, the

darkness could almost be felt—a night for witches to brew their broth and ghosts to stalk abroad. To add to the gruesomeness of the night, rain fell in weird chant upon roof and pane.

The little group comprised a mother, four children, a darling of a little grandson and two visiting friends. All gathered close about the smoldering fire, which struggled at times to a thin, blue flame, licking up reluctantly between a few ill-shapen logs. It was the same generous fire-place, however, whose blazing fires had sputtered and crackled and sparkled and cheered so many hearts in days gone by when huge dorky Joe put on the regulation back-log at nightfall. But Joe's herculean arm and the back-log, too, was missing; for Joe was rejoicing in his newly-found freedom in stormy Kansas, and the back-logs had gone to feed the fires of the Federal troops.

But the little party drew into a close knot and spoke in mysterious whispers. The from-out-of-town woman had things both tearful and amusing to tell. She related a thrilling episode of a maiden, who had recently distinguished herself in a contest over a bag of coffee. A scouting party from the Post had gone into the country, plundering and harassing the people most unmercifully. At the home of Mrs. B. they emptied her smoke-house and larder of their contents—a stalwart soldier seizing a last and partly filled bag of coffee, when the daughter objected, saying: "I have made no complaint at your taking the other things, but the coffee my aged mother needs above all else, and I bid you leave that alone." The soldier gave no heed to her demand, and had neared the door, sack in hand, when the young lady seized a heavy iron poker and dealt him such a blow upon the head that he instantly dropped to the floor. At length regaining his feet he hurriedly left the house, leaving the coffee behind.

Soon the story of the heroic deed reached the ears of lovers and friends of hers in far-away Dixie. The boys in Gray at once decided that such incomparable bravery should not go unrewarded, and sent her a magnificent saddle-horse, with a glowing tribute to her matchless heroism.

The young lady still lives, under another name however, to tell her story of the Blue Coat, the coffee, the poker and the saddle horse.

Another story related by the visitor was of a dear old lady whose piety and precision had never been questioned, either by saint or sinner. Her house was plundered, and when the looters had gone, leaving behind them confusion worse confounded, her daughter began to pick up the few remaining things, all the while choking with fury! Finally she burst forth: "Confound the Yankees anyhow!" In drawling speech, and wholly unconscious of its weight of meaning, the old mother chimed in: "Well I say so too, Sally!"

A pen portrait of the second visitor of the group, above mentioned, may be interesting, at least to the young reader, if not to the grown-up who has a

weakness for consulting the Black Art. Not that the Fortune teller, Mrs. W., was a toothless old crone of the nomadic tribe, distilling from a pot of frogs, serpents, and bitter herbs a concoction whereby to drag up the hidden secrets of the past and reveal those of the future. She did not so much as consult kings and knaves, and attempt to divine the unknown through the medium of greasy paste-board. Her art lay in a simple "turning of the coffee cup." She was extremely fond of coffee any way and through this innocent method she afforded hours and hours of inexpressible pleasure to others, besides the individual solace she got from the coffee. The old lady, though connected with some of the most distinguished of American history, had enjoyed few educational advantages in youth; hence her English was extremely faulty, but this fact only lent novelty to the sport.

On one occasion a young lady in the country decided that she must consult Mrs. W. about her lover Zeke, who was then in the Trans-Mississippi department of the army. Mrs. W. was found and no time was lost to brew a fresh pot of coffee—coffee without pistols, for two, mind you! The coffee made, it must pass through that essential process of shaking to its very depths; after this a quick pouring into the cups, when a settling of the grounds to the bottom must follow. The coffee is then drunk. Next a second violent shaking of the grounds takes place, and the cup inverted in the saucer. Whereupon the old lady settles her spectacles upon her nose (the bows tied with a white cotton string). After a long and careful study of the figures on sides and bottom of the cup, then—the fortune! All excitement the old lady exclaims: "Oh Miss Jinny, the Wah is a goin to end reel soon, an yore Zeky will get thew without a scratch! You jest lookee heah! Don't ye see, thar's a big road and lots of men a foot and lots mo' ridin, an all of 'em a comin right this a-way. Heah's Zeeky sorty off to hisself. Oh, he's a comin home, an that mity soon, as shore as yore borned, and he will be ridin of a mule!"

"Zecke" truly survived the war, and came home with heart and limbs all whole to Jenny, but minus the mule! He and Jenny were really wedded and a happier couple was never mated. The anecdote is still told by those familiar with it, though nearly forty-nine years have elapsed since the amusing incident occurred.

The old lady turned the cup again on the dreary night previously mentioned, and doleful sights were as plainly to be seen as A, B, C. The two visitors were of one mind—that trouble was ripening for Southern families and that they would sooner or later be "sent over the lines" if they did not go of their own accord—that a messenger should be dispatched at once to ascertain the prospects for new homes in the far South, and arrange for an early exodus.



Colonel M. LaRue Harrison, commander of the First United States Arkansas Cavalry Regiment while it occupied Fayetteville, Arkansas, from 1862 to 1864 (Courtesy Washington County, Arkansas, Historical Society).

But who could, or who would, or who should, go became the hard question. Some were too old to attempt so hazardous a journey, others too young. At last one who had become painfully inured to the hardships of the war and its bitter experiences, one who was possessed of more courage than caution, finally said she would willingly go if it were not for the darling



The restored State Capitol Building of Confederate Arkansas in Washington—the original route planned by the party would have carried them here; however, they turned southwest into Indian Territory (Courtesy Arkansas Parks and Tourism Department).

little four-year old.¹¹ That his baby years had already seen quite enough of cruel adventure and hair-breadth escape, the little fellow having been in the midst of another battle, when some soldiers were shot dead from his mother's porch, while others sought safety in the attic from the volleys of musketry turned toward the house. But the Grandmother interrupted her, declaring that she and his Aunties would be his willing slaves until her return. The little mother swallowed the awful lump in her throat and said: "Well, then, I will go and spy out the land." But none will ever know what heartache it cost that mother to imprint the parting kiss on his little mouth, and press him to her heart for the last time; for of all the children round about he was the sweetest, the most beautiful—the idol of the household,

¹¹ Mrs. Sutton here refers to herself. The child was William Seneca Sutton, writer of the Foreword to this article.

the joy of the neighborhood, the admiration of strangers, with his dark curls reaching almost to his shoulders, his dark expressive eyes, his merry chatter and ringing laugh, filling the house with life and cheer while his manners were so charming, his little speeches so bright as to provoke suspicion of his having been coached by his elders. Sometimes in the presence of officers stopping at the home the little fellow would relate dreams he had had about war happenings, and perhaps something would occur soon to create suspicion concerning the little boy's dreams. His dress suits were of Confederate gray cloth of which he was intensely proud. For general wear he had butter-nut jeans—the uniform of the famous skirmisher Buck Brown and his men. When Buck Brown was killed, little Willie sat at the table as silent as the grave, while the matter was discussed by the officers and family. When the officers had retired, he cleverly spoke up: "Gan-mudder, I mustn't wear my butter-nuts now—Buck Brown is dead!"¹²

About this time three stranger ladies arrived at the Fort, enroute South in search of Confederate friends, and glad to join any parties thither-bound. The eldest of these was [a] woman perhaps sixty years of age. The first syllable of her name being in perfect harmony with her fiery nature, while the second was close kin to "ball," so it was decided no violence to her or our conscience to corrupt it to "Fireball." The second of the three was a woman with two small children, one three years old, the other eighteen months. The third of these women was a young lady that had already achieved fame by her deeds of valor and wonderful skill in the conduct and management of the affairs of her home and the community. Her Christian name being India, she was soon dubbed the gem of the whole party. At the last hour came another woman with an eight-year old son, pleading to be joined to the little caravan. So there were eight souls, including the teller of this story, starting upon a mission almost as novel and as faithtesting as was that of Noah, when he launched the Ark freighted with its eight human souls and all that was to be preserved of earth.

Friends looked on amazed, even awe-stricken, at the idea of such a perilous undertaking. But those stout hearted women went ahead perfecting

¹² Captain William "Buck" Brown, a former miller, was a guerrilla captain of northwest Arkansas, operating near Fayetteville. He led a band of 60 to 150 men that constantly harassed Harrison. Brown seized Fayetteville briefly on August 23, 1863, while Harrison's men were absent. In April of the next year he and his men dressed in Federal uniforms to surprise and kill nine Union troops. In March of 1865 a Federal patrol caught Brown near his mill in Benton County and killed him and three of his men. Leo E. Huff, "Guerillas, Jayhawkers and Bushwackers in Northern Arkansas During the Civil War," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (Summer, 1965), pp. 136-137; *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XXII, Pt. 1, pp. 594-595, Vol. XLIII, Pt. 1, p. 1185.

their plans as best they could under frowning circumstances. It was a most difficult matter to get anything like valuable vehicles and teams through the military lines at that time; so there was but one conveyance, with an ill matched team of two horses, to accommodate this party of eight. Vehicle did I call it? Well, if its kind should be reproduced today on the principal street of any modern city, very soon the civic authorities would object. For each revolution of the wheels was followed by such dolorous screeches as would affect the nerves of the stoutest. It was hard for the most considerate to suppress a "ha, ha," at the grotesqueness of this turn-out. Three of the party were horse back, Mrs. Yett had the royal honor of being mounted upon the prize steed awarded Miss B. for rescuing the bag of coffee from the Yankee soldier previously described. The other two rode condemned cavalry horses.

The day of starting at last came. On the 18th of November 1864, the sun rose bright and promising, but by ten o'clock, (the hour appointed for leaving), the wind was blowing a perfect gale. The little band had arranged to cross the country to the next Fort, a distance of fifty or more miles, with the mail-party of the Post.¹³ This they did for protection, as the mail-party always went heavily guarded; for at this time the mountains were full of bush-whackers and "mountain-boomers," names well-nigh obsolete to-day, much to the credit of present day civilization.

At this point, the party of women confidently expected to join a flag of truce that had been sent in from Doaksville, Ind. Ter. to escort families out of Federal lines. This hope bouyed them for a most trying and hazardous trip over the mountains, which meant an all night ride, the darkness disturbed now and then by a few straggling moonbeams, with strangers for escorts, and men mounted on white horses for way marks! The distance, however, was covered without serious casualty, this to be said in special praise of the mail-party. The Fort safely reached, those women for a brief time were ecstatic. They breakfasted with loving friends, and hurried away to headquarters to get the necessary information, regarding the flag of truce, when lo! to their utter dismay and undoing they found that the truce party had passed out several hours before.

The authorities assured them that by a little extra exertion they could overtake the company. Passes were granted, and that, too, without the rigid process of individual search for contraband—a custom that had afforded no little amusement, as well as spoil, to the searchers in the past.

¹³ Their destination was Fort Smith, fifty miles southwest of Fayetteville, just east of the border of Indian Territory.

So much for the false estimates placed upon exteriors at times. One of this party had a thousand dollars in gold—the remaining members had from one hundred to five hundred dollars on their persons. By ten o'clock they were ready to move. The post commander granted them a guard beyond the danger line.¹⁴ They were put upon the highway, taken by the truce party and assured that it would be but a short time before they could join it, if they traveled briskly.¹⁵

Luncheon had been provided for one day only. This the little people, having nothing else to occupy them, helped themselves to every hour in the day. All day long the company kept up the steady march, vainly hoping and expecting that each turn in the road would bring the flag to view. The bare-foot prints of the children, and even of the dogs, were so fresh and distinct it seemed truly absurd that they could not come up with it. Another great astonishment and hardship to the travelers was the utterly deserted condition of the country. Not a single roadside house had an occupant; consequently these women did not see another human face during the entire day. At night fall weary and somewhat discouraged, they took up quarters in a wayside cabin.¹⁶ A division of chores was soon agreed upon. Some were to gather fuel and keep fires, not to cook with, for alas! they had nothing to cook, nor yet anything to cook in if they had. Others were to care for the horses. The writer had some excellent "Lincoln coffee" in her carpet bag, but sans a vessel to make it in, it was useless.¹⁷ Evidently the people that had lived in the houses on this thoroughfare did not subsist out of paper-sacks and tin-cans as do the civilized of the present day. Not one vestige of the

¹⁴ The commander of Fort Smith was Colonel William R. Judson, and the ladies' escorts were men of the Thirteenth Kansas Infantry Regiment. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 4, pp. 374, 986.

¹⁵ At least four roads led south from Fort Smith. The ladies intended to take the road south to Washington, Arkansas. Their escort failed to set them on the right road, and they followed a road leading southwest into Indian Territory. For maps of the country traveled by the ladies on this trip, see *Atlas to Accompany the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891-1895), Plates CLIX, CLX.

¹⁶ The ladies' route that day carried them up the valley of the Poteau River. They camped on the prairie just north of the Winding Stair Mountains. The country was deserted because most of the Confederate residents of the northern part of the Choctaw Nation had fled south to avoid Union troops.

¹⁷ "Lincoln Coffee" was a name frequently used in the Confederate States as a substitute for coffee, which virtually became unobtainable within six months after the opening of the Civil War. Coffee substitutes used most frequently were parched corn, rye, wheat, okra seeds, sweet potatoes, or chickory. Other coffee substitutes were acorns, dandelion roots, sugar cane, parched rice, cotton seeds, sorghum molasses, English peas, peanuts, and beans. Mary Elizabeth Massey, *Ersatz in the Confederacy* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1952), pp. 72-73.

kind could be found. The company suppered on the scraps that the little folks had munched on during the day, parched some corn that had been put into the go-cart for the horses, converted saddle-blankets, shawls and other wraps into pallets on the puncheon floor, with saddles and satchels for pillows, and all cuddled down to lose their sense of weariness and worry, if possible, in a few winks of sleep. And right here we would echo the sentiment of Sancho Panza who invoked blessings on the man that first invented sleep—that treasure which covers one all over so like a blanket!

The fire committee had provided an abundance of fuel in order to keep a blazing fire all night. Hardly were we settled to our new and strange conditions, before equally strange noises were heard in the distance. At first there was great rejoicing, the noises being mistaken for domestic sounds from some farmhouse not far away, but alas! it was the howling of wolves, seemingly making a bee-line for the company's quarters. So two of the party, urged by the traditional theory that wolves were easily terrified by fire, arose and went out to explore the premises, hoping to find some out-building that they might set on fire. Much to their delight they soon found one, and in a few minutes the flames were crackling and leaping sky ward. But a high wind was blowing and the wonder continues to this day that the lodgings as well were not burned. But fortune favored—the wolves changed their minds, and the wind its course,—these women were still safe and more impressed than ever that God was yet in His heavens and that they were creatures of His over-ruling providence. With the earliest dawn of the morning the party were all up and with a few simple preparations, again upon the road, feeling very sanguine they should overtake the flag that day, perhaps by ten o'clock, at least by noon. How they tried to hasten, but the horses were much jaded and like ourselves beginning to feel keenly the want of food.

Noon-time drew on and our hope was still deferred. We were forced to stop and graze the horses upon the dry grass. Besides we had lost our bearings and were in much perplexity as to whither we were traveling. Of one thing only were we sure—that we were still in the United States, as we hadn't crossed the oceans either side, nor yet the Rio Grande River on the South, or the Great Lakes on the North. All else was speculation of the crudest kind. Some suggested we turn back, but Mrs. Fireball said, "Nay," that we could not possibly make the return trip without risking our lives—the wiser part would be to push on—relief would certainly come soon. On we went and the day dragged drearily away bringing no better or brighter prospects than the one before. The fagged condition of the horses necessitated our stopping before night, but there was no food to be had for woman or beast, nothing but pure refreshing water of which the women freely



Confederate General Sterling Price, who Francena L. Sutton hoped would attack Fayetteville, Arkansas, on his retreat from Missouri to Texas in 1864 (Courtesy Library of Congress).

drank, and dry grass for the horses.¹⁸ The most heart-touching thing of all was to hear the little children's cry for bread when there wasn't anything except a few grains of parched corn to give them. The younger one was a very delicate child and the anxious mother was fearful it would die before help could be reached. She remarked that in the event it did die, there was no alternative but to carry its little body on, as we had nothing with which to make a coffin or dig a grave. These leaden words fell heavily into the hearts of all while tears flowed freely.

The second night was a barren repetition of the first, except the threatened invasion of the wolves and the house burning. Literally over-come by wear-

¹⁸ The day's travel had skirted the north edge of the Winding Stair Mountains. The camp evidently was on a creek tributary to the Kiamichi River.

ness and hunger we took more sleep. The first streaks of daylight, however, found us again upon the highway. The horse back riders walked much of the time fearing their horses might fail entirely. Cattle now began to appear on the prairies, some of them quite gentle. This afforded some little encouragement that their owners could not be far away. Still there were no signs of life in the roadside houses. The cattle, especially the calves were real fat and one of the company remarked that it was a burning shame that we should starve to death with choice food at hand. Finally the brave India spoke up: "Well, I know how to kill a beef and dress it too; for I have had some very practical training along that line right recently. I have had to kill the beeves for the neighborhood at home, but then I had a gun to shoot with and a sharp knife to dress with. There isn't a thing of the kind in all this crowd that would serve the purpose, unless I could kill it with this pocket knife, given me as a memento by a Federal officer as we came over the Boston Mountains on the first night out." Your story-teller replied that she too had a knife almost as good, and possibly between them they might do some execution. Of course, these things were first talked of in jest, without thinking of undertaking a task so unreasonable. But as the day wore on with no promise of help the suggestion became more and more serious. At last the horseback riders formulated a plan and summoned all their courage to submit it to "Mrs. Fireball," whom they had constituted commander-in-chief, referee, etc. The plan proposed was to camp earlier than usual, selecting a place near a slaughter-pen. There were many of these prepared, as we afterward learned, by Gen. Price's command which had passed that way only a few weeks before.¹⁹ It was submitted only to meet with the keenest ridicule. However, she finally wound up by stating that she had already decided to stop early and give the horses a longer time to rest and graze before being tied up for the night. She still insisted that the projectors of the slaughter-scheme should "mother" it, as she would wash her hands of anything so perfectly absurd. Whereupon they cheerfully, yea, gladly, excused her from lending so much as her presence.

Shortly after this conference, the old lady who always led the van, pulled the rein before a rather comfortable-looking cabin.²⁰ This cabin was situated on a beautiful hill which easily sloped down to a large spring, gurgling from

¹⁹ After leaving Cane Hill on November 4, 1864, Price had led his men on a wearying retreat across Indian Territory. His route lay north and west of that of the ladies. However, detachments left his main column to find and slaughter cattle for his starving troops. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, pp. 639, 647-648, 661, 692, 697, 705.

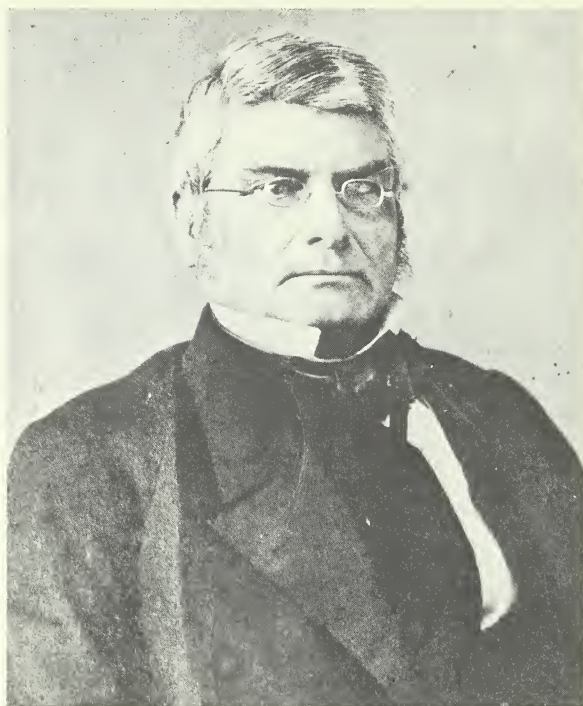
²⁰ By this time the ladies were turning southward along the western border of the Winding Stair Mountains.

its foot, its waters meandering away in a silvery, purling brook. Just beyond this brook was an excellent slaughter-pen with a smaller one inclosed [sic] within it. The first, and an important, step was to select from the herd of cattle feeding close by, an old family cow with a calf or two—cut them out from the main herd and by some device tole [enticed] them into the pen. Your storyteller had a small quantity of salt which she had provided for her horse. It was brought forth and served the purpose. In a little while they had a mother cow and twin bossies in the toils. But it proved a more strategic matter to get one in the smaller pen. Success finally crowned their efforts, after which they turned the mother and the other calf outside, driving them out of sight and sound. We then tied bossy's head close up to the fence that it might not have room to jump about. India volunteered to cut its throat with her pocket knife, but some one must hold its rear leg on the side she stabbed from. The leg was soon secured with a rope, and the writer appointed to the mission of holding it. When all was in readiness, India gave the signal,—“one, two, three,”—and plunged the cruel knife into the little innocent's throat. No sooner done than the creature began to rear and struggle like mad. The woman at the rope put all her reserve force into the effort, when lo! the little one slipped the leash with as much ease as Sampson broke the cords. And the woman, oh where was she! Such a fall! She tumbled all in a heap among some sharp-edged rails, but there was no time to think of bruises, whether slight or serious. Another device was brought out, and a more successful [one]—this time both rear legs were to be fastened to the fence and two knives brought into play. It was not the work of two or three minutes by any means. The little victim made a bold defense for its life. At last the poor thing lay quivering on the ground.

By this time the evening shadows had deepened until every stump and bush was a spectre, and each rustle of leaf or noise from insect was freighted with dread. Graveyards are always lonely places and gruesome. We are filled with awe and solemnity, even in the broad light of day when walking through these silent cities.

Only a short distance from the spring mentioned, was a number of newly-made graves. Price's poor soldiers (some of them) had succumbed to hunger and exposure and fallen out by the way.²¹ There they lay, their fresh mounds their only monument. No language is sufficient to describe the weirdness and awful depression of that sad scene!

²¹ One of Price's officers reported that for twenty-three days his men had nothing to eat except beef without salt, and for three days they had nothing at all. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 1, p. 692.



Robert M. Jones, prominent Choctaw planter and delegate to the Confederate Congress. Jones graciously hosted Francena L. Sutton's traveling party at his Rose Hill Plantation (Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society).

Soldier-like, these women could not wait until life was entirely extinct, before entering upon the next disagreeable task, viz., the dressing of the beef. They had neither candle nor lamp to aid them, but just as they began their revolting work, the great round full-orbed moon (it never seemed so large before) rose, and as there was neither cloud nor tree to obstruct, she shone down upon them in regal splendor. Soon the disagreeable task was ended and with supreme satisfaction they hurried to the house to convince "Captain Fireball" that they could kill a beef, possibly a bear, without her assistance or advice. The old grumbler drew down the corners of her mouth into a smile of doubtful approval and looked a volume of astonishment. At once she recovered herself and was ready with advice as to what and how, to do with the meat. But India was regarded as authority in such matters, as she was well posted upon beef either on foot or on gridiron, so she was

requested to give instructions as to how it should be prepared. She suggested that the steaks be cured over a hot fire by placing the meat on poles and holding it over the blaze. This was called jerking, she said. The liver she suggested would be very palatable if covered up without embers and coals, and thoroughly roasted like potatoes. Salt was called for, but lack-a-day! the little supply of salt had been exhausted in deluding the mother cow into the pen! So we had unsalted meat, without bread or coffee; for still no tin cans had been found in which to make that "Lincoln coffee."

Still they made the most of the blessings they had, and with spirits revived and hope rekindled they set out the next morning for a most eventful day. Just before starting, some one spied horsemen in the distance. The writer was requested to mount the prize horse and run them down. Obedient to the request she started at a lively gait, but the riders went like the wind, and were soon out of sight. Later it developed that they were Indians and few there be that can outstrip an Indian rider. When she returned to camp with the report of failure, it was then proposed that India and she start out again leaving the main road, to see if they could not find a house or settlement that had not been deserted. Sure enough after a reconnoiter of several miles smoke was seen curling upward. Braced with fresh belief that help was at hand, they hastened on and soon came to a small hut; but to their dismay a full-blood Indian sat on the outside making moccasins! He looked a very wild Indian with tomahawk, bow and arrows, head-rig made of feathers, etc. The women were greatly frightened, still their urgent purpose made stout their hearts and they boldly attempted a conversation; but he only glanced up with a look of savage contempt for pale faces, remained doggedly silent, and resumed his work. In despair they hurried back to camp. The luckless story related, the whole party began to have grave suspicions that they had straggled into the Indian Territory, among an unfriendly tribe at that.²² A few moments sufficed to put the caravan on the road again. They pushed up as fast as their ill conditions would permit, filled with an awful dread as to what might be their next experience. At noon they found they must stop on account of the horses.

In a short time a man was discovered coming towards the company. "Captain Fireball" issued the order that they all stay together—that there be no straggling. Perhaps she preferred a wholesale massacre if there were to be one at all. Maybe she thought to intimidate the stranger by presenting a bold front. As he approached he gradually slackened his pace. He rode a very fine mule, was equipped with tomahawk and flint lock, which of course

²² The ladies were in the Choctaw Nation.

betrayed his race. Nearer and nearer he drew to the wagon until our very hair stood on end—all were white as ghosts! Still he did not speak a word. "Captain Fireball" and the mother of the wee bairns [children] tried in vain to draw him out. They showed him the little hungry children—counted on their fingers the number of days they had been without food—told him the children must surely die if food was not gotten very soon.

Just as the man came up, India's horse died. She removed the saddle and told the Indian he might have it. However, she first offered to buy his mule, but he shook his head to indicate "No" for his answer. "Captain Fireball" added still more to the sum offered and made him a second proposition, but "No" was his sign. Mrs. Yeater then offered him two hundred dollars in gold, he still shook his head and coupled with it a grunt that signified an emphatic "No." India, on second thought, decided it would be unwise to give away her saddle as she might meet with an opportunity to buy another horse, so she put the saddle and other equipment into the wagon. After staying some time, the Indian started off across the prairie. At once we began a council as to what was the next best thing to do, when to our horror we saw the Indian rein his mule suddenly about and come flying at full speed to the wagon. All were sure their time had now come, and were silently offering up what we supposed was our last prayer to God! The Indian ventured close up and began to talk in extremely broken English—a word sometimes standing for an entire sentence. He pointed across the prairie and said: "Live six miles," pointing to us, "you Bush Creek, camp." Then pointing to himself and then across the prairie: "Go, corn bread." Pointing to the babies: "Papposes starve." Pointing to himself: "Come, Bush Creek."²³ With this broken speech he galloped off at full speed. Having no faith in his promises, we lost no time in getting away, determined if possible to put many a mile between him and us. We construed his plan to mean he would bring a band of Indians and we hardly dared surmise the rest. We had traveled about two hours, as nearly in the opposite direction for that indicated by the Indian as we could, when we met another man, who to our overwhelming delight was a white man and could speak excellent English. Oh! it was a joy inexpressible to find some one once more who could speak the Mother Tongue! "Captain Fireball" questioned him as to our whereabouts on this lower world, and he replied by asking us where we started from and where bound, and we answered by stating that we had started from Fayetteville, Arkansas to Washington, Arkansas, when he wittily said: "Well, my

²³ The Indian was directing the women to camp Bushy Creek, and he would bring them food.

friends, I must say you have taken a devil of a circuitous route for it." (He was a soldier.)²⁴ He said that Doaksville was the nearest point for us, which was not a great distance from Red River, in the Choctaw Nation—that at Doaksville we would find friends and get help—that it was headquarters for the Confederate commissaries in that part of the country and a part of the army was in winter-quarters not far away.²⁵ We confided our various experiences to him while he laughed and sighed by turns. We told him of our episode with the Indian that day and how we were living in mortal dread of his return with a band of tomahawkers, at least to take our horses and leave us helpless to perish. The man was much amused at our story more especially when we told him that we had revealed the fact to the Indian that we were Southern women in search of soldier friends and relatives of the Southern army. He said we need borrow no fear of being molested by that man, that the Indian was a Choctaw and that his tribe to the last man were Southern. [A page of typescript is missing at this point. When the next page begins, the party has traveled an undefined distance and has stopped at the cabin of a Negro woman.] race, never having felt the pangs of real hunger, or been pressed with extreme want of any kind. But the writer will say right here that a whiter soul never existed than was found under this black skin. The haste with which we dismounted, unsaddled, ungeared, and made our way into Mammy's quarters would have reflected credit on the double-quick movements of any body of soldiers!

Her little hut contained only one little room about twelve feet square with puncheon floor and cracks large enough to drop the babies shoes through. In this room were an old-time loom, a reel fastened to the wall, a rude bedstead also fastened to the wall, a broken chair and two or three stools, a few cooking utensils and some large flat gourds full of—goodness only knows what! Picture, if you can, the putting in of eight other persons, with all their belongings, and making provision for them to sleep within the crowded space of that one room. The dear old Mammy began to busy herself about some supper. The storyteller brought out that "Lincoln coffee" which had so long lain useless in the bottom of her sachel, and had Mammy make

²⁴ A Confederate soldier.

²⁵ Doaksville was close to Fort Towson. Both were located near where the Kiamichi River enters the Red River in the Choctaw Nation. Major General Samuel Bell Maxey, commander of Confederate troops in Indian Territory and also Superintendent of Indian Affairs, made Fort Towson his headquarters. Kenneth E. Lewis, "Archeological Investigations at Fort Towson, Choctaw County, Oklahoma, 1971," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. L, No. 3 (Autumn, 1972), p. 276; Allan C. Ashcraft, ed., "Confederate Indian Department Conditions in August, 1864," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1963), pp. 270–271.

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some. She fried some delicious venison and made some genuine Indian corn-bread, the meal having been beaten in a mortar. Never, never, in all our days had food meant so much to us! Still we suffered much uneasiness, fearing we should over-eat and fall sick in that desolate land. However, the supply was not abundant, which was doubtless in our favor. The supper over we began vigorous preparations to get some sound sleep—a thing we had had little of since leaving home. We were compelled to use our saddle-blankets, shawls, etc., as Mammy's supply of bedding was very scant. But the crucial moment came for the cuddling down—it was a sure case of "first come first served," as it was soon discovered that there was not room for all on the pallets; so Mammy, (noble soul), offered her bed, saying she must go in Massa's house and patch and darn until mighty late. When she came back, sure enough she found Mrs. Yell on her bed, she having lain down on top of the cover with her riding skirt drawn over her. Mammy said: "Law, honey, why didn't ye git unda the kiver? I knows ye haint ben comfable!" Before going to bed we had attempted to bar the door securely, (there was no such thing as a lock). We stood in dread of intruders during the night. Sure enough near two o'clock horses hoofs were heard and mumbling voices. A few moments later a pounding on the door and an effort to push it open. Instantly we rose to our feet and some of us rushed to the fireplace to make a light. Black Mammy had just fallen asleep when this tumult came up, but she bounced up and answered the call. She went out closing the door behind her and held a long confab with the visitors. Finally returning, she reported that there was an Indian man outside who had met a party of women and children on the prairies that afternoon and that the little ones were about to die of starvation, having nothing whatever to eat—that he lived some six miles away from where he met them—that he told them where to camp and that he would go home and get bread and corn and come to them. He said he had no meal ready for cooking when he got home; so he had to pound the meal, and his daughter to bake the bread. He had come back to the place he had directed them to with some bread, and corn for the horses. Failing to find them there he had started in search of them when he met a man that had seen them after he had, that the man had told him about where he might find them. He expressed great sympathy for the poor hungry children. However, he wished as a reward for his trouble, the saddle offered him the day before by the young lady. India brought it forth and cheerfully gave it to him.

Next morning Black Mammy made another delicious cup of coffee and gave us some more venison, gravy and corn-bread. Just as we were on the eve of starting, Mammy was standing around talking and eating her breakfast from a tin plate, when your storyteller stepped up and said to her: "I



Doaksville, Choctaw Nation, where Francena L. Sutton's group rested and recuperated (Courtesy Oklahoma Historical Society).

don't know, Mammy, when I shall ever have another opportunity to eat, so I take the liberty of taking a few more mouthfuls with you." She replied: "Yes, honey, gist hep yosef to all ye want," and the dear old soul (heaven rest her in peace if she has passed over) would have had me take it all, her heart was so big with sympathy.

Again we started upon a long hard day's travel, mostly on foot, or in the rumbling old wagon, which brought us to another Indian cabin where we found somewhat better fare, as we had plenty of room and a blazing fire. The Indians could furnish us nothing to eat, so we had to supper and breakfast on the jerked beef we had saved and the corn cakes the Indian had ridden eighteen miles to bring. We awoke next morning to find it very cloudy and the wind blowing furiously; a gentle shower of rain had fallen and we feared worse conditions were in store.

About ten o'clock the wagon, which had held together astonishingly, broke down. This meant a dreadful predicament as there was no possible means of repairing it. There we were, stranded on the roadside, not knowing how far it was to a repair-shop. Again the mounted members were sent on ahead to get help if possible. After a ride of perhaps five miles, we came to

the very delightful home of the Choctaw Chief.²⁶ The Chief himself spoke very little and very broken English, but to our surprise and joy we found his wife to be a most cultured New England lady, who had some years before come out to the Nation as a missionary. After she had taught a few years, the Chief's wife died and in time he married the missionary.²⁷

Quite a village had sprung up around him as he owned vast estates and numbers of slaves. We first saw and talked with some of the men in one of the shops, and told them our errand. One of the men went at once to the Chief and spoke to him of the matter. The Chief was not long in getting up an interest in the unfortunate people and sent a man to bring them, with the request that the entire party come to his house. We messengers went up at once and when we had related our forlorn story, he had a hack sent immediately for those who were staying by the stuff. His charming wife was much moved when we told of our narrow escape from starvation, and burst into tears when she heard that there were three children in the party, two of them very small. She expressed the tenderest sympathy and begged we should all make ourselves comfortable and have dinner with her that day. It took little persuasion for we had been so long without table-comforts so long since we had tasted really palatable food, that we were almost wild at the prospects.

After admiring the house and its unique appointments, we strolled out into the spacious yard and garden. The yard was a large old-fashioned one, full of forest trees, flowering shrubs, and old-time flowers. Here and there were still to be found autumnal flowers meekly blooming among the grass. The rear position of the yard had been converted into a cemetery. The Chief's first wife and several children by her, together with six babes by the last wife, slept here side by side. Beautiful white marble slabs and shafts told their short sad story, while the myrtle and ivy rambled in rank profusion over the graves and gracefully twined about the shafts. The weird impressiveness of the scene may be better imagined than described in words.²⁸ Soon dinner was announced. The rich Chief had felt nothing of the

²⁶ This "chief" was Robert M. Jones, the Choctaw planter. Jones had returned earlier in the year from Richmond, Virginia, where he had served as the Choctaw-Chickasaw delegate to the Confederate Congress. His Rose Hill plantation was west of Doaksville on the Red River. Jones owned more than 200 slaves. T. Paul Wilson, "Confederate Delegates of the Five Civilized Tribes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LIII, No. 3 (Fall, 1975), pp. 362-364.

²⁷ Jones' second wife, Susan Colbert, died in 1860. He married Elizabeth Earle on January 18, 1861. She had been a Presbyterian mission teacher at Armstrong Academy. Sketch of Robert M. Jones and sketch by W. B. Morrison titled "Rose Hill Mansion," Vertical Files, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

²⁸ Jones' three children by his first wife, Judith Walker, all died in infancy. There is record of only two children by Susan Colbert, one of whom died in infancy. The Rose Hill cemetery

ravages of the war, hence his table fairly groaned with good things. His slaves knew nothing whatever of the prospects of early freedom, [and] there were servants to attend our slightest want. How we regretted to part from our lovely new-found friends! But the hospitable hostess and the overseer who also spoke fluent English, had given most careful directions as to the remainder of the journey to Doaksville—our first objective point.

Just as night came on we reached the village—some riding, others walking, a few in the wagon. Imagine our joy on arriving to find some old-time friends who were in a position to render us needed assistance! We were comfortably quartered at the village tavern, [and] except for the crowd, we had to sleep three and four in a bed. Here we stopped for two days enjoying solid comfort and rest, and eating three square meals per day.

Having rallied from our awful strain, the party divided—a portion making for that division of the army in winter-quarters at Washington, Arkansas. The rest including the writer for Northern Texas, where we had many friends and relatives.

Captain Rector of the Confederate army most kindly escorted us to Paris, Texas, in a splendid turn-out.²⁹ Arriving in the beautiful town, we were not long in locating some relatives, who judging from the luxurious manner of their living, were totally oblivious of the war, knew nothing indeed of what war meant. The women, and the men, too, for that matter, lived lives of perfect ease and indolence, with little concern about anything, except eating and drinking and making merry. Nor was it a difficult matter for us to fall in with this happy-go-lucky sort of life. How to kill time was the all absorbing question. There was plenty of slaves, as the Thirteenth Amendment was not yet effective in those parts.³⁰ So the white women had absolutely nothing to do but “chop time,” and your storyteller did her part of it most effectively.

now is owned by the Oklahoma State Historical Society. Sketch of Robert M. Jones, sketch by Morrison, titled “Rose Hill Mansion” and family records in *Bible* of Robert M. Jones, Vertical Files, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society.

²⁹ The name Rector was common in the Confederate Army in Indian Territory. Thus this person cannot be identified with any degree of accuracy.

³⁰ The author’s chronology is confused at this point. The Emancipation Proclamation issued by President Abraham Lincoln on January 1, 1863, technically, but not actually, freed the slaves in the Confederate States then in rebellion against the United States. The Thirteenth Amendment constitutionally freed the slaves when it became effective on December 18, 1865.

BENSON PARK: SHAWNEE CITIZENS AT LEISURE IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

*By Kenneth R. Bain, Rob Phillips, and Paul D. Travis**

In the late nineteenth century non-Indian settlers pressed westward onto the Great Plains, convinced they had both a mission and an opportunity to make the desert bloom. While early official assessments of the region beyond the Missouri River were pessimistic about agricultural potential, fictionalized accounts, and an optimistic folk religion convinced the masses that Providence blessed the labors of the plow. They could turn a barren prairie into a garden. As for the desert, "It will rain fast enough," one early settler boasted, "now that white men are coming in to settle and make use of the land."

Such optimism seemed wildly naive in the face of droughts, grasshoppers, dust storms, tornados, and erratic rainfall patterns. Yet undaunted, town-builders on the plains kept the faith and played to the eastern mind to attract new residents. It was important to make the city lavish and lush with garden beauty. Parks and flower beds could reenforce the dream.

In most communities the vision never completely materialized. But in a few isolated hamlets the achievements were magnificent. Benson Park, near Shawnee, had few rivals for beauty anywhere in the country. A foreign visitor near the turn of the century might have puzzled over the location of the thirty-two acre recreation area. Its gardens and footpaths could have seemed oddly out of place, refugees from a Japanese sunken garden or a miniature Versailles.

The park was the property of the Interurban Railway Company that operated the Shawnee street cars. A special trolley line connected the park with Shawnee and the nearby village of Tecumseh. The company spent \$85,000 to construct the "garden" in 1908, the year after statehood.

For the next twenty-four years Benson Park was the center of social, leisure, and even political activity. Socialist leader Eugene V. Debs spoke there during his 1912 campaign for the Presidency. The park had an indoor pool, "the Plunge," complete with five hundred swimming suits available

* Kenneth R. Bain is currently a member of the Department of History at Pan American University, Edinburg, Texas; Rob Phillips is a photographer in Stillwater, Oklahoma; and Paul D. Travis is a member of the History Department at Southeast Missouri State University, Cape Girardeau, Missouri. The authors wish to acknowledge the aid of the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Oklahoma Humanities Committee, the Pottawatomie County Historical Society, the Canadian Valley Historical Society, and the Oklahoma Heritage Service for making this study possible.



For the citizens of the area Benson Park stood as a symbol and proof that they had transformed the wilderness.

for rent; canoe rides on Squirrel Creek; picnic areas; an opera house, later converted to a skating rink; a baseball field; a botanical garden; wooded retreats; a bandstand in the bough of a huge old oak tree; and afternoon concerts from local bands. In later years it hosted the second largest fair in the state, and it was always a favorite spot for lodge and church picnics.

Benson Park did more than help the Interurban fill its street cars. It became a symbol of what the town wanted to be. It fostered the garden image. It represented success for regeneration plans. For the people of Shawnee the park was proof that they had transformed the wilderness. It was, a 1910 city publication suggested, "the most positive proof that the city is not on a barren prairie."

But Benson Park exists no longer. Today the creek is littered with trash. A junk yard of ancient car bodies stands guard near the former entrance. No





(Left) Canoe rides on Squirrel Creek were a popular pastime at the park. (Below Left) The Plunge, complete with 500 swimming suits available for rent. (Below) Benson Park's Botanical Gardens.





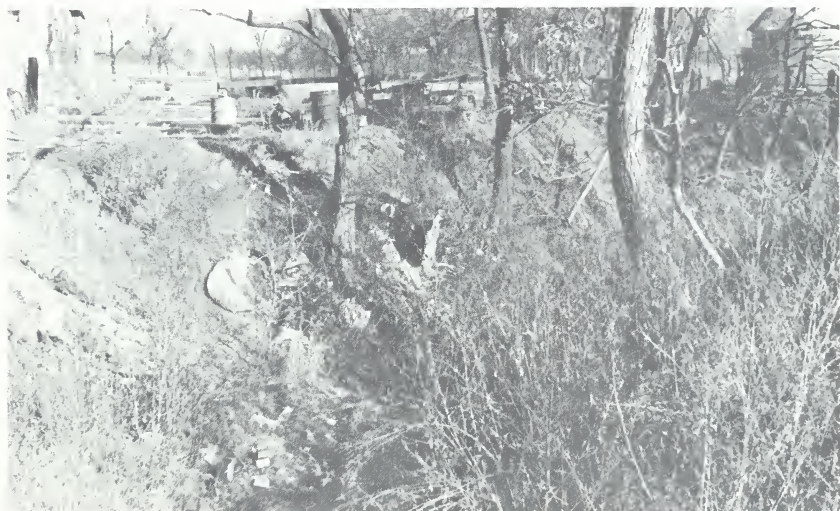
A special trolley line connected the park with nearby Shawnee and Tecumseh.



The park was always a favorite spot for lodge and church picnics.



Benson Park's gardens and footpaths might have seemed oddly out of place—refugees from a Japanese sunken garden or a miniature Versailles.



Benson Park in 1978.



All that remains of the once beautiful setting are concrete foundations.

evidence of the trolley line remains. The "Plunge," the bandstand, and shaded paths among the oaks are gone, along with all of the other facilities.

Benson Park and the parent trolley car company died in 1932, victims, in part, of the Great Depression. But even before hard times kept customers from the park, radios, movies, and automobiles began to create serious competition for entertainment money and time. Shawnee, like other places in the country, embraced the technological wonders of the 1920s. Visions of gardens and beauty gave way to an engineering mentality that valued gadgets and "Progress." In time the machines overwhelmed the garden, and the beauty and tranquility of Benson Park vanished forever.

GOVERNMENT POLICY AND INDIAN FARMING ON THE CHEYENNE AND ARAPAHO RESERVATION: 1869-1880

By William D. Pennington*

In 1877, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, E. A. Hayt, prepared a list of preliminaries for civilizing Indians. Part of the list included "the endowment of the Indians with lands, divided into farms of convenient size, the title to which shall be vested in every feasible way the knowledge of agriculture and a taste for agricultural pursuits among them."¹ Obviously, the Commissioner linked agriculture to progress toward civilization for the Indian. This view was characteristic of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' attitude toward the Indian problem. By making Indians tillers of the soil, they would be subject to the same institutions upon which Western Civilization was based. The implementation of this policy among the Plains tribes unfamiliar with the agrarian way of life was a most formative task. The difficulty is illustrated when one looks at the attempt of the government to make the Cheyennes and Arapahoes farmers during the early years of their reservation.

The foundation of the government's farming policy with the Cheyennes and Arapahoes is found in three treaties prior to their being placed on a reservation in 1869. The Fort Laramie, Fort Wise, and Medicine Lodge treaties all emphasized the government's effort to promote farming. Article seven of the Treaty of Fort Laramie, signed in 1851, called for the Cheyennes, Arapahoes and five other tribes to receive \$50,000 annually for 10 years to purchase "provisions, merchandise, domestic animals, and agricultural implements."² Additional farming promotion was mentioned in the Treaty of Fort Wise ten years later. Each member of the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes was to be assigned a tract of forty acres of land and be established comfortably on it. The government agreed to build them houses and to furnish agricultural implements, livestock and other necessary aid and facilities to assist them in beginning agricultural pursuits. Dwelling-houses for an interpreter, miller, engineer, farmers, and mechanics were likewise provided. Throughout the treaty, the emphasis was put on helping the Indians "sustain themselves successfully in agricultural or other industrial pursuits."³

* The author is currently an instructor at the University of Tulsa, Tulsa Junior College, and the Tulsa Public School System. The manuscript was prepared under the direction of Dr. Donald Berthrong.

¹ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1877* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1877), p. 1.

² Charles J. Kappler (comp. and ed.), *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, (4 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904-1941) Vol. II, 595.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 1075.

A definite statement of the Indian farming policy was made by the government in the third treaty, signed in 1867. The Treaty of Medicine Lodge made clear the Indian was to be a farmer and substantial inducements were offered to encourage him. Any individual member of the Cheyenne or Arapaho tribe, who was the head of a family, was promised a tract of land of his choosing within the reservation, not to exceed 320 acres. All he had to do was show a desire to begin farming. To help the Indian who had chosen his land, the government promised to provide "seeds and agricultural implements for the first year, not exceeding in value one hundred dollars." For each following year, which the Indian farmed up to three years, he would receive seeds and implements of up to \$25.00 in value. The treaty further stipulated that instructions would be given by a farmer hired by the agency to assist these Indians who had commenced to farm. Finally, \$500 was to be given to the 10 Indians who, according to the agent, grew "the most valuable crops for the respective year."⁴

Progressively the three treaties reveal that the government became committed to the idea of civilizing the Indian through farming. They agreed to give the Indian every possible opportunity to follow the white road of civilization by allotting him land, by providing him with agricultural implements, and by extending other incentives.

The land on which the Cheyenne and Arapaho were expected to follow this policy was critical to the success of the tribes' agricultural efforts. The Department of Interior instructed Agent Brinton Darlington in August, 1869, to select an agency site which possessed good soil and an ample supply of timber and water.⁵ In compliance with these instructions he chose a site on the North Fork of the Canadian River which he described by saying that "almost the whole of the bottom and most of the upland is suitable for cultivation."⁶ Darlington also stated that there was sufficient area to provide an eighty acre farm for every male person over eighteen years of age, in the Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes.⁷

Darlington's report applied only to the eastern portion of the reservation which he deemed fertile enough for farming. The western portion, and in

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 807-811.

⁵ Brinton Darlington to Enoch Hoag, November 7, 1870, Upper Arkansas Agency, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁶ Darlington to Hoag, August 17, 1869, Central Superintendency, Letters Received, National Archives.

⁷ Captain Seth Bonney to Brevet Major W. A. Elderhin, September 18, 1869, p. 58, Camp Supply, Indian Territory Letterbook, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, quoted in Martha Buntin, "Difficulties Encountered in Issuing Cheyenne and Arapaho Subsistence: 1861-1870," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (March, 1935), pp. 41-42.



Brighton Darlington, who led the early effort by the federal government to organize a system of farming among the Cheyenne and Arapaho.

years of drought or dry spells even the eastern portion, proved to be otherwise. Agents of the reservation from Darlington on, would explain annually how the lack of water at critical times in the growing season hurt the farming efforts. Agent G. D. Williams best characterized the reservation land when he concluded that "the long spell of dry weather intervening between the spring and autumn rains makes it questionable whether this will ever become a successful agricultural region without the aid of irrigation."⁸

With the land questionable for farming, the task of the government to transform these Plains tribes into farmers in the early years was a most difficult one. The two reservation agents sent to the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reserve were Darlington, who served from 1869 to 1872, and John D. Miles from 1872 to 1880. Both men attempted to carry out federal policy set forth in the treaties by teaching their Indians to farm.

⁸ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commission of Indian Affairs for the Year 1887* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887), p. 75.

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Darlington, while serving only three of the twelve years, encountered more difficulties than his successor. Before the Indians adopted agriculture, Darlington first had to gain the confidence and friendship of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. This feat was accomplished by Darlington and much of what was achieved later in the civilization of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians was based upon the foundation laid by Darlington.⁹

Darlington came to Indian Territory in 1869 as part of the "peace policy" promoted by President Ulysses S. Grant. This policy placed Indians in western Indian Territory and Kansas under the care of the Society of Friends. The agents on these various reservations were supervised by the government designated Central Superintendency. Darlington's agency was first established near Camp Supply in 1869. Because the Indians believed it was too near the soldiers, the agency was moved the following year to a site on the North Fork of the Canadian River in the eastern portion of the reservation.¹⁰ Partly as a result of the changing of the agency site, little farming was done by these tribesmen the first year.¹¹

In December, 1869, Enoch Hoag, Superintendent of the Central Superintendency, wrote to E. S. Parker, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, requesting the Interior Department to "furnish funds for the breaking, fencing, and planting of some two hundred, or more, acres at the new Cheyenne Agency, the coming spring."¹² The Department provided \$500 for the cultivation of 100 acres and encouraged Darlington to promote the breaking of as much land as possible.¹³ J. A. Covington, head farmer on the reservation, remarked in May of 1870, "Our corn[,] most of [it] is up but looks very sickly on account of the scarcity of rain. The Garden is also almost dried up."¹⁴ Darlington stated that "about 220 acres of prairie broken, and so much as was done in time for seeding was planted in corn, beans, and pumpkins, and some turnip seed was sown; but as it was not possible, with the means at my command, to have the ground fenced in time, only a portion of the crops could be saved."¹⁵ This meager success in the summer of 1870 was a beginning for the agency, but little was done for Indians with regard to

⁹ John H. Seger, *Early Days Among the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians*, Walter S. Campbell, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1924), p. 17.

¹⁰ Kappler, comp. and ed., *Laws and Treaties*, Vol. I, 841.

¹¹ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1869* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), pp. 382-383.

¹² Hoag to E. S. Parker, December 30, 1869, Upper Arkansas Agency, Letters Received, National Archives.

¹³ Hoag to Darlington, April 16, 1870, *ibid.*

¹⁴ J. A. Covington to Hoag, May 26, 1870, Central Superintendency, Letters Received, National Archives.

¹⁵ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1870* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), pp. 265-266.

farming. This condition caused Lieutenant Colonel A. D. Nelson to say, after escorting a train of Indian supplies to their reservation, "No serious effort has been made so far as I can learn to open farms for these Indians [Cheyennes and Arapahoes] or to build them houses or has anything else been worthy of notice in the direction of civilization."¹⁶

In 1871, Darlington tried to persuade the Indians to farm, even if on a small scale. After the buffalo hunt, he had met them in council and told of the benefits which would be derived from farming and stock raising. He also explained the government's policy and his objective. Before adjourning the council, he called for volunteers to take the lead in farming and many promised to do so.¹⁷ In February, Darlington wrote Hoag saying, "I believe, that the great body of the Indians of this agency desire to remain in peace, and many of them contemplate entering into agricultural pursuits, as soon as they can be assisted therein."¹⁸ Preceding the farming season, he again wrote Hoag saying, "Present appearances lead me to believe that a large number, most of them Arapahoes, will, to some extent, test their capability for farming this Spring—if the necessary assistance to do so should be extended to them."¹⁹

The results were much better than the previous year. The employees, under the direction of the agency farmer, were able to plant 160 acres of corn which yielded about 4,000 bushels.²⁰ As for the Indians, by urging, encouraging, and assisting, Darlington succeeded in getting the Arapahoes to plant and cultivate sixty acres, with a "fair prospect for an average harvest, and a renewed faith in ultimate success of farming."²¹ The best example of those who tried to farm was Big Mouth, an Arapaho chief, who openly vowed his determination to follow the white man's road. He selected a farm of eighty acres; Darlington had it broken and fenced; and Big Mouth, with probably the help of his wife, planted corn, pumpkins, melons, etc. Besides starting to farm, Big Mouth used his influence to try and persuade his fellow Indians to follow his example.²² As for the Chey-

¹⁶ A. D. Nelson to Brigadier General John Pope, September 2, 1870, Upper Arkansas Agency. Letters Received, National Archives.

¹⁷ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1871* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 470.

¹⁸ Darlington to Hoag, February 15, 1871, Upper Arkansas Agency, Letters Received, National Archives.

¹⁹ Darlington to Hoag, March 1, 1871, *ibid.*

²⁰ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1871*, p. 473.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 470

²² Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency William Nicholson, July 17, 1871, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency Papers, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.



Big Mouth, an Arapaho chief, who openly vowed his determination to "follow the white man's road."

ennes, they were less inclined to settle down near the agency and were unwilling to begin farming.²³

The Indians' success at farming in 1871 was not as great as Darlington had hoped but he was encouraged with their partial success. "I am of the opinion," Darlington wrote, "that the Indians of this agency, who but a few years since were the 'terror of the plains,' have shown themselves, under proper treatment, not only worthy, but capable of being advanced in all the avenues of civilization."²⁴

In the spring of 1872, Darlington died from an attack of "brain fever." His work had caused a mental and physical effort too great for his strength.²⁵ Darlington's success cannot be measured by the number of acres broken or bushels of corn planted, but his significance lay in the fact that he was able to get the job started. The importance he placed upon agriculture for these nomadic tribesmen is reflected in a letter to Hoag in 1869. "The interest of our Government and the welfare of the Indians are deeply involved in the decision of the question whether agriculture is to be introduced among them in good earnest or not."²⁶

Darlington's place was taken by John D. Miles, who previously served as agent for the Kickapoos in Kansas. He was at the peak of life, very business minded and added great enthusiasm and energy to the job of civilizing the Indians.²⁷ His outlook with regard to this job was similar to that of Darlington's. Miles summarized his views in a letter to Superintendent Hoag, "Although the Indians regard the 'Rations' and 'Annuity goods' as being our principle [sic] work, yet I regard that as being but a small matter when compared with our higher duty—that of evincing to them the advantages of a higher life."²⁸

Miles' plan for Indian farming was an attempt to enlist more fully the Indians' "heart in their work." At the head of each band, he intended to place a farmer who would oversee and assist them in their work. The members of each band were to receive all they raised or produced. Doing this, Miles hoped "to more fully, enlist, not only individual efforts among the Indians, but also a spirit of emulation among those who are placed with them in striving to excel in results." By letting them control their own

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1871*, p. 473.

²⁵ n.a., *Darlington: The Indian's Friend* (El Reno, Oklahoma: *El Reno American*, n.d.), n.p.

²⁶ Darlington to Hoag, December 8, 1869, Upper Arkansas Agency, Letters Received, National Archives.

²⁷ Seger, *Early Days*, p. 19.

²⁸ John D. Miles to Hoag, June 4, 1872, Upper Arkansas Agency, Letters Received, National Archives.

affairs, it was hoped the thieving in gardens and cornfields would be lessened.²⁹ Miles was very critical of the work done the previous summer because only employees raised corn on the reservation. This, in Miles' opinion, was not accomplishing the aim of the Department of Interior, "that of instructing the Indian in the arts of civilized life. . . ." "I have no doubt," Miles continued, "but that we shall fail to accomplish what we desire in many instances, and yet I believe it is the legitimate way to enlist Indian farmers."³⁰ Even so there were twice as many acres planted in corn during the summer of 1872 as there were in the summer of 1871.³¹ This was accomplished primarily by the agent employees.

Except for two or three Cheyennes, only the Arapahoes engaged in farming their lands. The Cheyennes did practically nothing in the way of farming, saying, "We are not yet ready for the corn but will wait a year or two to see how the Arapahoes succeed."³²

In the summer of 1873, Miles tried to induce the Arapahoes to choose farm sites, but enjoyed little success. Therefore, he had the large agency field plowed up and divided into small sections, giving each band a small lot on which to grow corn and melons. This met with "indifferent success." Only ten of these small patches, consisting of sixty acres in all, were planted and tilled by Arapahoes. The results were naturally lessened by drought and grasshoppers. This attempt, though small, was at least encouraging to Miles. Also, thirty acres of oats were sown in early spring, but because of the dry, cold weather the seeds rotted and Miles was forced to replot the ground and plant corn.³³

Indian farming for the 1874 season amounted to almost nothing. Arapahoes, who took an interest in farming the previous year, were too busy making a "Medicine Lodge" during the time they should have planted corn. The same section was plowed for them as before, but not much was done because Miles believed that "to plant without a reasonable hope for success, and fail, would only destroy our prospects for next spring." The 20 to 30 acres of corn and melons, which the Indians did plant, plus 250 acres of corn planted by the employees failed to mature. No rain fell

²⁹ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1872* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), p. 250.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ J. A. Covington to Hoag, June 1, 1872, Upper Arkansas Agency, Letters Received, National Archives.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1873* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), pp. 221-222.

from June until September 7 and grasshoppers visited the fields during the middle of August.³⁴ An example of the progress which Miles wished to have throughout the reservation was that made by a brave called "Curley." He selected a farm site about two miles from the agency and Miles had it plowed and fenced. Little progress, however, was made due to the hostility of most of the tribesmen on the reservation.³⁵

The results of farming for the year 1875 were also not very good. A cold, wet spring caused many of the Indians to replant their crops, resulting in additional labor. This greatly disheartened many from going any further in the experiment of farming. The results amounted to about fifty acres of corn, melons, squashes, pumpkins, and a variety of garden vegetables.³⁶

Elements hindering the progress of Indian farming were a late spring and an act of Congress which reduced the employment force.³⁷ In addition the illness of Miles in June, and the outbreak of hostility by many of the tribesmen retarded the farming efforts.³⁸ The agency farmer, Nathan Davis, reported, for the month of September, that there were 22 male farm laborers out of 374 adult males in the Arapaho tribe and three Indian farms.³⁹ In a closing note for the year 1875, Miles reported a number of leading Arapahoes had selected farms and intended to begin "agricultural existence" the following spring.⁴⁰

In 1876, Miles proposed to have ground broken in five to fifteen acre lots for the families desiring to settle down and farm. He estimated that he could find "willing and anxious persons among the Cheyennes and Arapahoes to occupy more than 500 acres in lots as above proposed."⁴¹ These Indians began to realize that the chase, hunting buffalo, would no longer provide a means of support. Both Arapahoes and Cheyennes appealed to Miles for farm implements and other forms of assistance. Miles estimated

³⁴ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1874* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1874), p. 235.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

³⁶ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1875* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), p. 270.

³⁷ Miles to Hoag, November 2, 1875, Central Superintendency, Letters Received, National Archives.

³⁸ J. P. C. Shanks, to Edward P. Smith, June 15, 1875, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

³⁹ Monthly Report by Nathan Davis, September, 1875, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency Papers, Indian Archives.

⁴⁰ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1875*, p. 270.

⁴¹ Miles to Smith, February 15, 1876, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Letters Received, National Archives.

that "¾ of all the Indians of this agency would have made a laudable effort at farming this season, if the Government could only furnish plows, harnesses, hoes, etc., etc."⁴²

The results of this Indian desire, regardless of a lack of agricultural implements, were very good. The Cheyennes, for example, manifested a greater interest in agriculture than ever before.⁴³ Seventy-five acres were assigned the Cheyennes from the agency fields, and were subdivided into small lots of one to five acres for each family. They planted corn, potatoes, melons, and various kinds of garden produce. Miles, enthused over their showing, said, "A more earnest effort I never witnessed put forth by any people than was by the Cheyennes so far as their means and knowledge extended, and as a result they have been quite successful and have already received, and are now receiving, a fair reward for their industry." He went on to state that, "I have seen some of the Cheyennes who could not secure the use of a plow or hoe, use their axes, sticks of wood and their hands in preparing the ground, planting, and cultivating their garden spots, so anxious were they to make a beginning." The Arapahoes were given the same acreage from one of the Agency fields and it was subdivided as before. These farms were operated about the same as the Cheyennes' and had similar results. In addition he declared:⁴⁴

quite a number of Arapahoes have located themselves on spots of ground along the North Fork with the view of permanency and broken little patches of prairie aggregating about one hundred and ten acres, on which they have planted corn, pumpkins, melons, potatoes, and other garden vegetables and as the season has been very favorable for a 'sod' growth, the highest anticipation are now being realized in the way of 'roasting' ears, melons, etc.

In 1877, under the direction of J. A. Covington, head farmer, the Indians were encouraged to abandon their pattern of extended family habitations to a greater extent than ever before. Success was particularly evident among the Arapahoes, with individual efforts being made. Miles noted that they developed greater appreciation for individual property. This was reflected in a speech made by an Arapaho Chief, Left Hand, in which he stated, "I have worked hard all summer breaking ground, building fence, planting, and cultivating corn, melons, etc., and now lazy Indians hang around my camp and eat me poor." In response, Miles said, "As in proportion as they labor

⁴² Miles to Nicholson, April 12, 1876, *ibid.*

⁴³ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1876* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876), p. 47.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*; Annual Report sent to Nicholson, August 31, 1876, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency Papers, Indian Archives.



A typical Cheyenne village of the nineteenth century.

themselves they will learn the cost and appreciate the value of what they may have and the necessity of individualizing their efforts.”⁴⁵

Miles was ordered by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1877 to assist these Indians in breaking their small lots. But Miles stated he would only break land for “such as would agree to break a like parcel for themselves.” The heavy rains in May and June were followed by dry weather, thus hampering the breaking of land.⁴⁶ The yield was normal but significantly the Cheyennes raised a good crop under difficult circumstances—lack of tools, wagons, and ponies.⁴⁷

The Cheyennes and Arapahoes were still hampered in 1878 by the lack of agricultural implements and animals. Agricultural implements, which were purchased in April, did not arrive at the agency until around the first of June.⁴⁸ Before this time, no plows were available to be issued for the

⁴⁵ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1877*, p. 83.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Seger, *Early Days*, p. 47.

⁴⁸ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1878* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1878), p. 55.

general use of the Indians who desired to work. The only plows owned at the Agency were a few issued at the farm connected with the Agency School.⁴⁹ The head farmer on the reservation, Covington, noted that because of the "scarcity of seeds, facilities for breaking prairie, and farming implements generally, we have been able to assist only about one-half of the aspiring young farmers of these two tribes, who are rapidly realizing the benefits to be derived from agricultural pursuits."⁵⁰

Six hundred acres of land were cultivated by the Indians in 1878 under the direction of Covington.⁵¹ Besides corn, a considerable amount of garden produce were raised, such as radishes, turnips, tomatoes, peas, cucumbers, squashes, and cabbages. But this was restricted by the late arrival of garden seeds and Indians eating the vegetables before they were mature.⁵² Major J. K. Mizner, Commanding Officer of Fort Reno, remarked in July of 1878 on the farming success, "There appears to be a growing disposition to work among the Indians. . . ."⁵³

Farming was less successful in 1879. The season started with sufficient rain to permit the Indians to plow their old ground and plant it in good condition. Early vegetables produced well, but when it came time to break new land, the dry weather came and continued the rest of the season. This made it impossible to break prairie land as well as seriously hurting the crops which were already planted.⁵⁴

In addition to tracing the amount of farming done on this reservation, factors both contributing and hindering farming are a necessity in evaluating these Plains Tribes' efforts. A long list could be compiled of each, but the more significant ones serve to illustrate the point.

The first of five reasons which brought these nomadic tribes closer to agricultural pursuits was the disappearance of the buffalo in the late 1870s. It compelled the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, as well as other Plains Indians, to turn to other activities for survival. The Bureau of Indian Affairs allowed and encouraged these Indians, after being put on the reservation, to make annual hunts. By doing this the government did not have to supply them

⁴⁹ J. K. Mizner to the Commander of the Department of the Missouri, July 17, 1878, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Letters Received, National Archives.

⁵⁰ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1878*, p. 56.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁵³ Mizner to Department of Missouri, July 17, 1878, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Letters Received, National Archives.

⁵⁴ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1879* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1879), p. 59.

with as many annuities. But as early as 1876, these Indians, after returning from their annual hunt, realized that the buffalo were fast disappearing.⁵⁵ The end came by 1879. Miles exclaimed, "There can be no longer any provision made for subsisting these Indians a portion of the year through their own efforts in the chase. Hereafter the whole supply must be furnished by the Government or raised by tilling the ground. . . ."⁵⁶ As long as the Indian had the buffalo to provide his major needs, there was no real cause to farm. But once they were gone, the Indians was compelled to look to the government and the earth for survival.

The second element in helping the Indians to farm was the gradual reduction of annuities by the government. At the same time, the government contributed agricultural implements and aids in hopes of making the Indian self-supporting. The government expected the Indians to do this in a few years. The Indians, however, thought the government should provide them subsistence forever.⁵⁷ This policy of reduction of Indian supplies was fair but the government rushed the reduction too quickly. As early as 1876 the government was reducing appropriations and requiring labor from the Indians in return for their supplies and annuities.⁵⁸ These reduced rations by the Department of Interior, besides forcing these Indians to farm, caused many, prior to 1875, to go on the warpath for the want of food.⁵⁹

A third factor contributing to farming was the reservation school. As early as 1873, Miles reported that thirty-six children were enrolled in school. The boys, under the direction of Superintendent of the School, J. K. Trueblood, helped prepare and plant a garden and truck patch. The importance of the school was reflected in the statement by Miles, "In the school is where we hope to inculcate principles and 'sow the seed' that will bear better fruits than 'the raids.'"⁶⁰ The person taking the lead in education was John H. Seger, school superintendent on the reservation for the second half of the 1870s. Seger taught the boys how to plow, plant, and cultivate corn, potatoes, melons, beans, and many varieties of vegetables. His objective was to estab-

⁵⁵ Annual Report to Nicholson, August 31, 1876, Cheyenne and Arapaho Papers, Indian Archives.

⁵⁶ Miles to E. A. Hayt, February 8, 1879, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Letters Received, National Archives; United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1879*, p. 58.

⁵⁷ Jessie Fremont Bender, "The Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians: 1861-1892" (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1930), p. 97.

⁵⁸ Miles to Nicholson, September 20, 1876, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Letters Received, National Archives.

⁵⁹ Niles to Nicholson, June 28, 1876, *ibid.*

⁶⁰ Miles to Hoag, April 25, 1873, Central Superintendency, Letters Received, National Archives.



John H. Seger, who hoped that his school among the Cheyenne and Arapaho would become self-supporting because of the agricultural pursuits of his students.

lish the school on a self-supporting basis in addition to furnishing education to the Indians.⁶¹

As the employee force at the agency began to be reduced, around 1876, the Cheyenne and Arapaho school boys began to take up the slack by planting the corn for the agency. In return, they were given one-half of the proceeds from the crops, which they invested in cattle and clothes.⁶² In spite of the poor land and dry weather, Seger was able to make great progress in teaching these boys to farm. In 1880, Miles reported that, "The subject of education of children is fast becoming the most important factor in the civilization of the Indian. . . ."⁶³ This education included the art of farming.

Two additional activities which helped these Indians farm were the hauling of freight to the reservation by the Indians, themselves, and the leadership given by the prisoners returned from Florida. The hauling of freight from the railways at Wichita and Caldwell, Kansas, to the agency by the

⁶¹ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1876*, p. 48.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1880* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880), p. 69.

Indians was started by Miles in 1877. Besides giving these Indians work, this project also provided the benefit of harnesses and wagons which were used on Indian farms.⁶⁴ Covington expressed the contribution that the prisoners made after they returned to the reservation in April, 1878 when he remarked that "the return of these people has had a good effect and has stimulated afresh the desire these Indians have manifested to engage in the pursuits of civilized life."⁶⁵ These Indians had been trained in white man's ways and when returned were spread out among the different bands. Their influence on the other Indians was strongly felt.⁶⁶

In addition to these positive influences, there were also some significant hindrances to these Indians becoming farmers. First of all, traditionally these Plains Indians practiced little, if any agriculture. Little Chief, a Northern Cheyenne Chief on the reservation, illustrated this handicap of culture when he said, "The Spirit above did not intend for our children to learn to read and write—he gave the white people the desire to read[,] write[,] farm and to live as white people live—he gave the Cheyenne a land with plenty of buffaloes[,] antelops [sic] and deer. We were happy when we had nothing but plenty of meat to eat and made our own clothes from skins. . . ."⁶⁷

The Cheyennes and Arapahoes were nomadic tribesmen living under communal laws. Their pattern of life and work was in direct contrast to the government's plan of civilizing them by making individual farmers out of these tribes.⁶⁸ These Plains Indians thought it was a disgrace to be found at work and few had the "moral courage to do so in the face of the decision of their companions." Besides, they believed women should do the work, classifying them as beasts of burden instead of equal companions.⁶⁹ Brevet Major General John Pope realized this problem in 1870. "It will yet be many years," he declared, "before these Indians can be induced to abandon their nomadic habits and to find subsistence in the cultivation of their soil."⁷⁰

The lack of tools was another factor which obstructed farming among the Indians. The Indian Department inferred to Darlington in 1871, that it was willing to use "every exertion to induce the Indians to enter into agricultural pursuits by offering to assist them," but they did not fulfill this intention very

⁶⁴ Miles to Nicholson, August 1, 1876, Cheyenne and Arapaho Papers, Indian Archives.

⁶⁵ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1878*, p. 55.

⁶⁶ Charles E. Campbell to Mizner, July 16, 1878, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Letters Received, National Archives.

⁶⁷ Little Chief to Mizner, December 10, 1878, *ibid.*

⁶⁸ Robert Gelston Armstrong, "The Acculturation of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians" (M.A. thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1942), pp. 39-40.

⁶⁹ J. R. Townsend to Miles, July 31, 1872, Central Superintendency, National Archives.

⁷⁰ Pope to George L. Hartsuff, June 8, 1870, *ibid.*

well.⁷¹ Four years later, Miles reported the number of employees was not sufficient to meet the need "to do justice to Indian civilization."⁷² The following year Miles asserted that there were earnest appeals made to him for farm implements by both the Cheyennes and Arapahoes to enable them to begin farming. He believed that if he could have furnished these tribes with plows, hoes, and such implements that three-fourths of them would have begun to work. As the season was good, they probably would have met with success, thereby, starting them on the road to becoming farmers.⁷³

Some farming materials were supplied the next year, 1877, but Miles again recognized the problem when he said, "We have been unable to furnish anything like all who are willing and anxious to plow with an outfit. . . ."⁷⁴ Once the agricultural implements were furnished they usually arrived too late in the season for farming causing them to be unused for a year.⁷⁵

Little Raven in 1870, offered some insight on what might have been accomplished if the government had furnished enough agricultural supplies. He declared:⁷⁶

Their advice [Generals Philip H. Sheridan and William B. Hazen at a Council with these Indians] was to us to cease our war against the whites and to settle down on the Reservation; that there we should be furnished with everything to enable us to go to farming . . . We were promised seed and all manner of agricultural implements, wherewith to cultivate the soil, and white men to instruct us. I am sure if we were provided with all those things, my people would as a matter of course learn to till the land, and perhaps . . . after a while to live altogether by such means, but without instructions, seeds and implements, my people can do nothing in that line, never having depended for a living in that manner.

Farming was further handicapped by the dry season. Crop failures due to the lack of rain in the growing season were constantly mentioned throughout the 1870s. Darlington remarked in 1871, that, "a severe drought

⁷¹ Darlington to Hoag, February 9, 1871, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency Papers, Indian Archives.

⁷² United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1875*, p. 270.

⁷³ Miles to Nicholson, August 31, 1876, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency Papers, Indian Archives; United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1876*, p. 47.

⁷⁴ Monthly report by Miles, May 14, 1877, Central Superintendency, Letters Received, National Archives.

⁷⁵ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1878*, p. 55.

⁷⁶ Little Raven to Commanding Officer of the United States Army, August 23, 1870, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Letters Received, National Archives.



Leaders of the Cheyenne and Arapaho—many of whom believed “The Spirit above did not intend for our children . . . to live as white people live.”

prevailing about the time of earing caused the yield to be largely diminished.”⁷⁷ Miles, two years later, spoke of drought and grasshoppers as lessening the production of farm growth. The following year he reported the destruction of the entire corn crop due to extremely dry weather.⁷⁸

In 1876, the Agent concluded that “the frequency of dry summers in this region renders farming an uncertain business.”⁷⁹ This detriment to the Indians’ success in farming was mentioned again in 1877 and 1879.⁸⁰ E. N. Marble, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, summed the situation up by declaring that “self-support by farming cannot reasonably be expected of this generation of Indians in a country so liable to drought as that now occupied by the Kiowas, Comanches, Cheyennes, and Arapahoes. The actual

⁷⁷ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1871*, p. 473.

⁷⁸ Miles to Smith, August 25, 1874, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Letters Received, National Archives.

⁷⁹ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1876*, p. 72.

⁸⁰ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1877*, p. 83; United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1879*, p. 59.

loss of the crop once in three or four years will seriously affect the progress of a people who are both improvident and easily discouraged. . . ."⁸¹

Though the reservation was very unproductive for farming, another agricultural enterprise was adaptable—raising cattle. If it had been offered as a medium between the nomadic life of hunting the buffalo and the tilling of the soil, the Indian would perhaps have adapted much easier to farming. The first year Miles was at the agency he saw the need for Indians investing in cattle.⁸² A report also that year let the government know of the possibilities of involving the Indian in this enterprise. Captain Henry E. Alvord, Special Indian Commissioner, after visiting the reservation, recommended "to drop the corn talk (since not successful), notify the Indians that, aside from little garden patches, planting will not be urged upon them at present, and that every effort be then made to induce these tribes to turn their attention to cattle-raising, exchanging for good beef-stock as fast as possible their many surplus horses." He went on to declare that, "While the prolonged attempt to make farmers of these people has proved an entire failure, there is every reason to believe that, properly managed, they can be rapidly brought to stock-raising upon a large scale."⁸³

This same opinion was voiced in 1877 by Brevet Major General John Pope who advised that the money now used for buying agricultural implements, opening and working farms, etc., should be expended in stock cattle mainly for the Indians. Herding stock is certainly far more suited to these Nomadic tribes than cultivating farms and doing the daily hard drudgery of farm laborers.⁸⁴ Brevet Major General A. H. Terry expressed it best when he said that "the first step in the progress of civilization should be to the pastoral state. . . . It is the step which is most easily made because it involves a comparatively slight change of habits."⁸⁵

There were other detriments to making the Indian into a dirt farmer. The success of the Cheyenne raids and depredations in the early 1870s had a distinct demoralizing effect upon those who stayed on the reservation.⁸⁶ Also, the Indians looked upon the government as obligated to provide them with a living and believed they did not have to work. For example, Little Raven, an

⁸¹ United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1880*, p. xxv.

⁸² United States Department of the Interior, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1872*, p. 250.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 145.

⁸⁴ Pope to Colonel R. C. Drum, June 8, 1877, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Letters Received, National Archives.

⁸⁵ Alfred H. Terry to William B. Allison, January 26, 1877, *ibid.*

⁸⁶ Darlington to Hoag, February 15, 1871, *ibid.*

Arapaho chief, told his fellow Indians not to work, that their "great Father in Washington" had sent white men to make farms and build houses for them.⁸⁷

The wild Northern Cheyennes also retarded agricultural development. They refused to work leaving a negative effect on the remaining Indians.⁸⁸ In addition, the long cattle drives across the reservation in the last part of this period destroyed many corn fields prepared by the Indians.⁸⁹

The Cheyennes and Arapahoes therefore during this period from 1869 to 1880 had begun minimal attempts at agriculture. Their success, however, never approached the federal government's expectations. Perhaps the Bureau of Indian Affairs erred in the policy of forcing these nomadic tribes to follow the plow. It is surprising that the agents had any success at all given the many hindrances such as aridity of the soil and the vast differences between white and Indian culture. Government policy should have offered cattle raising as an intermediate step for the Indians. In 1877, Brevet Major General John Pope wrote that he did not believe that it was possible "to make the Indian tribes in this Department self supporting through agricultural pursuits. It is too violent a change from all the habits and prejudices of their lives. But the herding and care of cattle is now in this direction, if not completely so of their previous customs of life and would be infinitely more willingly adopted by them."⁹⁰

In 1879, John Miles reported 5,300 Indians on his reservation. All of them required daily rations the following year, pointing up the failure of the farm program. The federal government encouraged the Indians to take up farming as a means of self support, but it must be concluded that the policy was unsuccessful. What little progress made under such adverse conditions was indeed miraculous.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency to Nicholson, July 17, 1871, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency Papers, Indian Archives.

⁸⁸ Mizner to Assistant Adjutant General of the Department of the Missouri, March 12, 1879, Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, Letters Received, National Archives.

⁸⁹ Captain C. Wheaton to Assistant Adjutant General of the Department of the Missouri, July 1, 1880, *ibid.*

⁹⁰ Pope to Drum, June 8, 1877, *ibid.*

⁹¹ Miles to Hayt, January 25, 1879, *ibid.*

THE FIRST AMERICANS' TRIBUTE TO THE FIRST PRESIDENT

By Janet Campbell*

Of the many memorials erected to honor George Washington, one ennobling edifice stands *sans pareil*—The Washington National Monument in Washington, D.C., symbolic of the aspirations for America embraced by our first president.

Following his death on December 14, 1799, abortive attempts were made to honor Washington's memory; however, it was not until January 31, 1848, that a resolution was formally adopted by Congress authorizing the Washington National Monument Society, organized in 1833, to erect a distinctive memorial "so designed as to commemorate the great events of his military and political life.¹ The resolution further stipulated that the monument be located on such portion of the public grounds, or reservations within the city of Washington not otherwise occupied, as shall be selected by the President of the United States and the board of managers of the society.

Once initiated, plans progressed rapidly and on a sweltering July 4, 1848, the cornerstone of the graceful shaft was ceremoniously laid with Masonic rites using the same marble-headed gavel and silver trowel that President Washington, wearing accoutrements of the Masonic order, had used to lay the cornerstone for the capitol on September 18, 1793. Matthew Emery, a skilled mason and twenty-two years later the city's mayor, wielded the trowel. The imperious presence of a live American eagle perched high above the crowd dramatized a stirring speech delivered by Robert C. Winthrop, Speaker of the House. The ceremonies, in the opinion of the press, "surpassed in magnificence and moral grandeur anything of the kind ever witnessed in this metropolis, since the formation of the Republic."² In addition to such dignitaries as President James K. Polk, Vice President George Mifflin Dallas, members of Congress, army and navy officials, and a large delegation of foreign ministers, Mrs. James Madison, "bedaubed with Pearl Powder and rouge," as well as Mrs. Alexander Hamilton mingled with hundreds of more obscure citizens there to witness the august occasion.³

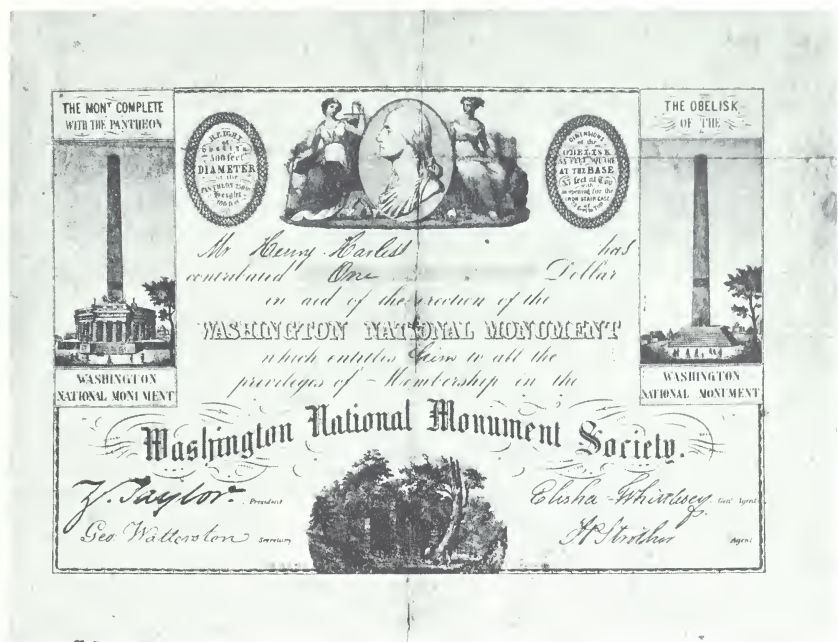
In its coverage of the historical event, Washington's *National Intelligencer* reported that delegates from the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Stockbridge, Creek,

* The author is a Cherokee Indian and is a noted authority of Indian history and an author of several articles on Indian heritage.

¹ Marcus Cunliffe, *George Washington, Man and Monument* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1958), p. 3.

² Constance McLaughlin Green, *Washington, Village and Capital—1800-1878* (2 vols., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), Vol. I, p. 172.

³ *Ibid.*



Membership in the Washington National Monument Society was granted to contributors of money for the construction of the Washington Monument.

and Choctaw Nations were present at the laying of the cornerstone. Several of the chiefs wore medals presented to their ancestors by General Washington in 1786. In addition, members of the Cherokee delegation brought a copy of an address by Washington, bound and embellished with a silver clasp, as well as a pipe ornamented with a silver chain of friendship, previously presented to a chief by the general.⁴

A congressional report reveals that the Cherokee and Chickasaw Nations also made liberal donations to the monument, "commemorating in this, the eloquent sentiment of the great Chief Cornplanter, delivered to Washington

⁴ An earlier reference to this pipe appeared in the *New York Observer* and was quoted in New Haven's *Religious Intelligencer* on January 15, 1831 in reference to Capt. Richard Taylor, a Cherokee delegate to Washington who later served as President of the National Committee and Vice Chief. The paper noted: (He) . . . "smokes a silver pipe of elegant workmanship with a silver charm attached, presented by General Washington to one of their chiefs." Account quoted in Grant Foreman's *Indian Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), p. 232, footnote 15.

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in 1791: 'The voice of the Seneca Nation speaks to you, the great Councillor, in whose heart the wise men of all the thirteen fires have placed their wisdom.'"⁵

George Watterston, congressional librarian and later a free lance writer and city alderman, was the moving spirit in organizing the Washington National Monument Society to promote the completion of the memorial. Chief Justice John Marshall, the first president of the organization, opened the society to the public for a membership fee of \$1.00. Each contributor received an ornate certificate signed by President Zachary Taylor, George Watterston, Elisha Whittlesey, and J. P. Strother.

Illustrated with the original plan for the monument, the certificates portray an incongruous mixture of architectural style proposed by Robert Mills, a popular designer of the period, who had planned several government buildings in the city. Depicting an "Egyptian obelisk, to surmount a conic Babylonian shrine, which in turn would be balanced on a circular Greek temple," Mills' initial grandiose design was ultimately greatly simplified.⁶

All of the states and territories were invited to contribute blocks of stone or marble to be inscribed with their individual coats of arms or some other distinctive marking and to be exhibited on the interior walls of the shaft. Several foreign governments expressed a desire to join in this tribute to President Washington and, as a result, stones were forwarded from Greece, Japan, and China. Other donations included stones from the original chapel built in honor of William Tell in 1338 on the shore of Lake Lucerne in Switzerland, and the Temple of Concord erected in Rome by M. Furius Camillus in 366 B.C., and rebuilt by Tiberius in 7 B.C. However, before this block of Italian marble, donated by Pope Pius IX, could be installed, it was defaced with sledge hammers and thrown into the Potomac River by members of the anti-Catholic, anti-foreign Know-Nothing party, an action which caused a scandal of international proportions and was known as the "Pope Stone Episode."

Donations were made by the Masonic lodge and the Order of Oddfellows. In addition a number of national organizations and numerous local fire companies made significant contributions. Touching gifts were also received from school children throughout the United States.

The required dimensions of blocks for the shaft were published in the *West Tennessee Whig* in Jackson on June 15, 1849. They were to be four feet long, two feet high, and eighteen inches wide. Other substantial material would suffice if marble or granite could not be obtained, the paper noted, and the name

⁵ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Washington National Monument and the Indians," unpublished manuscript, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

⁶ *Ibid.*

of the state would be carved upon it in letters sufficiently large to be easily read.

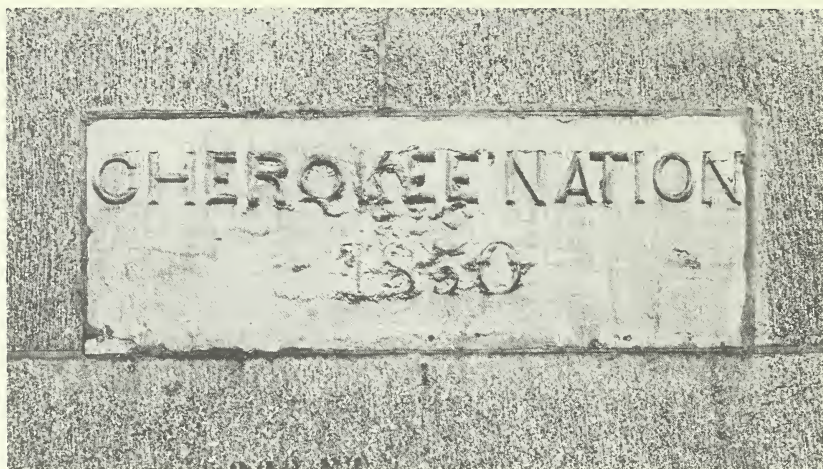
As the collection of marble and granite blocks increased, stones were sent from Braddock's Field, Bunker Hill, Mount Vesuvius, and the Alexandrian Library in Egypt. Likewise, on October 25, 1849, the National Council of the Cherokee Nation at Tahlequah adopted an act authorizing Principal Chief John Ross "to have procured and forwarded, a suitable block of Cherokee marble to the 'Washington Monument Association,' Washington, D.C., as an offering from the Cherokee Nation."⁷ The gift was later documented in the *Washington City and Capital Guide*, published in 1937, which recorded: "The Cherokee Nation pays a tribute to the first 'great white Father' with a block of its own."

An article appearing in Columbia's *Missouri Statesman* announced on November 23, 1849, that the Choctaw Indians also claimed the privilege of furnishing a stone for the monument to President Washington. "They do so on the ground that their great father Washington was always the immutable friend of their tribe," the paper related. The Chickasaws soon followed suit and their Chief, Pitman Colbert, declared that "At the annuity, an extra session of the Council was called," and a "resolution was offered by myself to appropriate out of the Chickasaw funds, \$200 towards the building of the Washington National Monument." According to Colbert, this appropriation was to be applied in such a way as to have the name of the Chickasaws inscribed on the memorial and thus to "perpetuate their love and remembrance of their Great Father, who always gave his red Chickasaw children good advice."⁸ On February 21, 1850, the *Morning Post* in Newark, New Jersey, carried an account of the Chickasaw contribution and added that in the council those red men boasted that their nation never had spilt white man's blood in war, and they regarded the memory of Washington with the same veneration as did their white brethren.

Then, in 1854, as the monument erection approached a height of some 156 feet, lack of funds and quarrels over control of the society's records brought the project to a halt. The Know-Nothings, acting under a thin cloak of legality, seized all the property of the Monument Society. In addition, the United States Senate failed to concur in the passage of an appropriation bill for \$200,000, which forced abandonment of further construction. Even though the Monument Society had contributed \$87,000 in 1847 and \$230,000 had already been expended, it was estimated that some \$322,000 in additional funds would be required to complete a memorial that would be "proportionate to the character of its subject—the loftiest in the world."

⁷ *Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation, Passed at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation—1839–1851* (Oklahoma City: Colorgraphics, 1969), p. 193.

⁸ Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Washington National Monument and the Indians."



Washington Monument stone of the Cherokee Nation.

The dilemma continued into the Civil War when the endeavor was forgotten in the stress of the conflict. It was not until 1876, with the flame of national pride rekindled during the centennial of America's independence, that Senator John Sherman offered a resolution providing that all unused funds appropriated for the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, be refunded and appropriated for the completion of the Washington Monument. In the House of Representatives, the Appropriations Committee amended the resolution and provided \$1,000,000 for the completion of the project, to be paid in annual installments of \$30,000. By an act of Congress on August 2, 1876, the federal government took title and appointed a joint committee to supervise the completion of the monument.

In his first annual message on December 3, 1877, President Rutherford B. Hayes stated that the engineers assigned to examine the structure had found the foundation insufficient and, as the unfinished condition of the memorial was a reproach to the nation, he urged Congress to take immediate action to insure its completion. Three years later, Hayes announced that the original foundation had been reinforced and the base widened, thus rendering it possible to finish the construction. Colonel Thomas Lincoln Casey with the Corps of Engineers was placed in charge of the project, completing it in nine years. Composed of Maryland marble lined with blue gneiss, the newer portion of the monument did not match the first layers in color and left a distinguishable line of demarcation.

The block of sandstone donated by the Cherokee Nation was inserted in the west wall of the interior of the shaft at the 220 foot level. It reads, "Cherokee Nation 1850." According to federal officials, government records indicate no information concerning the arrival or presentation of a stone from either the Choctaw or Chickasaw Nations, and "none of the remaining legible memorial stones was contributed by the Indian tribes."⁹

Although the stone provided by the Creek Nation was not used in the monument for some reason, it was eventually preserved in a unique and appropriate manner. Salvaged from oblivion by a concerned citizen, it stood for several years in front of the Frank T. Gartside residence in Muskogee. In 1932, the Lions Club incorporated the original stone into a bench-style memorial commemorating the bicentennial of George Washington's birthday and placed it near the entrance to a city park which later became the site of the Muskogee General Hospital. It bears the inscription:

1932
George Washington Bicentennial
Erected in Memory Garden
By
Lions Club

The original stone comprising the base of the memorial reads:

This Stone
Intended For
Washington Monument
MUSKOGEE NATION
May the 26th, 1850

Work on the Washington National Monument was finally completed on December 6, 1884. Having survived so many political storms throughout the extended period of construction, it is perhaps ironic that the cap stone and medal tip were put in place during a howling gale. Composed of 190 carved stones, the hollow shaft is 555 feet 5.12 inches high and 126.5 feet square at the base. The total cost was \$1,187,710.

The official dedication ceremony was held February 21, 1885. President Chester A. Arthur formally accepted the monument on behalf of the United States. In climatic splendor, a dazzling display of fireworks ended the day's festivities, brilliantly illuminating the imposing obelisk in newly fallen snow—a towering shrine to a dominant figure in American history, both conspicuous in a lack of pretension.

⁹ *Ibid.*, W. Douglas Lindsay, Jr. to Janet Campbell, June 4, 1975, authors personal collection.

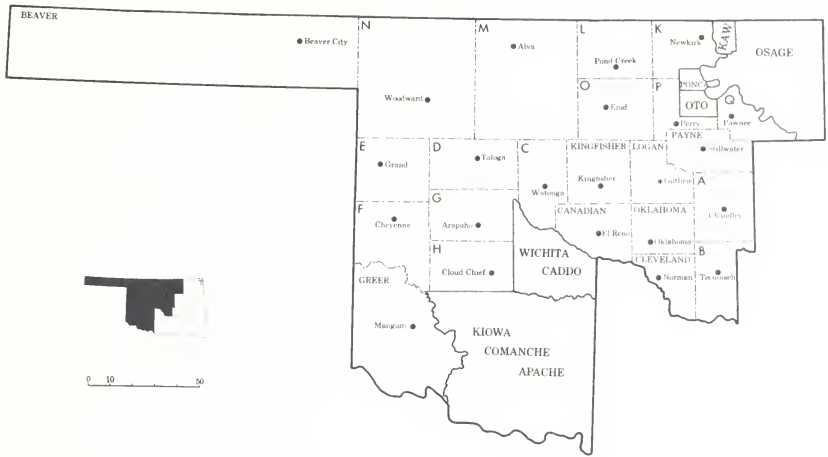
TROUBLED TIMES: HOMESTEADING IN SHORT-GRASS COUNTRY, 1892-1900

By Michael H. Reggio*

It was Tuesday, April 19, 1892. Twenty-five thousand people were in line, awaiting the noon signal that would initiate this little publicized land run into the former Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation. Looking over this mass of humanity, Big Tree, a Kiowa chief, stated that there were "as many [people] as the blades of grass on the Washita in the spring." People were on foot, horseback, mules, and oxen. Some were in wagons and buckboards. Every conceivable conveyance was utilized. Three large horse drawn buses loaded up would-be settlers and prepared to bounce them across the prairie to their claims. A hot air balloon was made ready. Some small houses mounted on wagons were waiting to be pulled by six horse teams. A thoroughbred race horse with a jockey in the racing saddle waited for the signal. The crowd was anxious and nervous, staring at the hands of a thousand watches crawl toward that magic moment. When the soldiers from Fort Reno announced that it was ten minutes till noon, the tension became acute. Girths and straps were tightened and adjusted; wagon brakes were loosened. If a horse whinnied or a dog yelped, the line surged forward forcing the soldiers to push them back. Suddenly, a cannon boomed and carbines and pistols fired all along the line. The race for homesteads began.

Felix Willen's six horses strained against their collars and dragged his frame house across the line to his claim. Some on foot planted their stakes after running only a few steps while others ran for a mile or more. Many fast horsemen rushed toward what appeared to be lakes on the horizon but found only mirages. While the participants were mostly Kansans, Texans, Missourians, and Oklahomans, there were also blacks, Swedes, Bohemians, Germans, and Russians. About fifty Salvation Army soldiers had formed a detachment to march into the promised land singing hymns of praise, confident that the Lord would lead them to fertile land. The Kentucky thoroughbred became so excited that he turned and stampeded east back toward bluegrass country. One girl fell from her horse and broke her leg,

* The author, currently in the graduate program at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, prepared this paper while a student at Central State University under the direction of Dr. Donald E. Green. The information included was taken from a large collection of nineteenth century newspaper clippings in the G. A. Root Collection, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; numerous interviews of actual settlers contained in the *Indian-Pioneer Papers*, Grant Foreman, ed., 113 vols., Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society; actual newspaper stories covering the events in the Newspaper Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society; various annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the Commissioner of the General Land Office; and numerous secondary accounts.



The opening of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation to non-Indian settlers allowed the expansion of Oklahoma Territory to include the new counties of C, D, E, F, G, and H (Source: Morris, Goins and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 2nd. ed., Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1976, map 54).

but people passing by conceded her the claim on which she lay incapacitated. J. C. Hill passed up two claims before he could stop his frightened horse. One man with his white horse tumbled head over heels and lay motionless—no one stopped. The El Reno Democrat perhaps described it best of all: “All at once the wild unsettled region of 4,000,000 acres had been transfused from the land of the aborigines and was claimed by the progressive. Aryan who had centurys ago set the star of Empire to the west and following up every advantage now claimed the larger part of the civilized world.” Three million five hundred thousand acres were thrown open that day, but, when it was all over, two million acres lay unclaimed.

Because this was the only land run that was shunned by sooners, boomers had time to deliberate and pick over claims. Relinquishments later sold for a horse, a buggy, or for as little as \$5.00. If the eastern part of the Cheyenne Arapaho Reservation contained unclaimed land, the western area was practically uninhabited by settlers. In far western E county, the soldiers who were ordered to keep sooners out told the boomer, H. I. Walck, that it would have been more appropriate for them to hunt for settlers to bring into the county rather than trying to keep “sooners” out. As of June 30, 1892, Territorial Governor Abraham J. Seay estimated that only 7,600 settlers lived on the new lands. Some 2,815,873 acres remained unclaimed.

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This constituted four-fifths of the Cheyenne and Arapaho country. Although many had left their claims to finish harvests or to gather their belongings at their old homes, by October most of the territory was still vacant. Edward Everett Dale, after looking over the country in 1899, commented that farther west one could still ride almost a day without seeing a homestead.

County	Unclaimed Acreage June 30, 1892	Estimated Non-Indian Population June 30, 1892
C	146,310	3,000
D	495,662	1,000
E	719,586	300
F	583,575	700
G	397,475	1,000
H	473,265	1,600
	2,815,873	7,600

When President Benjamin Harrison proclaimed the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation open, most people considered the region to be so barren that "about the only sure crop was the rattlesnake." Most people believed that western Oklahoma was suitable for grazing but not for farming due to its semi-arid climate. Many of those who did not get desirable claims in the eastern sections declined to even look to the western counties, thus leaving the area in the hands of cattlemen until the turn of the century. One of the few who ventured west asked an Indian how much rainfall this area usually received. He replied, "It gets so dry here every summer that I have to soak my old sow before she will hold slop." Some territorial papers which were usually Oklahoma boosters were pessimistic about the availability of good land on the reservation and discouraged settlement. Families begged their kinfolk not to go to Cheyenne country where during the heat of summer "the hair on a long horned steer would curl up like he had been to a beauty shop and gotten a permanent." Many disappointed hopefuls, like one Jeff Saunders, could not find suitable land in the territory and left. There were those such as Hattie Glasgow who became settlers but observed that "all the prairie was burned black and even the sun rose in the wrong direction."

Governor Seay himself stated most would-be settlers believed that this country was too far west to receive adequate rainfall for crops. Beliefs about the desolation of the region carried a grain of truth about Oklahoma's "short grass" country. From 1885 to 1896 the Southern Great Plains were strangled

in the grip of a drought. Charles F. Ashley, the Cheyenne and Arapaho agent, stated in 1890, that no rain fell at all that year during the usually wet months, resulting in a complete corn crop failure and only one-half of a normal oat crop. Late that year Governor George W. Steele wrote President Harrison begging relief for the new settlers of Oklahoma Territory. Another dry summer followed. During July of 1891, while government commissioners were negotiating for the Cheyenne and Arapaho lands, the heat was so stifling that they were forced to recess until cooler weather. The next summer, Ashley reported that out of an expected fifty bushels per acre corn yield, only fifteen percent would be realized due to the drought. In later years, settler William Baker believed that the summer of 1893 was one of the driest ever known to Oklahoma, so terrible that no wheat was raised and no farm work was to be found anywhere. One C. W. Miller recalled that the crop failures of 1894 and 1895 were so total that many settlers left their claims.

If the drought retarded settlement, so did the absence of a railroad. When settlers made the first great run in 1889, the railroad was already there. This provided a readily convenient mode of transportation into the newly opened territory. But no railroads crossed the Cheyenne and Arapaho lands. The closest railway points to the eastern line were Hennessey, Kingfisher, El Reno, and Dover on the Rock Island Line. The nearest point from the south was the Rock Island depot at Minco in the Chickasaw Nation. The Cherokee Outlet in the north and the Texas Panhandle in the west contained a few depots on the Santa Fe Railway. The extension of the Choctaw Line from the east to west through the territory in 1898, brought in a greater influx of settlers but for the time being many claims were bypassed because they were too far from a railway.

More significant than not having a railroad to enter the territory was not having a train to transport products and people from the area. This left the farmer without markets and retarded business development. The farmer was left to take his crops to market by wagon across the roadless and rough prairies covered with bunch grass. River crossings were dangerous and sometimes wagons and animals were lost to the quicksands. Settlers formed groups, doubling up their teams to help each other make these long trips. If they averaged thirty miles per day, they were making good time. They carried shovels and spades to trim the rough edges off the banks of creeks and ditches too steep for the wagons to cross. Many, like Eli Perry, because he was so far from railway and market, moved elsewhere.

Housing in this Great Plains area also left much to be desired. Around Taloga in county E, ninety percent of the settlers lived in dugouts. A room was usually dug into the side of a hill with a few posts set for the door



So bad were the conditions in the newly opened lands during the drought of 1885-1892 that Territorial Governor George W. Steele begged President Benjamin Harrison for relief for the new settlers.

frame and the roof sloped back to the hill covered with brush, grass, and dirt. Sod houses were also common. A special rod plow cut and turned over the tough buffalo grass sod. The strips were trimmed into uniform bricks several inches thick, a foot wide, and two to three feet in length. Using these "bricks," settlers constructed the walls into a gable roof of poles. Tar paper and sod covered this. For the few years it lasted, wild flowers and weeds grew on the roof. Each settler looked forward to the day when he could move out of this dark interior and into a box or log house.

One lady lined her walls with newspapers. When she heard a scratching noise from behind the paper, she would use her hairpin to kill the centipede

she knew was making the noise. Rats burrowed through the walls and she had to shake the bed quilts often to scare the rodents from the baby. A settler coming home from a day of toil had to clean his dugout of rattlesnakes as well as other varmints before entering with his family. Andy Logsdon's family got so used to snakes crawling across their beds at night that they would "just give a kick, and they [snakes] would hurry on somewhere else." The prairie dogs, coyotes, and owls made music for the settlers at night, but the prairie dogs would bring fleas to live in their sod and the coyotes and owls would kill their livestock and chickens. Later, a box house or log cabin would improve their conditions, but the icy winter winds whipping through cracks in the walls still made living a hardship. Clara Fredrick looked at the shanty in which she was to live and got down on her knees praying to God for the strength not to give up. When she got up, she put on her apron, rolled up her sleeves, and began to work.

Not even food and water could be taken for granted. For the most part the water was hard and "gypsy." It was a happy event when one was lucky enough to find good water. Most hauled their water by barrels for both family and livestock. Mrs. Rebecca Bradbury recalls digging two wells. The water from each made her family sick. Her husband finally dug a cistern to catch runoff water from the roof. Hunger was common and during hard times, men would scour the prairies for bleached buffalo bones to sell at El Reno for that little bit of money so badly needed to buy food. Where game was plentiful it was sometimes slaughtered and shipped out by barrel, but this was soon outlawed. Once a family lived the whole summer on water gravy, bread, and twenty-five cents worth of salt. Neighbors helped each other through these times but many still starved out.

The excitement of the land-run, according to one source, brought scores of non-farming people into the region. The newcomer was just "as likely to have been a type-setter or telegraph operator as anything else," and yet he attempted to support himself and his family by farming. Not only was this type of settler unfamiliar with farming, but he did not know how to get agricultural advice. April 19 was too late in the year for ground-breaking and planting. Disaster and disenchantment ended many of their dreams of that "farm out west."

But the hardy stayed to farm and learned what to plant. Settlers planted everything at first: corn, broom corn, oats, alfalfa, millet, cowpeas, and cotton. If they had listened to Agent Ashley, whose Indians had been planting crops for years, they would have begun by planting wheat. In 1890, Ashley wrote to Washington that he believed "wheat to be a surer crop in this climate than any other grain" and that he was going to induce the Indians to cultivate more of it. He reiterated this again in 1891, pushing

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the smaller grain. In 1893, acting Indian agent A. E. Woodson in a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whole-heartedly agreed with Ashley. Through experience the settlers finally turned to wheat. With the breaking of the drought in the fall and winter of 1895-1896, the farmers harvested bumper crops in 1896 and 1897. Rising prices for wheat on national markets also aided settlers. The average price rose from forty-eight cents per bushel in 1895 to seventy-six cents in 1897. In only a few years, the farmer had mastered the soil.

Still, by today's standards, early farming was difficult. After a mid-summer's rain a farmer might be able to plow twelve acres with a team of oxen, horses, or mules before the soil became too dry and hard for cultivation. Threshing could be a problem. Fields were small and many detours had to be made to get the threshing machine from one field to the next. Harvest began at breakneck speed when the wheat was still half-ripe, because most communities had only one machine and the grain had to be harvested before it became too dry and brittle to bind. The binders, headers, and threshers were operated from daylight until after dark, and even at night as long as there was moonlight.

In addition to the elements, the fear of the Indian discouraged many from coming to this new land. Many believed this was "hostile" Indian country, quite unlike the earlier openings in the Unassigned Lands or the Iowa, Sac and Fox Reservations. The Cheyenne was one of the proud warriors of the plains. Most whites viewed the principal plains Indians—Comanche, Sioux, Kiowa, and Cheyenne—as war-like savages. Mrs. Thompson B. Ferguson, a pioneer journalist in western Oklahoma, recalled that most settlers believed that the territory was "a conglomeration of wild and dangerous Indians, of outlaws, rattlesnakes and coyotes." Mrs. Ollie Butler later noted that the parting words of her mother as she and her husband left Kansas for their new home were, "The Indians will scalp all of you before you get half way." Reinforcing these beliefs were the reservation skirmishes in the late 1800s and the fact that most of the Cheyenne were opposed to the sale of the surplus lands. In Kingfisher during allotment and sale negotiations, one warrior became so incensed that he knocked his elder chief to the ground and then strode away. Newspapers warned would-be settlers of possible individual clashes with Indians during the run.

By 1890, the religious cult of the Messiah—the Indian Christ—had swept the Cheyenne. According to their beliefs, by the end of 1892, the white man would be wiped from the face of the land and the Indian and buffalo would once more roam the area. To hasten the day, Indians conducted very intense secret ceremonies called ghost dances. As late as April 13, 1892, the military was investigating reports of Cheyennes excitement caused by the



The buffalo grass sod of the Short Grass Country was extremely difficult to plow.

dances. These ceremonies led whites to fear that one day these native Americans would rise up and massacre them.

After settlers established their new homes, the threat of Indian violence, though unfounded, frightened many into deserting their claims and spreading their wild stories elsewhere. Within the first month of the opening, the sheriff and county attorney of county F reported to Governor Seay that White Shield and another Cheyenne chief had delivered an ultimatum to the settlers to leave within three "sleeps." According to the report, many settlers did leave while others were badly frightened. The officials further claimed that White Shield and Red Moon came to the county seat to intimidate the settlers. This report spread and although the contents seem unfounded F. D. Sutton lay sleepless for three nights in his hastily constructed dugout, clutching his gun.

Throughout the period of fear, settlers without guns brought their axes in with them at night while women kept their doors locked and banded together when their men were away. The passing of each year brought some Indian scares. At Samsville, everyone gathered at one neighbor's claim because Indians were supposedly on the warpath. Once, while soldiers outside of Fort Reno were firing their rifles at targets, nearby settlers, upon hearing the noise, fled to a cotton gin for safety. As late as December 7, 1893,



Most of the homes of the early settlers in the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation were simple dugouts which harbored countless snakes, insects, and other pests.

a Chicago newspaper reported, "The Indians are still in a state of semi-insurgency. . . ." The editor of the *Day County Tribune* vehemently denied the report.

Clashes between a few individual Indians and settlers did occur but no more than the typical skirmishes that occur within any society. The white man would not believe it, but the Indians had been beaten and subdued. Thomas A. Edwards sums it up in the last stanza of "The Old Cheyenne" about an old warrior, Mad Wolf:

The warfare over, bent and frail
Mad Wolf waits at the end of the trail.
Sad the story that had to be,
The losing fight with destiny.

Whites resented the fact that the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians received their allotments before the run. They had of course taken the best lands as instructed by their agents and friends—Superintendent John "Big Head" Seger of Seger Colony and School took groups of Cheyenne to find the best land and claim it. They took the lands which lay along the rivers, especially the land along the Washita River and in the valley of the North Canadian

River. They also took the timber land and left the settlers the more barren uplands. Settlers later realized that they held the best lands, because the surface water from the infrequent rains drained into these streams leaving the ground hard and dry. But, nevertheless, these early pioneers hated the Cheyenne and Arapaho for their ownership of the supposed "best land."

The new arrivals complained and the ambitious territorial governor, A. J. Seay, implicitly supported them saying, "The Indians have taken the cream of the Cheyenne and Arapaho land. . . ." He further stated in a message to Washington that there was unrest among the settlers because the "shiftless, indolent and unprogressive" Indians took the best land leaving only "second rate" land. He advised the government to buy all the Indians' allotted lands, except forty acres for each individual, on credit and pay the Indians semi-annual interest on the money. Newspapers picked up the cry also declaring their distaste for the division of the land and paying the "worthless, blanket Indians" more than the land was worth.

Further incensing the settlers were the small number of Indians living on their allotments. By the end of September, 1892, only fifty percent of the Cheyenne and Arapaho lived on their land while a much smaller percentage were actually making improvements. The government refused to let the whites lease this empty land or let the Indian sell off his timber.

Whites looked upon the Indian with scorn. Newspapers said the Indians would "make very ugly neighbors" but in retrospect it seems to have been the whites who were rather ugly. They fired the Indian's land and his teepees, stole his horses and timber, beat and shot him, and assaulted his women. They attempted to usurp the red men's property, even though threatened with prosecution time after time by Indian Agent Ashley who continually had to order whites off Indian lands. On August 9, 1892, a sign was found on Indian land signed by "The Last Thirteen Home Seekers." It stated, "We hereby give you notice that thirteen of us are going to move on this creek at once in spite of hell and high water." In February of 1893, Ashley was forced to write a "To Whom It May Concern" letter warning all to stop further depredations against the Indians.

Trials were held before the offender's peers. Few whites, therefore, were prosecuted for their crimes against Indians, except for perhaps a few illegally selling liquor to the red man. The prosecuting attorney of county H even requested that the United States Commissioner not issue warrants against whites accused of stealing from the Indians. Charles Guernsey said that the Indians raised so much fuss to his cutting of their timber that the agents were forced "to do something" and he and a friend were notified to appear before the court. But their case was never tried and the agent called them into his office, telling them "to be more careful hereafter."

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Blacks were also a factor in the opening of the new country in western Oklahoma. Edwin P. McCabe had tried to make Oklahoma a black state in 1889 with the establishment of a number of black communities. This was still being attempted to the point that Democrats were accusing the Republicans of trying to colonize western Oklahoma with voting blacks. Newspapers in April of 1892, reported that 500 Negroes on their way to the new territory were stranded in Arkansas. Cimarron City had been established north of Kingfisher as a supply point for the expected black colonies of counties C and D. More than a thousand Negroes were said to be camped there. El Reno reported so many Negroes at Kingfisher—approximately 800—and at El Reno that it was feared as many blacks would settle in county C as whites. A young white promoter, for \$5.00 a head, brought 200 blacks from Topeka, Kansas. They came to Hennessey by train and then walked the sixteen miles to the border. Negroes had prepared to come from Lincoln in Oklahoma Territory to make the run. Thousands of blacks were anticipating new homes on the reservation.

But when the run was over, the Negro again had been pushed aside. Most were on foot and failed to get claims. Even as late as the winter of 1892, four to five hundred starving Negroes came from Memphis, Tennessee, to Kingfisher, begging for help. They found little aid and no homes in the Cheyenne and Arapaho country. A few groups, like the one led by Sim Younger along the headwaters of Salt Creek, found claims, but for all practical purposes the establishment of black colonies in western Oklahoma failed. They were left to starve or leave. Little by little their numbers decreased. By 1900, only 1,379 blacks were left in this area.

ESTIMATED NEGRO-WHITE POPULATION BY 1900

County	Negro	White
Blaine	1,106	8,628
Custer	190	11,772
Dewey	74	8,514
Ellis (Took in part of Day County)	0	13,947
Roger Mills (Took in part of Day County)	2	6,104
Washita	7	14,682
Total	1,379	63,647

Cattlemen also discouraged settlement. Three quarters of this land was adapted to grazing and until President Grover Cleveland ordered their



With the revival of Native American religion among the Indians of the Short Grass Country in the 1890s, the troops at Fort Reno were again called upon by the frightened settlers for protection.

eviction on July 23, 1885, cattlemen had been leasing it from the Cheyenne and Arapaho. For years, herdsmen had distributed propaganda showing the worthlessness of this area to farmers. Some early newspapers even advertised that, "It is really a cow man's paradise," and called for cattlemen to migrate to the region. The cattlemen were ready for the Run. They lined up on the Texas border, rushed into the western portion and claimed 160-acre plots on the rivers, creeks and water holes, checkerboarding the area so as to control it. Cow hands would file for these lands and then turn them over to their bosses. The ranchers took possession of much of the country, many times by bluffing the settlers, burning them out and buying out a few. Because the taking of timber was illegal on federal lands, the cattlemen would now and then have "a nestor who insisted on his rights, dragged off to the federal jail at Guthrie on trumped up charges of timber cutting."

This was cattle country. Still a few cowmen, such as Hi Walck, knew that they could not long stem the tide of settlement. He once said to the disbelief of a neighbor, "that the day will come when every quarter section



E. P. McCabe, who hoped to make Oklahoma a black state by establishing a number of black communities in the newly opened lands.

of this country will have on it a white house, a red barn, and a windmill, and all this grass will be plowed under." The voice of prophecy had spoken. The wedge had been driven between the cattle barons on their "free" range and the homesteaders. One homesteader, who was told that he had better leave because a man was found dead every few days in the area, responded that where he came from "they had dead men every morning for breakfast." Settlers carried guns on their plows and banded together on occasion to turn back herds at gunpoint. The issues of herd law as opposed to free range were argued. Elections by land districts within counties were held, with each district choosing the free range or the fenced herd system. Political parties grew from these factions. The Independents supported free range and were opposed by the Herd Law party. Cowmen began to be looked down upon, causing one of their number to comment, "I didn't know I was

such a degraded cuss" and said he was going to trade his Stetson, spurs and boots for a straw hat and plow shoes. By the early 1900s the "man with the hoe" had taken over.

These problems and hardships suggest that the undesirability of the reservation was the reason only twenty-five thousand people made the run in 1892. But another important reason may have been political in nature rather than economic or social. The government wanted to avoid the disorder which characterized the first runs in Oklahoma and to also discourage would-be "sooners" and land speculators on fast horses from claiming the best lands. Consequently, the opening was more carefully planned by the Secretary of the Interior, John Noble. The president's proclamation was issued not thirty days before the opening, as in the Run of 1889, but only one week before. After the announcement, prospective settlers did not have time to come from places farther away than Kansas, Texas, or the adjacent Oklahoma Territory. Still, many had been on the borders for weeks and months. El Reno was wild with ever-increasing crowds weeks before the run and for months rumors had been flying concerning the imminent opening. Overall, this short notice slowed the small speculators who would have gobbled up the best lands. But the settlers came more slowly, looked and picked over the land and the speculators looking for a quick dollar were not able to make one here.

The Department of the Interior located and platted the counties and county seats prior to the opening. Six new counties were surveyed; C. D. E. F. G. H. Later county C was named Blaine for Senator James G. Blaine; county D was named Dewey for the admiral, with his permission; county E selected the name Day for Charles Day who built the first courthouse at Ioland; county F chose Roger Mills as its name after a prominent congressman from Texas; county G was named Custer County after the ill-fated commander; and county H was named Washita after the river. The county seats were named: Watonga in County C, Taloga in County D, Ioland in County E, Cheyenne in county F, Tucola in County G, and Arapahoe in county H. Residence lots had 50 feet fronts while business lots had 25-foot fronts. Certain blocks and lots were reserved for parks, schools, etc.—four blocks for a park, three blocks for schools, one block for a court house, one quarter block for city purposes, six lots for churches, and three lots for post offices. Each county seat was guarded by troops, special agents, and United States marshals to keep "sooners" out until the times for the smaller runs into them. In counties D and H, the "town run" began at 1:30 p.m., April 19; in counties E, F, and G, the runs began at 3:00 p.m.; and in county C the scramble for lots started at 4:00 p.m. Three days before the opening, fire was set to the tall, dry prairie grass to make it easy to find the corner-



Cheyenne, the county seat of F County.

stones corresponding to the range, township section, and quarter section. Mounted soldiers were stationed in high spots in threes and fours and many "sooners" were caught and accompanied out of the territory.

There were many objections to this way of settling newly opened lands. *The Globe-Democrat* condemned the run as the source of "interminable contests, innumerable indictments for perjury, and not infrequent killings, which have grown out of every land opening in Oklahoma." The land offices had been busy for years adjudicating land contests and the federal court dockets had been swamped with criminal cases growing out of former openings. William Randolph Hearst was more critical, saying, "The land is assigned on the old principal that 'they shall take who have the power and they shall keep who can.' The advantage is to the strongest, most brutal, and unscrupulous. The disadvantage is to the best citizen." More and more people denounced the run method and by 1896 with the opening of Greer County and the 1901 opening of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Reservation, it was discontinued.

With this opening came the cry to open all the Indian lands—especially the Cherokee Outlet. Cries to take the Indian land, cries that Indians have

no rights were heard. Statehood could be seen in the future. The *Muskogee Phoenix* said it best of all of things to come:

The great clamor for Indian land will never die right or wrong, justice or no justice, the rapidity with which the surplus lands of the Indians both in the Indian Territory and in the Northwest have been swallowed up, ought to impress the Indians and their friends with a realization of the inevitable. Since the original opening of the 2,000,000 acre tract purchased from the Creeks, nearly 6,000,000 acres more have been opened and the 7,000,000 acres in the Cherokee Strip will soon follow. After that, what! There can be but one answer.

In spite of a limited proclamation period, the truths and fallacies of the environment, and the Indian and black factors, the western part of Oklahoma continued to expand due to white settlers. Within a decade, this area was unrecognizable. The third of Oklahoma's great land runs had been completed and this was a step in the growth of Oklahoma. Due to this opening, more cries for land openings were heard and acted upon. Oklahoma, the state, was being born.

COLBERT'S FERRY

By Ruth Ann Overbeck*

One of the first orders of business in opening the American frontier to settlement was to locate and stabilize transportation routes. Rivers constituted a major barrier unless they could be forded easily on a year round basis. To cross those which could not be forded, Americans relied heavily on ferries. The flatboats ranged from crude rafts to more sophisticated arrangements with plank floors and guard rails. Regardless of style, they were cheap both to build and maintain, especially so when contrasted to the cost of bridging streams such as the Red River with its shifting channel, quicksand bottom and high banks.

Colbert's Ferry crossed the Red River between what is now Bryan County, Oklahoma and Grayson County, Texas. It is perhaps the best known of the Red River ferries, if not indeed, of all Oklahoma and most Texas ones. Its colorful history spanned almost seventy years. Although the exact date of its beginnings are lost in limbo, the reasons for its existence can be traced easily.

American frontiersmen, who arrived in the Washita-Red River area by the early 1820s, moved in from several directions. One path was westward along the banks of the Red itself, one led north and west from older Texas settlements while another went southwestward from Arkansas towns such as Fort Smith. Among the early Americans to travel the Fort Smith-Washita route was John Hart, trapper, trader, and Indian fighter from Ohio. His furtrapping expeditions were perhaps the earliest thrusts into the region by Americans.¹

Artist George Catlin ranks as a more prestigious visitor and one whose word if taken seriously certainly must have influenced potential settlers. In July, 1832, he traveled to the mouth of the Washita with army Dragoons from Fort Gibson. Camped on the point formed at the junction of the False Washita and Red Rivers, Catlin found the deep green plains speckled with buffalo and the countryside ". . . a panorama too beautiful to be painted with a pen. . . ." ² Others, including Holland Coffee, were in the vicinity during the early 1830s. Coffee operated temporary trading posts on

* The author currently is associated with Washington Perspectives, Inc., and is a consultant to the Smithsonian Associates Program.

¹ Rex Wallace Strickland, "History of Fannin County, Texas, 1836-1843," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII (April, 1930), p. 271.

² Geo[rge] Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians, Written During Eight Years' Travel Amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians, in North America in 1832, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1841), Vol. II, p. 45.



The Butterfield Overland Stage Route through the Choctaw Nation paused on its way to California at Colbert's Ferry to change teams and allow passengers to eat (Source: Adapted from Morris, Goins and McReynolds, *Historical Atlas of Oklahoma*, 2nd. ed., Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1976, map 39).

both sides of Red River before he opened a permanent base of operations at Preston Bend, Texas in 1836 or 1837.³

Several settlements were on the Texas bank of the Red when a new thrust of settlement began in 1837. Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians comprised this group which settled in Indian Territory on the north side of the river. Completion of the army's Fort Washita in 1842–1843 further swelled the population in the neighborhood and in addition, helped to stabilize it. Travel between points north and east and the Red River settlements soon started in earnest.

³ Strickland, "History of Fannin County, Texas, 1836–1843," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 267–268.

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By the early 1840s, several Indians had begun ferry service across the river as had at least three Texans.⁴ Competition led to hostile feelings and to hostile actions. A spirited series of charges and countercharges ensued. After Indian complaints stating that some Texans had taken possession of some of the Indians' ferries reached Indian Agent A. M. Upshaw, correspondents from the United States and the Republic of Texas sought to get to the root of the matter. On the Texas side, Secretary of State Anson Jones instructed Jesse Benton, Jr., District Attorney for the Seventh Judicial District of the Republic, to get the facts.

After completing his inquiry, Benton determined that on the upper portion of the river there were only three ferries which were established or controlled by citizens of Texas. Even one of those had been surrendered to the Indians upon their demand without, according to the district attorney, "... hesitation or delay. . . ."⁵ He closed his letter by expressing regret that "... Mr. Upshaw, has felt himself called upon to indulge in expressions of the most unfriendly character. . . ."⁶

Regardless of who owned the ferries, their operation was most welcome. "Sundry citizens" submitted a petition to the Commissioners Court of Fannin County, Texas, on August, 14, 1845, requesting the commissioners to review a route for a new road. They asked that the road lead from Mitchell's Ferry on Red River, to the divide between Choctaw and Mineral creeks, then on to Dallas by the nearest, most direct and best route.⁷

Ferry owner Joseph G. Mitchell was also a farmer whose base of operations was evidently in Panola County, Indian Territory.⁸ His ferry crossed Red River to the east, but within sight of the present United States Highway 75 bridges which connect Bryan County, Oklahoma, and Grayson County, Texas. This ferry is the direct ancestor of Colbert's Ferry. Minutes of the Fannin County, Texas Commissioners Court and of its offspring, the Grayson County Commissioners Court, indicate that the Texans continued their interest in the project throughout Mitchell's ownership.⁹

⁴ Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier 1830-1860* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933), p. 202; Dorman H. Winfrey, ed., *Texas Indian Papers 1825-1843* (Austin: Texas State Library, 1959), pp. 141-143.

⁵ Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers, 1825-1843*, p. 142.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

⁷ Minutes of Fannin County, Texas Commissioners Court, Vol. A, 1838-1861, pp. 64-65.

⁸ Joseph G. Mitchell does not appear as an owner of Red River frontage property in Grayson County, Texas, Land Records. He is not mentioned in pertinent Indian correspondence—received or written—in files of the National Archives and appears neither on census records for the Choctaws or Chickasaws nor 1860 United States Census for whites living in Indian Territory.

⁹ Minutes of Fannin County, Texas Commissioners Court, Vol. A, 63; Mattie Davis Lucas and Mita Holsapple Hall, *A History of Grayson County, Texas* (Sherman, Texas: Scruggs Print-

Sometime prior to April, 1852, Benjamin Franklin Colbert, of the prominent Chickasaw Indian family, bought both Mitchell's farm and ferry. By 1813 and perhaps as early as 1801, members of Colbert's family operated ferries on the Natchez Trace in Mississippi, so it is likely that young Colbert knew a good investment when he saw it.¹⁰ He certainly was enough of a businessman to know it pays to advertise. In a lengthy notice in *The Chickasaw Intelligencer*, he announced that he had two new ferry flats manned by experienced ferrymen and pledged to keep the approaches in good condition. He specifically urged persons from Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Wisconsin, western Kentucky, Missouri, and northwestern Arkansas to use his facilities en route to north and west Texas.

Although the farm and ferry station were in Panola County, Colbert gave the ferry's location as eight miles below Preston. This Texas town had grown up around Holland Coffee's trading post and was the best known site on the Red River for a number of miles. Rates of ferriage were:¹¹

Wagon with six horses or oxen	2.00
Wagon with four horses or oxen	1.50
One horse carriage	50
Three horse wagon	1.25
Man and horse	25
Footmen	12
Horse or cow per head	10
Hogs or sheep per head	5

Colbert's ferry enjoyed excellent patronage. In 1858, Colbert contracted to provide a way station and ferry service for the Butterfield Overland Mail Company's stage coaches. He agreed to carry Butterfield's stages across the river free of charge because he believed that traffic using the ferry would increase significantly as the stage route became better known. Stage teams were changed while crews and passengers ate their meals at the station.

Waterman Lilly Ormsby, passenger on the line's first transcontinental stage run in September, 1858, described the operation. Colbert's ferry was a simple sort of raft which slaves pushed across the river with poles. Stage coach passengers received excellent food—the best Ormsby had seen since Fort Smith. The fare included such frontier luxuries as sugar, butter, and pastry. In addition to operating the ferry, Colbert's slaves kept the neigh-

ing Company, 1936), p. 91. Grayson County Commissioners Court Minutes were destroyed in a Court House fire May 9, 1930. Evidently Lucas and Hall had accessed the records prior to the fire.

¹⁰ Arrell M. Gibson, *The Chickasaws* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), pp. 97 and 132.

¹¹ *Chickasaw Intelligencer* (Fort Washita) April 7, 1852, p. 2.

boring roads in good order. Altogether, Colbert and his station impressed Ormsby favorably.¹²

Colbert sought legal sanction for the ferry in 1858. He sent an inquiry to Washington, D.C., about the extent of Indian jurisdiction on the Red River. J. W. Denver, Commissioner of the Department of Interior's Office of Indian Affairs, addressed his reply simply to "Colbert, Esqr. B. F. Fort Smith, Arkansas." He referred the question back to Douglas H. Cooper, United States Indian Agent for the Choctaws and Chickasaws.¹³ That same year Colbert petitioned the Chickasaw National Legislature to grant him the right to maintain a ferry across Red River. Both the Senate and the House of Representatives passed the bill, then Governor Dougherty Winchester Colbert signed the measure into law on October 8, 1859.¹⁴

At this point, some questions arise as to the cause and effect of Colbert's interest in the legality of his operation. Just as earlier Texans of the 1840s wanted ferry privileges, so by 1860, a Texan named M. A. McBride had established a ferry to serve the same road as Colbert's. The exact date the McBride operation is unknown, but the seeds were sown in 1855. According to a deed filed on March 29, 1859, in Grayson County, one Martha Ann McBride had purchased land on the Texas side of Red River in July, 1855. The tract encompassed the Colbert's Ferry landing site and the public road which became the Butterfield route.¹⁵

In August, 1860, Cooper indicated in a letter to his superiors that a dispute between Colbert and McBride threatened the peace of the border. Colbert contended that he had exclusive privilege for his enterprise on Red River under the terms of the Adams-Oñís treaty of 1819 between the United States and Spain. Boundaries delineated in the treaty gave the United States jurisdiction, and ownership of, the Red River, across, to and including its south bank. Colbert argued that the United States had ceded the same boundaries to the Choctaws and they in turn had passed them on to the Chickasaws. In addition, Colbert backed up his claim by virtue of the bill passed by the Chickasaw Nation Legislature. At some point, Colbert also had obtained

¹² Waterman Lilly Ormsby, *The Butterfield Overland Mail*, Lyle H. Wright and Josephine M. Bynum, eds., (San Marino: n.p., 1942), pp. 33-35. Although Ormsby made reference to the large number of slaves Colbert owned, records indicate that in 1860 he owned twenty-six, eleven of which were under ten years old. United States Census, 1860, Microcopy 653, Roll 54, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

¹³ Chickasaw Letter Book, C, June, 1848-April 4, 1861, National Archives.

¹⁴ Muriel H. Wright, "Historic Places on the Old Stage Line from Fort Smith to Red River," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (June, 1933), pp. 812-813.

¹⁵ Deed Record Book, Grayson County, Texas, Vol. L, 154. Martha Ann McBride was married to Michael A. McBride. As each appears to have used the initials M. A. from time to time, we do not know who had ultimate responsibility for the ferry.

a license from Grayson County, to operate the ferry, i.e. to put in and reef his boat on the public road. In an act which was at least ill-advised, Grayson County officials gave McBride a license to operate a ferry at the same site.

Cooper's opinion could not have pleased Colbert inasmuch as the agent regarded the Red River as a "... public highway free to the citizens of the Indian Territory & those of Texas."¹⁶ Whatever the reply from Washington may have been the McBride attempt to compete effectively with Colbert's ferry failed.

With the advent of the Civil War in the spring of 1861, the Butterfield stage between St. Louis, Missouri, and San Francisco, California, ceased. The ferry, however, continued during the war. In fact, it was almost a symbol of escape for some of the pro-Confederate Indians. Many of them, such as the Mayes family of the Cherokee Nation, fled after Kansas Jayhawkers destroyed their homes. The refugees traveled down the old Texas Trail, crossed the Red River on Colbert's Ferry, then proceeded to the comparative safety of Texas.¹⁷

Confederate forces also used the ferry, particularly during 1862 and 1863. Records from Fort Washita show that on March 27, 1862, ferriage for Confederate States public wagons totaled \$112.50 and on April 29, 1862, a regiment crossed the river for \$271.50. Another time, Colbert charged \$15.00 to transport 10 wagons and teams and the same day sold the army 34 bushels of corn at \$2.00 per bushel. The last entries in the Fort Washita log books for Colbert's ferriage were in May, 1863.¹⁸

William C. Quantrill and his band also were frequent ferry passengers as they roamed between Kansas and Texas during the Civil War. If one episode attributed to the gang is true, the ferry provided escape routes to the north as well as the south. In 1864, Confederate Brigadier General Henry E. McCulloch, arrested Quantrill in Bonham, Fannin County, Texas, for ordering the murder of George N. Butt.¹⁹ Only hours after the arrest, so the story goes, Quantrill escaped into Grayson County, gathered some of his men and fled north via Colbert's ferry. Because General McCulloch's

¹⁶ Letters Received, Office of Indian Affairs, Microcopy R1028, Roll 142, National Archives.

¹⁷ Keith Harold, "Memories of George W. Mayes," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1946), p. 44.

¹⁸ Confederate Papers Relating to Citizens or Business Firms, Microcopy 345, Roll 181; War Office Collection Quarter-Master Dept Register of Claims 1861-1863, Entry 525 of Chapter V, Volume 43, p. 94, National Archives.

¹⁹ George N. Butt, a native of Virginia, died in Grayson County, Texas on February 6, 1863. At the time of his death he was the husband of Sophia Suttentfield Coffee. When Butt married her, she was the widow of Holland Coffee of Preston Bend. Mrs. Butt caused much confusion by insisting that the appellation she gave her husband—Major Butts—be used. Graham Landrum, *Grayson County An Illustrated History of Grayson County, Texas* (Fort Worth, Texas: University Supply & Equipment Company, 1960), 127.



Confederate troops which occupied Fort Washita, the ruins of which are shown here, relied on Colbert's Ferry to carry supplies across the Red River.

authority ended at Red River, his troops did not pursue Quantrill across the river into Indian Territory.²⁰

After the Civil War ended, cattle driving northward from Texas began in earnest. North central Texas initially was thinly enough populated for drovers to use the routes which led to Colbert's ferry. Once there, they swam the cattle across, then had their chuck wagons ferried for about 50¢ per wagon and team. On at least one occasion in March, 1866, the Red was so swollen from spring rains it measured approximately 300 yards wide and had high waves on its surface. After boatmen refused to take on passengers, several cowboys tried to swim across. Only two were successful.²¹

Regular stage runs from Fort Smith, resumed in 1868. They utilized the former Butterfield route, added numerous stations, and retained a few of

²⁰ LeRoy H. Fischer and Lary C. Rampp, "Quantrill's Civil War Operations in Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1968), especially 174-175.

²¹ Harold, "Memories of George W. Mayes," 47; J. Marvin Hunter, comp. and ed., *The Trail Drivers of Texas: Interesting Sketches of Early Cowboys and Their Experiences on the Range and on the Trail during the Days that Tried Men's Souls—True Narratives Related by Real Cow-Punchers and Men who Fathered the Cattle Industry in Texas* (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1925), pp. 591, 114, 488-489.

the old ones such as Colbert's Ferry. Among Colbert's business associates during this era was at least one member of Quantrill's gang, ex-guerilla John Maupin. From time to time, outlaw Frank James hired on to do some extra work and his brother Jesse James and the Younger brothers occasionally crossed the river on the ferry.

Colbert decided to convert his system to a ferry boat instead of the earlier raft. The new conveyance could carry four two-horse wagons at once and gave much more efficient service both to Colbert and travelers. Tolls for cattle and riders on horseback were the same as when Colbert first advertised in 1852 and the cost for horse-drawn wagons was down as much as 50 cents.²²

Heavy immigration to Texas passed through the station all during 1871 and 1872, using the ferry at the rate of 25 to 200 wagons per day, plus live stock. Not only was civilian traffic heavy, but the ferry also served the main road for freight shipments between Fort Gibson, Indian Territory, and Sherman, Texas. Four and six-mule teams pulled freight wagons weighing one and one-half to one and three-fourth tons while four or five yoke of oxen were hitched to the one to one and one-fourth ton trail wagons. The ferry boat ran on a cable and completed a round trip in twenty-five to forty minutes if the current was good and there was no trouble with the teams or their drivers.²³

Sometimes, there was other trouble at the ferry station. Mere possession of liquor was illegal in Indian Territory, but Indians living near Red River could cross into Texas to quench their thirst. About two hundred yards from the ferry landing on the Texas side, "The First and Last Chance" did a thriving business, selling groceries, dry goods and liquor. Although the store would not exchange horses for whiskey and tobacco, bystanders who were all too willing to get cheap horseflesh enabled many of the Indians to get roaring drunk, occasionally even shooting drunk. At such times, the employees around the ferry ran for cover to watch the fracas. One of the Indian Territory sheriffs used to watch for intoxicated Indians returning to the north side of the river. More than once, Indians died near the boat landing when the sheriff's efforts to arrest the miscreants ended in a shooting match.²⁴

²² Leroy R. Hafen, *Overland Mail* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1926), p. 317-331; M. H. Wright, "Historic Places, on the Old Stage Line from Fort Smith to Red River," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, p. 813; W. B. Morrison, "Colbert Ferry on Red River, Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory—Recollections of John Malcolm, Pioneer Ferryman," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1938), p. 306; W. B. Morrison, "The Passing of the Ferryman," *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), January 5, 1930.

²³ Morrison, "Colbert Ferry on Red River, Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory—Recollections of John Malcolm, Pioneer Ferryman," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVI, p. 303.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

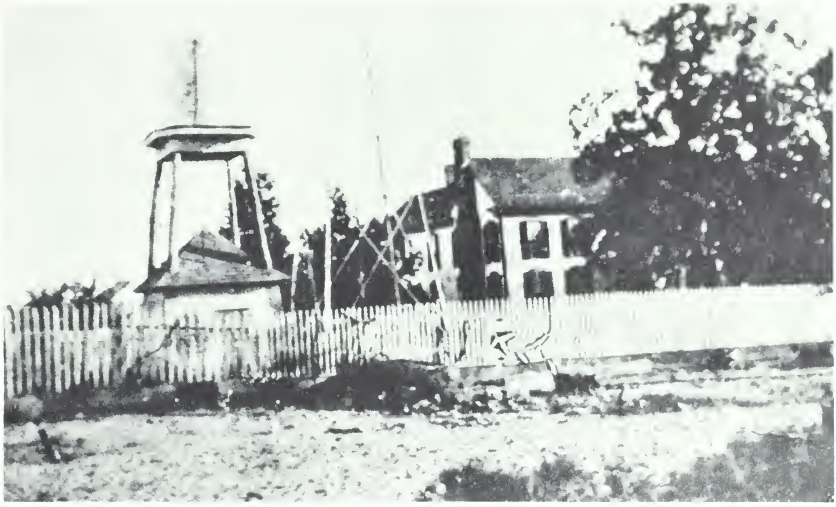
The McBrides of Texas entered the Colbert's Ferry story for the last time in January, 1871. On the ninth of that month they sold 200 acres of their Red River holdings, including that part on which the ferry landed, to J. C. D. Blackburn. Blackburn, a merchant in Sherman, Texas, paid the McBrides \$3,088.23 for the river-front tract, then sold Colbert the same land less than one week later for the exact sum he had paid the McBrides. Both deeds were recorded by the Grayson County clerk on February 17, 1871.²⁵ It is not known if the McBrides were aware that Blackburn would resell to Colbert, but the dates of the transactions with the identical purchase prices indicate a strong possibility that Blackburn could have been acting as Colbert's agent.

Certainly it was a wise purchase on Colbert's part. Not only was immigration to Texas heavy, but the race was on for the completion of the first railroad line through the Territory. Ferry traffic became so heavy in 1872 Colbert added another boat. It ran on a steel cable just far enough away from the first that the two would not collide. In May, Major Otis B. Gunn and George M. Walker, chief engineer and locating engineer respectively, for the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad (known as the M.K.T. or the Katy) rode the El Paso, Texas, bound stage to Colbert's. They were seeking a practical site to cross the Red River. They wanted not only a good tract in Indian Territory, but also access to relatively cheap land in Texas. Sitting on the front gallery of Colbert's home, the men watched the stream of traffic using the ferry. Lengthy wagon trains of heavy freight, great herds of long-horn cattle, stage coaches, and southbound immigrants crossed their view.

While the two engineers enjoyed Colbert's hospitality, the Katy's surveying crews finished thorough location plans all along the northern edge of Colbert's land. With completed surveys in hand, Gunn and Walker met with M.K.T. general manager Robert Smith Stevens. Gunn indicated that a route along the west line of Colbert's property would be the last miles of the railroad's Indian Territory approach to Red River. He noted that it was all open land, with good rock footings for the bridge and high banks that would require practically no fill for bridge approaches. On the Texas side of the river, the survey showed a long, slow grade of approximately four miles that would get the tracks out on the high prairie. Gunn pointed out what he believed would be the ideal location for a terminus and new town-site, the location of present-day Denison, Texas. Thus, the three men decided that the Katy would cross the Red River beside Colbert's Ferry.²⁶

²⁵ Deed Record Book Grayson County, Texas, Vol. V, pp. 381, 383.

²⁶ V. V. Masterson, *The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952), pp. 165-168.



The home of B. F. Colbert.

Railroad crews crossing and recrossing the river generated a frantic spurt of business for the ferry. The Katy also used it regularly to send supplies south to the infant town of Denison. In the fall of 1872, Colbert exercised the old business principle to buy low, sell high. He sold two parcels of land in Texas, one of which was the two hundred acre tract he purchased in 1871. For the total package he received \$21,000. This was not the end of the ferry, for just as Colbert had operated it before he owned the Texas land, he continued after selling it. Even though he still believed it unnecessary legally because of the 1819 treaty, he doubly insured his rights by making an important exception to the land transfer. He retained:²⁷

... the exclusive right of ferriage on and across said river for the entire River fronts of said tracts of land together with the right of free ingress and egress to all persons going to and from the ferry now established or that may be hereafter established on said tracts of land. Together with all the rights privileges hereditaments and appurtenances to the same belonging or in anywise incident or appertaining....

The ferry's business hit its peak in the fall of 1872. On Christmas Eve, a construction train pulled out of Colbert's station to test the bridge and rails into Denison. Benjamin Colbert was on board with other locally prominent

²⁷ Deed Record Book, Grayson County, Texas, Vol. X, p. 617.

persons and Katy officials. After Christmas Day, when the first passenger train ran over the railroad bridge, use of the ferries dropped by half. Estimates made at the time indicate that for working expenses of approximately \$20.00 per week, Colbert's ferry had brought in about \$100 per day for an extended period of time.²⁸

Ferry traffic diminished to such an extent in 1873 Colbert discontinued the second boat.²⁹ He went to Washington, D.C., in December to obtain a federally granted charter for a toll bridge to replace the ferry. The bill authorized him to build a wagon and foot passenger bridge across Red River.³⁰ Colbert obviously had been certain the charter would be granted. A month before he left for Washington, he let a construction contract for the bridge to C. Baker's National Bridge Company of St. Joseph, Missouri. Finished in July, 1875, the bridge cost Colbert \$40,000 and was considered a splendid example of engineering.³¹

Unfortunately, the new span was destined to a very short life. About eleven months after the wagon bridge was completed, the Red River went on a rampage. The drift it carried from upstream knocked out the Katy railroad bridge to the west of the Colbert span. It joined the other debris to mass downstream and bump against the toll bridge. So solidly built that the crash of one section of the railroad span did not even shake the wagon bridge, the toll structure withstood the onslaught until a heavy drift of logs and trees lodged against the middle pier. Two middle spans gave way only after the water from the river measured a mere fourteen feet beneath the floor of the bridge.

Colbert, undaunted by the loss of his \$40,000 investment, ordered lumber to build another boat. Shortly afterward Colbert's Ferry was back in operation. Some of the first customers were men from the Katy as they began to build a new railroad bridge across Red River.³²

Thinking on a grand scale once more, Colbert sought federal sanction for another toll bridge in 1886.³³ Before the authorized bridge was finished, however, Colbert sold his rights to "... privileges relating to the crossing of Red River by bridge, ferry or other ways, at or near what is known as Colbert's Ferry crossing of Red River. . . ." to the Red River Bridge Com-

²⁸ Masterson, *The Katy Railroad and the Last Frontier*, p. 184.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ United States House of Representatives, *Journal*, p. 858 (1593).

³¹ *Denison Daily News* (Denison, Texas), August 29, 1876.

³² Morrison, "Colbert Ferry on Red River, Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory—Recollections of John Malcolm, Pioneer Ferryman," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVI, pp. 312-313.

³³ *Congressional Record*, 49th Cong., 1st sess., Vol. XVII, p. 3918.

pany of Denison, Texas.³⁴ The ferry continued to serve passengers until completion of the bridge in 1892. Colbert's name had been associated so long with the Red River crossing that even the new structure was known as Colbert's Bridge.

In May, 1908, Red River went on another rampage. Railroad bridges went out early, but the wagon and foot bridge stood for five days after flood waters started pouring downstream. When the uninsured span finally did go down, one of the company's directors said that the only relief available was to adopt the ferry system once more.³⁵ So yet again, a ferry plied the river at the historic old spot. This time a motor powered the boat and by 1912, enough profit accrued for the Red River Bridge Company to let a contract for still another bridge. The ferry continued until completion of the bridge in February, 1915.³⁶ Then a way of life went out of existence for people crossing the Red River at the place known as Colbert's Ferry.

³⁴ Transcript of Record, United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit No. 978. State of Oklahoma, ex rel. J. Berry King, Attorney General, Appellant, vs. J. R. Handy, Receiver, of the Red River Bridge Company of Texas, Appellee. Appeal from the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Oklahoma, pp. 42-43. Law Library, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

³⁵ *Denison Daily News*, June 5, 1908. The United States Corps of Engineers uses the 1908 flood measurements as the maximum catastrophe to be expected on Red River. *Once in a Hundred Years: the High Water Story of Lake Texoma* (Denison: *Denison Herald*, 1957), p. 1.

³⁶ *Denison Daily Herald* (Denison, Texas), February 25, 1915.

★ NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

NEW JOURNAL PUBLISHED

The Department of History of the University of South Florida announces the publication of a new journal, *Tampa Bay History*. Devoted to the Tampa Bay area and its environs, *Tampa Bay History* will publish historical articles, oral histories, documents, photographs, genealogy, book reviews, and announcements of interest to both professional and general readers. Beginning with the summer of 1979, *Tampa Bay History* will appear twice a year at the subscription rate of \$10.00 per year (\$18.00 for two years) for both individuals and institutions. Subscribers, potential contributors and any interested persons are invited to contact the Editors, *Tampa Bay History*, Department of History, University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida, 33620.



GOODHOLM HOUSE RELOCATION AND RENOVATION

In cooperation with the State Fair of Oklahoma the Oklahoma Historic Preservation Office is participating in relocation and renovation of the Goodholm House.

The house was built by Andrew Goodholm in 1899. It is now owned by Jim Fentriss. Mr. Fentriss offered the victorian style mansion to any group who would accept ownership, move it, and renovate it to the original appearance.

The State Fair of Oklahoma plans to use the house as a visitor center, a period museum, and a preservation laboratory. Planned date for opening is the 1979 Oklahoma State Fair.



CERTIFICATION OF DOCTORS IN THE UNITED STATES INDIAN TERRITORY¹

Doctor	Residence	Date	District	
			Page	No.
Allen, Dr. R. J.	Centralia, Indian Territory	September 1, 1904	1	A
Stevens, J. C.	Ramona, Indian Territory	October 4, 1904	1	A
White, J. W.	Vinita, Indian Territory	October 5, 1904	2	A

¹ The original book was given by the Craig County, Oklahoma, City Clerk and County Commissioners to the Archives of the Vinita Public Library and the Eastern Trails Historical Society, Vinita, Oklahoma.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Pesterfield, H.	Maple, Indian Territory	October 4, 1904	2	A
Grant, H. S.	Welling, Indian Territory	October 4, 1904	3	A
Sorbee, J. W.	Campbell, Indian Territory	October 4, 1904	3	A
Ferguson, J. B.	Sallisaw, Indian Territory	October 4, 1904	4	A
Wilkinson, J. T.	Lenapah, Indian Territory	October 5, 1904	4	A
(above was crossed out)				
Pierce, E. L.	Foyil, Indian Territory	October 5, 1904	5	A
Moore, S. G.	Sallisaw, Indian Territory	October 5, 1904	5	A
Kirksey, R. J.	Owasso, Indian Territory	August 5, 1904	6	A
Holmes, A. I.	Miami, Indian Territory	October 19, 1904	6	A
Sulzbacher, Carl I.	Okmulgee, Indian Territory	October 3, 1904	7	B
Sulzbacher, Bruno L.	Okmulgee, Indian Territory	October 3, 1904	7	B
Reece, Isaac H.	(no location)	November 3, 1904	8	A
Tinsley, B. S.	Foyil, Indian Territory	November 2, 1904	8	A
Vowell, C. W.	Campbell	April 3, 1905	9	A
Yarbrough, H. J.	Kansas City, Missouri	April 3, 1905	9	A
Davis, E.	Muskogee, Indian Territory	April 3, 1905	10	A
Deckon, P. H.	Muskogee, Indian Territory	April 3, 1905	10	A
Morris, I. C.	Vian, Indian Territory	April 3, 1905	11	A
Tellotoon, C. K.	Ramona, Indian Territory	May 4, 1905	11	A
Conn, P. C.	Gans, Indian Territory	June 7, 1905	12	A
Conn, L. D.	Gans, Indian Territory	June 7, 1905	12	A
Tucker, James Marshall	(no address)	April 5, 1905	13	B
Nichols, John C.	(no address)	October 4, 1904	13	B
Sanger, Fenton Mercer	Claremore, Indian Territory	July 19, 1905	14	A
Blankenship, W. H.	Francis	August 12, 1904	14	D
White, W. R.	(no address)	July 14, 1905	15	A
Deans, Dr. F. R.	(no address)	April 6, 1905	15	A
Meadows, Bradford	Braden	October 3, 1904	16	C
Chamblis, J. J.	Roff	June 12, 1905	16	D
Williamson, J. T.	Lenapah, Indian Territory	November 13, 1905	17	A
Casenburg, W. G.	Muskogee, Indian Territory	January 1, 1906	18	B
Casenburg, S. F.	Muskogee, Indian Territory	January 1, 1906	18	B
Brodie, Will W.	St. Louis, Missouri	January 1, 1906	18	A
Somerville, Okey S.	(no address)	July 26, 1904	19	B
Newton, James W.	Loco	March 21, 1906	19	A
Ogden, W. H.	Afton, Indian Territory	April 3, 1906	20	A
Leerskow, O. W.	Tahlequah, Indian Territory	April 3, 1906	20	A
Porter, M. A.	Green City, Missouri	April 4, 1906	21	A
Orcutt, J. E.	Oakland, Arkansas	April 4, 1906	21	A

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Bruce, A. M.	Bartlesville, Indian Territory	April 3, 1906	22	A
Schlicht, J. C.	Scipio	July 6, 1904	22	C
DesTar, George	St. Louis, Missouri	February 7, 1906	23	C
Wood, Delbert LeRoy	4 East 10th St. Kansas City, Missouri	May 30, 1906	23	D
Hensal, T. W.	Lehigh	October 7, 1904	24	C
Baskett, John Milton Turner	Kansas City, Missouri	July 2, 1906	24	B
Shoemaker, Lafayette F.	(no address)	January 2, 1905	25	B
Woolard, Frank	Kennison, Oklahoma (Tipton Ford, Missouri crossed out)	July 2, 1906	25	A
Ferguson, Lewis H.	Monett, Missouri	July 2, 1906	26	A
Jones, Ellis	Monett, Missouri	August 1, 1906	26	A
Gladden, J. E.	Monett, Missouri	July 2, 1906	27	A
Hunt, Preston	Texarkana, Texas	September 12, 1906	27	D
Mason, James Alfred	Vinita, Indian Territory	July 26, 1906	28	B
Stough, Daniel B.	Troy, Alabama and Chickasha	April 26, 1906	28	D
Gaines, John H.	Vinita, Indian Territory	June 30, 1906	29	B
Sykes, Walter M.	Miami, Indian Territory	July 3, 1905	29	B
Cheek, James A.	Maple	April 2, 1907	30	A
Clevenger, N. T.	Bartlesville, Indian Territory	April 2, 1907	30	A
Johnson, S. P.	Roland, Indian Territory	April 2, 1907	31	A
Jergeson, Herman A.	Bluejacket, Indian Territory	April 2, 1907	31	A
Swarta, Caroden L.	Mosendale, Missouri and Afton, Indian Territory	October 3, 1906	32	D
Hunt, Vere V.	Kildare, Oklahoma	June 10, 1907	32	D
Byers, John Robert	Byers, Oklahoma	June 11, 1907	33	D
Elam, Bishop L.	Centralia, Oklahoma	July 2, 1907	33	A
Brookshire, J. Edward	Chelsea, Oklahoma	July 2, 1907	34	A
Scott, Martin B.	Campbell, Indian Territory	July 3, 1907	34	A
Cox, Arthur W.	Sapulpa, Oklahoma	June 24, 1907	35	A
Windle, Okey N.	Ruby, Indian Territory	August 30, 1906	35	B
Couch, W. D.	(no address)	August 9, 1907	36	A
Chenoweth, Samuel J.	Cardwell-Mission	May 20, 1907	36	D
Wyatt, R. B.	Fort Smith, Arkansas and Sulphur Springs, Arkansas	July 17, 1907	37	C
Terrell, Andrew	Brinkton, Missouri	June 21, 1907	37	D
Doan, Wheeler E.	Miami, Oklahoma and Parsons, Kansas	October 26, 1906	38	B
Allison, T. B.	(no address)	October 9, 1907	38	A
Hyams, Joseph S.	St. Louis, Missouri and Bartlesville, Indian Territory	April 3, 1904	39	D

Goodwin, F. A.	Muskogee, Indian Territory	June 6, 1907	39	C
Chumbley, Chas. H.	St. Louis, Missouri	April 23, 1904	40	D
Kelley, Orval L.	Doctor of Osteopathy, no address	March 14, 1921	40	
Boatman, B. H.	non-graduateVeterinarian certificate granted by state board	March 10, 1913	41	
Moss, Artie Fern	graduate of Indianapolis School for Nurses, Indiana	March 2, 1909	42	
Lemley, John J.	non-graduateVeterinarian certificate granted by state board	November 15, 1938	43	
Gibson, C. A.	non-graduateVeterinarian certificate granted by state board	March 10, 1913	44	

MEMBERS OF EXAMINING BOARDS FOR THE DISTRICTS

* *A*: U.S. Indian Territory, Northern Judicial District, S.S. We the Medical Examining Board for the Northern District of the Indian Territory hereby certify that we have, on this _____ (date) carefully and impartially examined _____ (name) in the science of Medicine and Surgery, as provided by an Act of Congress approved April 23, 1904, relative to the practice of Medicine and Surgery within the Indian Territory, and have found him duly proficient in same. (signed by President, Secretary, and District Clerk)

1904: W. L. McWilliams, President (M.D.)
B. F. Fortner, Secretary (M.D.)
Charles A. Davidson, District Clerk
J. C. Bushyhead

1907: A. M. Clinkscales, Secretary (M.D.)

* *B*: Western District, located at Muskogee.

1904: R. P. Harrison, District Clerk
C. W. Raymond, District Judge
1906: S. F. Dickey, Deputy District Clerk

* *C*: Central District, located at McAlester.

1904: W. C. Donnelly, Deputy District Clerk
E. J. Fannin
1907: E. J. Fannin, District Clerk
J. B. Ross, Deputy District Clerk

* *D*: Southern District at Chickasha.

1904: C. M. Campbell, District Clerk
1906: Examining Board: J. C. McNees, President (M.D.)
W. L. Peters, Secretary (M.D.)
T. C. Branum (M.D.)



THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

REGISTER OF DENTIST¹

_____ (name) _____

(address) _____ (date) license to practice dentistry in the state of Oklahoma. Signed by the board: W. M. Bryant, President

A. C. Hixon, Secretary

A. E. Donnell, Treasurer

M. W. Murray

Registered in the office of the County Clerk of Craig _____ (date) signed R. F. Nix, County Clerk

Dentist	Residence	Date	Certificate	
			Page	No.
Stuly, W. L. (or Steely or Sterly)	Centralia, Oklahoma	January 3, 1908	1	626
Griffith, C. R.	Vinita, Oklahoma	January 3, 1908	1	551
Fansas, A. H. (or Fansas, or Farrar)	Welch, Oklahoma	January 3, 1908	2	544
Stubblefield, E. A.	Vinita, Oklahoma	May 16, 1908	2	768
Knee, C. S.	Bluejacket, Oklahoma	May 16, 1908	3	705
Day, C. W.	Vinita, Oklahoma	January 3, 1908	3	535
Hoston, H. B.	Vinita, Oklahoma	January 3, 1908	4	559
Rhodes, R. N.	Miami, Oklahoma	January 3, 1908	4	616
Rowe, H. C.	(no address)	January 3, 1908	5	617
Hindtmann, O. C.	(no address)	May 18, 1909	5	865
Johnson, R. A.	Wyandotte, Oklahoma	January 3, 1908	6	563
Horton, H. B.	Craig County, Creek Nation	November 16, 1910	6	559
Higgins, M. L.	(no address)	March 31, 1911	7	143
Ashby, A. L.	Muskogee County, Oklahoma	November 15, 1911	7	684
Hickman, J. J.	Sapulpa, Creek Nation County, Oklahoma	May 16, 1908	8	693
Johnson, Lee Hutchinson	Vinita, Oklahoma	November 6, 1913	8	1086
Sloan, O. E.	Craig County, Oklahoma	June 13, 1914	9	1093
Reed, Willis C.	Vinita, Oklahoma	July 21, 1919	9	1273
Gilbert, Russell D.	Vinita, Oklahoma	June 28, 1928	10	1801
Griffith, C. R.	Vinita, Oklahoma	February 25, 1939	10	551



¹ The original book was given by the Craig County, Oklahoma, City Clerk and County Commissioners to the Archives of the Vinita Public Library and the Eastern Trails Historical Society, Vinita, Oklahoma.

☆ BOOK REVIEWS

IMPRESSIONS OF THE TEXAS PANHANDLE. By Michael Frary (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1977. Pp. 112. Illustrations. Map. \$24.50).

When Frank Wardlaw, then director of the Texas A&M Press, suggested to Texas artist (also professor of art at the University of Texas) Michael Frary that he do a number of paintings of the Texas Panhandle, Frary responded, "There is nothing there, is there?" But under Wardlaw's prodding, the artist travelled 1,500 miles to cover every part of the region from the rolling plains in the east to the High Plains and the Canadian River breaks.

The result is an astounding range of watercolor paintings and drawings beautifully reproduced in this book. The paintings include impressions of the habitat, the animals, the people, the structures, and the economy. More specifically, the pictures include scenes of towns, cattle, feedlots, the Cap Rock escarpment, Palo Duro Canyon, and numerous other subjects.

One of the most beautiful paintings is Frary's "Small Town at Sunset," which is also on the cover. In it the artist captures that type of pinkish-red sunset the region is noted for, while leaving the diminutive skyline as a kind of appendage or lower frame for the sky.

In summation, it is refreshing to see the work of an artist who has discovered that the short-grass country does contain much of aesthetic interest. But since the days of the Dust Bowl migration, few people have paused long enough in travelling through the region to discover its beauty.

Donald E. Green
Central State University



A LADY'S EXPERIENCES IN THE WILD WEST IN 1883. By Rose Pender. Forward by A. B. Guthrie Jr. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978. Pp. ix, 134. \$8.50).

Rose and James Pender were among the hordes of British visitors to the American West in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Ostensibly the Penders were headed for a round-up on the Platte River, to consider an investment in cattle interests; but they chose a four month route through Texas, California, Salt Lake City, Cheyenne, and Pike's Peak, to get there. Rose Pender kept a journal of their experiences, from which *A Lady's Experiences in the Wild West in 1883* is drawn.

The contents of Pender's journal run the gamut from British judgments of American manners (or lack thereof), to vivid descriptions of scenery, to

petty complaints about hotel service. While Pender's style is straightforward, her perceptions are colored by British class awareness; she pities Indians, despises blacks, and avoids familiarity with poor or middle class Americans.

However, her observations on their modes of travel, their interactions with Americans, and other incidental detail provide telling glances at a society in flux. For example, Pender's narrative is indicative of uneven technological progress as she rides trains at one point, stagecoach at another, cablecar at another, and a mule at still another. Her narrative suggests uneven social progress as she encounters shifting attitudes toward women, ranging from casual acceptance of flirting to shock at her desire to take a walk. And some of her reactions indicate that the frontier continued to exert a "levelling" influence on manners and morays late into the century, as she is taken aback by the way that Western waiters and seamstresses treat her "in a manner which indicates perfect equality."

The diversity of Pender's experience of America, and her clear rendition of it, make the book useful for grasping some of the color and detail of the old West. However, her "telling glances" are only glances at best. The frequency of trivial comment concerning hotel accommodations and quality of food, as well as the lack of any attempt to draw insights from her observations, will prevent *A Lady's Experiences in the Wild West in 1883* from becoming a major source. It may, however, serve as an adjunct to social histories.

Dorothy Garceau
Washington State University



A MINE TO MAKE A MINE: FINANCING THE COLORADO MINING INDUSTRY, 1859-1902. By Joseph E. King (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1977. Pp. xiii, 209. Preface. Acknowledgments. Illustrations. Map. Bibliography. Index. \$13.75).

From the first strike at Black Hawk to the end of the boom at Cripple Creek, development of the precious metals industry in Colorado required a tremendous amount of capital not readily available from local sources. In this book Joseph E. King provides an indepth, well-documented study of the importance of investments made by American financiers, primarily from the eastern United States, in the gold and silver fields of Colorado. King examines the mobilization, movement, and impact of American capital on the region. Also, he reveals the heavy reliance of the industry upon the business know-how of men far removed from the isolated frontier mines.

In 1859 near Black Hawk, prospectors discovered a rich vein of ore which touched off the first gold rush to Colorado. Placer miners soon exhausted the easily accessible surface deposits, and it became necessary to employ more sophisticated methods to exploit the underground pockets of ore. The inflated value of Civil War greenbacks, the promise of easy profits, and the efforts of promoters resulted in the investment of approximately twenty million dollars by eastern businessmen in the hardrock mining of Colorado. Most of the money was lost as inexperienced management, poorly conceived plans, and a general absence of technical expertise spawned one bankrupt mining company after another. The work of Nathaniel P. Hill, a Brown University chemist, provided a notable exception to the string of financial disasters that befell Colorado's mining industry in the 1860s. Hill consulted European experts and devised a profitable smelting process for Colorado ore. Eastern money financed all of the advances made by Hill, thus illustrating the importance of properly managed investment capital.

The silver strike at Leadville in 1875 prompted another great influx of capital into Colorado. George Roberts, a promoter from California, aided by Jerome B. Chaffee, a millionaire United States Senator from Colorado, soon organized most of the claims of the district into public corporations. Roberts sold thousands of dollars of stock in the East and established the American Mining Stock Exchange in New York City. For several months the stocks paid handsomely, particularly the Chrysolite Silver Mining Company which returned dividends of \$200,000 a month throughout 1879. The following year the bubble burst, exposing Roberts as a stock manipulator and swindler. Many would-be millionaires sustained heavy losses, and investors of limited means were wiped out completely. However, a positive aspect emerged from the Leadville strike as other properly managed and carefully financed mines became steady producers of silver. Even the Chrysolite Mine, reorganized with eastern capital in 1880 by Rossiter Raymond, a civil engineer, operated profitably for twenty years.

Although promoters raised large sums of money for mines in Colorado, the most successful ventures involved companies formed by business acquaintances. It took money to make money—or a mine to make a mine—in hardrock operations, and a mine organizer usually approached his friends first for financial support. For investors, dealing with a known individual gave the venture legitimacy and reduced the chances of stock manipulation and fraud. This method of soliciting funds, combined with the gambling instinct that attracted investors to the mines, provided the majority of capital used in the precious metals industry in Colorado. Many usually cautious and conservative eastern businessmen such as Cyrus McCormick, John V. Farwell, and Norvin Green invested in claims acquired by friends. There existed

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no "sure thing" regardless of how carefully the money was used, but this system of investment helped bring stability to an extremely high risk industry.

This book is a significant contribution to the history of the American West. King easily demonstrates the importance of eastern capital in developing gold and silver mines in Colorado. He clearly reveals the risks taken by investors, the instability—even under the best circumstances—of the industry, and the tenacity of financiers who worked to make hardrock mining a profitable, stable business. Copiously footnoted, the book is well-written with a section of contemporary photographs enhancing the narrative. The bibliography is extensive and the index is analytically arranged. *A Mine To Make A Mine* is a valuable book for scholars and students of the American West and of business or economic history.

William P. Corbett
Oklahoma State University



A TIME TO STAND: THE EPIC OF THE ALAMO. By Walter Lord (New York: Harper and Row, 1961; reprint edition Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1978. Pp. viii, 216. Illustrations. Map. Bibliography. Index. Appendix. \$3.95).

A Time to Stand is both fascinating and, unfortunately for the professional historian, something of a disappointment. Walter Lord has done a superlative job weaving together the widest variety of primary and secondary materials in the United States and Mexico dealing with the Alamo. He has thrust the reader into the heart of the fray, leaving one almost breathless in anticipation of the final Mexican charge. The author even includes as appendix discussing the more controversial of the Alamo riddles: how many men died? Did Travis wear a uniform? That most perplexing issue of all, whether or not Davy Crockett surrendered is also examined. The author concludes that maybe he did and maybe he did not. The book offers an excellent series of illustrations and contemporary newspaper clippings which immeasurably enhance the volume's value to the reader.

If history is more than a retelling of events, however exciting, *A Time to Stand* is no work of history at all. Just why did all this occur, the uninformed reader might inquire. Lord offers only the vaguest references to a federalist approach which the Anglos had found acceptable before Santa Anna's move toward a more centralist Mexican control of Texas. The author fails to develop his theme, however, and the reader is left in a quandary. Though

we are offered fleeting references to Americans who were quick to accept Mexican hospitality, but who flagrantly ignored the Mexican stand against slavery or to pay taxes, all this is buried in the romantic insistence on glorifying everyone involved on the American side.

Given the attitude of the Texans, one wonders if they were ever willing to live under Mexican sovereignty. The book neither deals with these issues nor bothers to recognize their import. Nevertheless, for the high school or undergraduate instructor of Southwest history, I would recommend the book. *A Time to Stand* is just the sort of work that might provoke the disinterested student into asking some of the more important questions about the events which led up to the stand at the Alamo.

Steven A. Leibo
Washington State University



BACK IN THE SADDLE AGAIN. By Gene Autry with Mickey Herskowitz (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1978. Pp. 252. Photographs. Discography. Filmography. Index. \$8.95).

For those of us who once formed the Saturday matinee audiences to watch our favorite B-Western heroes subdue the bad guys, the autobiography of Gene Autry is not only nostalgic, but informative and entertaining as well. Although Autry did not perform in the first film footage of a cowboy in song (Ken Maynard and John Wayne made the first attempts), he established the genre of singing "cowboy" actor. His movies were noted not for strength of plot or acting but rather for the star's songs.

Born in Tioga, Texas, Autry lived on both sides of the Red River. After graduation from high school he moved to Achille, Oklahoma. The son of a horse and cow trader, he grew up on a farm but he taught himself Morse Code to pursue the more lucrative life of a railroad telegrapher.

Encouraged by a chance meeting with Will Rogers, while working as a telegrapher at Chelsea, Oklahoma, Autry used his railroad pass to travel to New York with his Sears, Roebuck guitar in a successful effort to cut some records. There he became acquainted with Johnny Marvin, another Oklahoman, who was making records for Victor. Autry's first recorded song was "My Dreaming of You," written by Marvin.

Gene Autry's impact upon America's popular culture may well be that he was probably the first country-western performer to become an internationally famous entertainer in both radio and the movies. Before the days of Nashville's fame, Autry broke into radio over Chicago's "National Barn

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Dance" on radio station WLS. He cut his first songs in the record industry as early as 1929. Within a few years his repertoire on wax ranged from Jimmie Rodgers' "Blue Yodel" numbers to Jimmie Davis' "Bearcat Mama from Horner's Corner."

Autry's own significance as a songwriter has been overshadowed through the years by his B Movie image. Even before leaving KVOO he wrote "That Silver-haired Daddy of Mine" which in 1932 earned him the first gold record ever awarded a singer by a record company. Other songs of his included "Jailhouse Blues," "Riding Down the Canyon" (with Smiley Burnette), and "Back in the Saddle Again" (with Ray Whitley).

As Autry puts it in his memoirs, records pulled him into radio and radio pulled him into the movies in 1934. The first film to feature him was made in 1935. It was called "Tumbling Tumbleweeds," and established Smiley Burnette, a gifted songwriter, musician, and old friend, as his sidekick.

The book also contains much information about Autry's "strike" against Republic Studios for a policy which discriminated against small town theaters, his military service in World War II, and his career as a "corporate cowboy" who parlayed his earnings from movies, records, and radio into a financial empire which includes radio and television broadcasting stations, hotels, and even a baseball team. Overall, Autry is very candid about his legal battles with Republic Studios and his long bout with alcoholism. The special relationship between Autry and his "sidekicks" Smiley Burnette and Pat Buttram is another fascinating feature of the book. It is delightful to have Gene "back in the saddle again."

Donald E. Green
Central State University



JOHN ROSS: CHEROKEE CHIEF. By Gary E. Moulton (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1978. Pp. ix, 282. Photograph. Maps. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$12.00 cloth).

This is the biography of a leader of courage and dedication, the man destined to lead a major portion of the Cherokees across the Trail of Tears and during the Civil War. John Ross was an unlikely—even unenthusiastic—candidate for this role, yet when he accepted the challenge of leadership he became a champion of the Cherokee Nation and dedicated himself to the task of leadership for the remaining fifty years of his life.

Although he was only one-eighth Cherokee, Ross possessed an instinctive love for his tribe, its land, and its culture. This, coupled with his mastery of

the whites' language and their economic and political processes, propelled him into a position of leadership. Moulton deftly traces this career: from the early struggles in Georgia through the years of resistance to a reluctant acceptance of the fate dictated by the Treaty of New Echota; once in the Indian Territory, Ross continued to fight for what he thought was right despite opposition from other Cherokees and a labyrinth of federal regulations and a multitude of federal bureaucrats. During his half century of leadership, Ross faced internal disunity and external intervention. By the time of his death at age seventy in 1866, Ross was the most respected Cherokee in the tribe. According to Moulton, the Cherokees had selected well, for Ross fought to protect them, shared their defeats, and pursued his dream of securing for them a place where they could be a unified people.

Moulton portrays John Ross as determined, but intensely human. Potentially a prosperous businessman in his own right, Ross made personal enrichment take a back seat to public service, even to the point of contributing his own wealth to advance the Cherokee cause and alleviate tribal misery. Moulton notes that during Ross' long career there were more setbacks than successes, but always the chief retained his optimism—as tempered by realism.

The major drawbacks of this work are that Moulton does little to show how Ross attained his prominence through family and clan relationships, and he does not trace the influence of Scottish traders on the tribe. Nevertheless, for the reader seeking added knowledge of Cherokee history, Moulton's *John Ross* is a must. From an impressive amount of research, he has produced the best scholarly biography of a great Indian chief who served during the most critical junctures in the history of the Cherokee Nation. Moreover, for all Americans who share a belief in the worth of pursuing an ideal, this book is an inspiration.

Jan Blair Willis
Memphis State University



FROM THE HIGH PLAINS. By John Fischer (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1978, Pp. 181. Drawings by Paul Laune. \$10.00).

In his attempt to blend the history of his own family and that of the High Plains of northern Texas, John Fischer has constructed a book that will become a valuable piece of Americana in its own right. Unlike so many rambling accounts of family exploits, Fischer's work combines a humorous style, astute personal observations, and accurate scholarship based on established secondary sources into a highly readable history of the settlement

and development of the High Plains. Admittedly, he has not attempted a scholarly narrative, but he has created an interesting account of a conspicuous, if not prominent family whose life in northern Texas was fairly typical. Fischer's family experiences are the thread which binds the work together, but grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins do not dominate the book to such an extent that the reader loses sight of the High Plains.

As the author reminds us, he is a "survivor" of a "generation that saw the last of the Old West slide around the corner of history." Fischer, a distinguished journalist and author, presents his view of the "Old West" as acquired through impressions gained as a youth when he came into contact with such western legends as Charles Goodnight, through interviews with "old-timers" who lived on the frontier before civilization tamed the outlaws and renegade Apaches, and through a careful study of the published sources. Fischer's image of the West differs greatly from that presented in the "TV westerns and John Wayne movies." He destroys the illusion of the West without destroying the fabric of the western experience; he recounts life on the "last frontier" as it was, rather than as we have been conditioned to believe it was. Fischer maintains that "what really happened was more interesting, though less dramatic and far less bloody" than the popular myth that has grown up around the West. An excellent example of Fischer's reality is his description of Tascosa, Texas, a town which has been idealized in Western myth as the exciting, glamorous, violent "setting for a thousand gunfights." Although it did have "its share of excitement and bloodshed" it was not the "romantic or glamorous" place of fictionalized accounts. In truth, Tascosa was a "sordid, grubbly little village, and most of its residents led hard, sad, and disappointed lives."

Fischer's sensitive portrait of a hard and often inhospitable land could only have been written by a man who was deeply concerned with the past and the future of the High Plains. His description of cattle as "stupid, unreliable, and often hysterical beasts" was written from first-hand experience. His account of building barbed wire fences is so graphic that anyone who has worked with the cursed stuff must instantly recall the strained muscles and numerous cuts. His advice to the would-be barbed wire stringer is as valid today as it would have been in the 1880s.

The charm of Fischer's work is that it is not a traditional history, but rather a personal experience. His wit, wisdom, and keen perceptions are combined in a delightful book for anyone interested in the Old West.

Stephen E. Balzarini
Washington State University



THE CATTLEMEN FROM THE RIO GRANDE ACROSS THE FARMARIAS. By Mari Sandoz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978. Pp. xii, 527. Bibliography. Index. \$5.95).

In *The Cattlemen*, Mari Sandoz has succeeded in stripping away, as only the highly descriptive style of Sandoz can, the movie-type fictitious and romantic imagery that has long shrouded the men who rode the Great Plains from Canada to the Rio Grande.

This is more than just a well researched narrative of the cattle industry; it is also the colorful history of the Great Plains—the conflict between red and white for the supremacy of the Plains; the senseless and savage destruction of the buffalo; the divisive public land issue; and the farmer and settler competition with the rancher for survival and dominance on the open range.

The magic of Sandoz's pen and scholarship has given us the story of the men behind the great cattle empires of the West. She shares with us their periods of greatest prosperity and deepest depression, exposes the cowardly and the dastardly yet praises the worthy; and at all times provides the reader with a pioneer-hero, or as she so ably phrased it, "the rancher is the encompassing, the continuous and enduring symbol of modern man on the Great Plains."

This is a re-issue that has lost none of its original zest, appeal, and flavor with this latest edition. It is regional history at its exciting and scholarly best. This brilliantly written and comprehensive selection is highly recommended to the serious scholar and the general reading public.

Nudie E. Williams
University of Arkansas



TAHLEQUAH AND THE CHEROKEE NATION. By C. W. "Dub" West (Muskogee, Oklahoma: Muskogee Publishing Company, 1978; Pp. 338. Illustrations. Index. \$10.85).

Several stories have been told through the years of the origin or meaning of the word, "Tahlequah." C. W. "Dub" West, retired Boy Scout executive turned local historian wrote in the latest of his historical books, "Tahlequah and the Cherokee Nation."

One version is that soon after arriving in the new country three commissioners of the tribe were instructed to scout the area for a suitable place for their capital, and to return within a moon to report their find. At the end of the period two of them returned to the point of rendezvous. They waited several days without the third member returning, whereupon they said,

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"Two will do," which is supposed to be the meaning of the word "Tahlequah."

Anecdotes such as this, along with the more practical answer that Tahlequah received its name from one of the famous towns of the old country of the Cherokees, are found in the fascinating 388 page hardback volume.

The book covers the story of Tahlequah from its beginning in the 1830s, through its long period, from 1841 through 1907, as the capital of the Cherokee Nation, up until the time of Pearl Harbor. It is assumed that he will come out with a second volume bringing this historic Cherokee town up to present day.

The book is not an attempt to chronicle the story of Tahlequah in a single narrative, or even into chapters. Instead it is a collection of vignettes of history, generally ranging from four lines to a full page in length, and taken from newspaper accounts, interviews with historians, and personal reminiscences tapes.

Included are such interesting, but seldom chronicled items as lists of major items and business firms being advertised during various stages of the town's history, locations and details of forgotten events, and biographical sketches both of the historically important and the interesting characters of the community.

The photographs, including many snapshots borrowed from families, are of varying quality, but are helpful in making the book interesting and attractive. Most important is the fact that the book has an index totalling fifty pages, with all names and principal events listed.

This volume brings to fifteen the number of books written and published by Dub West since his retirement as a Boy Scout Executive about ten years ago. Included are four volumes of local history, (all of eastern Oklahoma), three biographical books, and eight booklets of inspiration. West's last assignment as a Boy Scout executive was to collect and chronicle the history of the Scout Council in Muskogee. This was a fortunate assignment, both for West and for the state of Oklahoma, because it whetted his appetite to study, write, and publish history in his retirement.

Pendleton Woods
Oklahoma Christian College



HOW DID DAVY DIE? By Dan Kilgore (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1978. Pp. 48. \$5.00).

This essay originated as the 1977 presidential address to the Texas State Historical Society. Kilgore, a certified public accountant, has focused on the

single question: what were the circumstances of Crockett's death at the Alamo, March 6, 1836. The question is a lively one evidenced by the attention given it in contemporary reports of the battle and in subsequent studies of Crockett and the Alamo. That this figure of nineteenth century popular legend and twentieth century popular culture could have died less than an unvanquished hero's death is unthinkable to some, yet that is what the author suggested did happen.

After a brief survey of Crockett's life and legend—his "heroism seemed to expand in direct proportion to the distance news about him had to travel"—Kilgore wrote: "valid documentation survives . . . to support the view that he did not fall surrounded by mounts of the slain enemy, but that he either surrendered or was captured near the end of the assault and was immediately killed by Santa Anna's order." The documentation pieced together here comes from the testimony of seven participants in the Alamo attack—Lieutenant José Enrique de la Peña, Colonel Fernando Urissa, Sergeant Francisco Becerra, General Martín Perfecto de Cos, Lieutenant Colonel José Juan Sánchez Navarro, and two other unidentified Mexican soldiers—whose statements appeared in print between 1836 and 1960. Kilgore found the statements to be "mutually corroborative" though recorded independently in time and place; "any one of them, standing alone, could be subject to question, but considered as a whole, the statements provide stronger documentation than can be claimed for any other incident during the battle."

Despite the fact that not one of the eyewitnesses declared that Crockett died fighting, most historians have defended this popular legend. One reason, Kilgore suggested, was historians' rejection of Crockett's posthumous autobiography, which, ironically, encapsulated an unidentified Mexican soldier's account of Davy's capture and death. A second was the piecemeal appearance—and consequent blunted impact—of the Mexican sources, traced here in confusing detail. Finally, Kilgore found historians eager to accept the testimony of two American survivors of the battle, Mrs. Dickenson and the slave Joe, who were not eyewitnesses to Crockett's death. But he surely underestimated another reason, implicit in the works of historians and movie-makers alike: a nation needs its myths.

David L. Coon
Washington State University



HOOR OF TRIAL, THE CONSERVATION CONFLICT IN COLORADO. By G. Michael McCarthy (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977. Pp. xvii, 327. Illustrations. Map. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$12.50).

McCarthy has written a very detailed study of the conservation conflict that existed in Colorado at the turn of the century. The author points out that the question of conservation in Colorado was one which existed in much of the west during this period. The arguments which commenced with the establishment of one of the first federal forest reserves in Colorado involved almost all of the western states to some degree. McCarthy points out that the Colorado experience which evolved during the early conservation struggle offers insight into the issue of conservation which still is a controversial topic today.

The book contains an in-depth account of the personalities and reasonings of both the conservationist and the anti-conservationist groups. The conservationists, led by such men as Presidents Harrison, Cleveland, and Roosevelt, and most notably by Gifford Pinchot (who as Chief of The Forest Bureau under Roosevelt was the guiding force of much of the conservation movement), set up what they hoped would be a land-use policy with an eye to the future. Roosevelt, stirred by the advice of Pinchot, believed that conservation of our natural resources was paramount to the future development and to the very existence of the country. Both men believed the western forest and grasslands could not be entrusted to western legislatures or individual citizens. They believed the only course was a strong system of federal reserves where the wilderness would be preserved for posterity. The anti-conservationists, led by such spokesmen as Senator Henry Teller and Congressman Robert Bonyne, were infuriated by what they saw as dictatorial presidential behavior in order to control western lands. Insurgent spokesmen from Colorado and the entire West launched a furious but fruitless attempt to change the forest reserve policies of the federal government. They branded the reserves as an attempt to control the resources of the West to the advantage of big business interests and to the exclusion of pioneers and small settlers of the area by eastern bureaucrats. They believed the people of Colorado, not the federal agents, should make the final determination of land policy and usage in their state. Most of these anti-conservation men also believed that the reserve system would put an economic strain on Colorado that the state could not bear.

Hour of Trial is written, as stated in the introduction, from a pro-conservation position. In spite of this, McCarthy has done a professional job detailing the struggle about conservation at the turn of the century. He has

covered both sides of the controversy with a balanced viewpoint that is both informative and readable. The coverage given to the newspaper editorials, which played such a large part in the controversy for both pro and con, were especially outstanding. The book provides a vital background for the conservation conflict of the early twentieth century in America and goes on to relate that controversy to current issues being debated in the West today.

Michael H. Dunn
Central State University



THE CHEROKEE INDIAN NATION: A TROUBLED HISTORY.

Edited by Duane H. King (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1979. Pp. ix, 256. Illustrations. Maps. Index. \$12.50).

Protected against immediate access by a bulwark of mountainous terrain, the Cherokee Indian Nation occupied both sides of the South Appalachian summit region at the time of European contact. Their towns were located on the headwaters of river systems in an area comprising what is now north-western South Carolina, northeastern Georgia, western North Carolina, and eastern Tennessee—an area superior in natural resources to much of the rest of the Southeast. This citadel was, however, eventually surrounded by the invasion of white settlement and ultimately possessed in the sixty-second year of the independence of the United States by a cavalier collaboration of presidency and state, resulting in the forced removal of the majority of the tribe to an area west of the Mississippi River in what is now northeastern Oklahoma.

Keyed to the total culture, *The Cherokee Indian Nation: A Troubled History* combines the efforts of twelve contributors, each presented from a specialized point of view. Duane H. King, editor of the *Journal of Cherokee Studies* and director of the Museum of the Cherokee Indian located in Cherokee, North Carolina, has skillfully compiled and edited the collection, contributing an introductory overview of Cherokee history and a highly informative study on the origin of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians as a social and political entity.

Other topics explored in the book include "The Origins and Development of Cherokee Culture;" an evaluation of the impact of the aboriginal law of revenge among the Southern Indians on the American frontier contributed by John Phillip Reid, author of several books relating to the subject; documentation of the "Distribution of Eighteenth-Century Cherokee Settle-

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ments;" the emergence of "Early Nineteenth-Century Cherokee Political Organization;" as well as studies concerning the development of plantation slavery among the Cherokees and the rapacious political harrassment endured by Cherokee citizens prior to removal.

Subsequent postremoval factionalism among the Cherokees west of the Mississippi River is also investigated in the text, together with observations on social change among the Eastern Cherokees and the influence of the American Indian social movement among contemporary Western Cherokees.

Supplementing these topics are interesting accounts regarding the lives of William Holland Thomas, an adopted citizen of the tribe who served as the attorney for those Cherokees who remained in the East and devoted many years of his life to their advancement, and the antics of the flamboyant pseudo-Cherokee charlatan William A. Bowles.

This new volume offers the reader additional insight into the history of an alacritous tribe that became a symbol of the spirit of the North American Indian's determination to maintain territorial integrity of his ancestral lands during the early part of the nineteenth century, was later instrumental in helping to lay the political foundation of modern Oklahoma, and continues to exert a positive influence on American history.

Janet Campbell
Oklahoma City



By Vicki Sullivan and Mac R. Harris

ADA LOIS—THE SIPUEL STORY. By Ruth E. Swain. (New York: Vantage Press, Inc. 1978. Pp. ix, 84. \$5.95).

THE AMERICAN INDIAN: LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE. Compiled by Jack W. Marken. (Arlington Heights, Illinois: AHM Publishing, 1978. Pp. 205. \$12.95).

AMERICANIZING THE AMERICAN INDIANS, 1880–1900. Edited by Francis Paul Prucha. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978. Pp. x, 358. \$4.95).

THE CART THAT CHANGED THE WORLD: THE CAREER OF SYLVAN N. GOLDMAN. By Terry Wilson. (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Heritage Association, 1978. Pp. ix, 255. \$9.75).

CEMETERIES OF KAY COUNTY. By Pioneer Geneological Society of Ponca City. (Privately published by author. 1978. \$24.95. Available from author, Box 1839, Ponca City, Oklahoma 74601).

THE CHEROKEE CROWN OF TANNASSY. By William O. Steele. (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: John F. Blair, 1978. \$7.95).

THE CHEROKEE INDIAN NATION: A TROUBLED HISTORY. Edited by Duane H. King. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1979, Pp. 260. \$12.50).

DR. JESSIE. By Charles W. Mooney. (Privately published by author, 1979. \$9.95. Available from author, 210 West Rosa, Shawnee, Oklahoma 74801).

THE END OF INDIAN KANSAS: A STUDY OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION, 1854–1871. By Craig Miner and William E. Unrau. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1978, Pp. xii, 179. \$12.50).

GLITTERING MISERY: DEPENDENTS OF THE INDIAN FIGHTING ARMY. By Patricia Y. Stallard. (San Rafael, California: Presidio Press/Ft. Collins, Colorado: Old Army Press, 1978. Pp. 159. \$10.95).

GRASS ROOTS SOCIALISM RADICAL MOVEMENTS IN THE SOUTHWEST, 1895–1943. By James R. Green. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1978, Pp. 432. \$24.95).

HISTORY OF THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT. By Frederick Merk. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1978, Pp. 634. \$20.00).

**MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF
DIRECTORS OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
FEBRUARY 8, 1979**

The meeting of the Board of Directors was called to order at 10:30 a.m., Thursday, February 8, 1979, in the Board Room of the Historical Building. The reconvened meeting was set when the regularly scheduled meeting of the Board on January 25, 1979, was cancelled because of a snowstorm. Colonel C. Forest Himes moved that it be declared a special meeting and those present be declared a quorum. Dr. Leroy H. Fischer seconded and the motion passed unanimously. Those answering the roll call by Executive Director Jack Wettengel were Jack T. Conn; Harry L. Deupree, M.D.; Mrs. Mark R. Everett; W. D. Finney; Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer; Dr. A. M. Gibson; Dr. Donald E. Green; C. Forest Himes; Mrs. L. E. Hodge, Jr.; Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt; and Jordan B. Reaves. Those asking to be excused were Mrs. George L. Bowman, Q. B. Boydston, O. B. Campbell, Joe W. Curtis, Dr. Odie B. Faulk, Bob Foresman, E. Moses Frye, Nolen J. Fuqua, Denzil D. Garrison, John E. Kirkpatrick, Earl Boyd Pierce, Genevieve Seger, Britton D. Tabor, and H. Merle Woods. Mr. Conn moved that those asking, be excused; Mrs. Everett seconded the motion, which was approved unanimously.

In accordance with Article IV, Section 3, of the constitution of the Oklahoma Historical Society, President Finney asked Mr. Wettengel to cast one vote and declare the five members of the Board of Directors whose terms expired January, 1979, re-elected, there having been no additional nominations received prior to January 10 and thus no contest. The five nominees were O. B. Campbell, Jack T. Conn, E. Moses Frye, Nolen J. Fuqua, and Denzil D. Garrison. Mr. Wettengel did so vote and Dr. Deupree moved that the five members be elected by acclamation. Dr. Gibson seconded the motion, which was passed unanimously with Mr. Conn abstaining.

Mr. Wettengel called the attention of those present to an article appearing in the *Tulsa Tribune* by Board member Bob Foresman who was seriously injured in a car accident August 1978. Mr. Foresman told of the discovery of a brain tumor and its subsequent removal by Dr. Charles G. Drake, renowned Canadian neurosurgeon. Mr. Wettengel said that Mr. Foresman had been improving rapidly since the January operation. Dr. Deupree asked for a resolution from the Board to Mr. Foresman expressing the Board's wishes for his recovery and congratulating him on his victory and advising him that "his seat is being kept warm." Dr. Green seconded and approval of the resolution was unanimous.

Mr. Wettengel reported that forty-nine persons had applied for membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society and three had applied for life membership, two of whom were former annual members. The life members were Mrs. Frank C. Ball, Mrs. Davis Ferguson, and Mrs. George S. Lowrey. Mr. Conn moved that the new members be received and accepted for membership; Dr. Fischer seconded and approval was unanimous.

Mr. Wettengel presented the lists of gifts received in the Library and Museum during the quarter and Dr. Fischer moved that the gifts be accepted and those donating gifts be thanked. Dr. Gibson seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Dr. Fischer moved that the minutes of the Executive Committee meetings of November 22 and December 20, 1978, and January 17, 1979 be approved, with the exception of the matter of the proposed new structure of the Historical Society staff which would be studied as a separate item on the agenda. Mrs. Hodge seconded and the approval was unanimous.

Because of the snowstorm Mrs. Bowman was unable to attend the meeting and Marvin Henshall, Accountant, gave the report of Revolving Fund Account 200. Dr. Deupree moved that the report be approved; Dr. Gibson seconded, and the motion was passed unanimously.

After discussion, Dr. Gibson moved that the Board continue the policy adopted at the July 27, 1978 meeting to maintain the temporary or probationary status of all new appointments to the Historical Society staff until such time as a reorganization plan is adopted and implemented. Mrs. Everett seconded and the approval was unanimous.

Mrs. Everett spoke of the success of the "Blacks in the Westward Movement" exhibit and the efforts of the staff and the Black Heritage Committee in preparing the exhibit and the Black Heritage Week programs. Mr. Finney expressed the hope that additional special exhibits could be developed and said he had received a letter from a philatelist suggesting an exhibit of Indian Territory stamps. Mrs. Everett called attention to the lettering on the Black Heritage Week flyer drawn by Miss Theresa Covalt, daughter of Mrs. Ann Covalt, Museum Division Assistant Administrator.

As announced at the informal meeting of the Board on January 25, Dr. Fischer said that two additional pieces of property in the heartland of the Honey Springs Battlefield Park area were being offered for sale to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Ms. Martha L. Mobley, Associate Editor, had submitted her resignation effective March 1, 1979, and gave a report of the publishing schedule for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* and *Outlook*, the publication of the Historic Preservation Division. Dr. Gibson suggested that members of the Publications Committee might have to serve until a person could be hired for the division

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

and noted that for the first time *The Chronicles* was without an editor. Dr. Fischer commended Ms. Mobley for her fine work and invaluable performance and Dr. Gibson moved that Dr. Fischer's remarks be placed in the form of a resolution from the Board. Dr. Green seconded and the motion passed unanimously.

Dr. Fischer noted the resignations of Museum Curator of Ethnohistory Donald Reeves, who has joined the staff of the Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center; Clifton Chappell, Curator, Cherokee Strip Museum, Perry, to the Fort Sill Museum; and R. L. Ward, Exhibits Technician, Museum of the Cherokee Strip, Enid. Dr. Fischer described the renovation and exhibits plans for the museum. Mrs. Nesbitt reported on the progress of the inventory of the Governor's Mansion.

Discussion followed of the proposed reorganization chart, which was distributed by President Finney. The members recognized that much planning would be involved to implement the plan and anticipated that consultants might have to be hired to assist in the planning. Mr. Finney asked that a vote be cast adopting the structure as portrayed in the reorganization chart. Mr. Conn and Dr. Gibson seconded the request and the vote in favor was unanimous. Mr. Finney then handed the members present a list of new committee assignments.

The annual Oklahoma Tourism & Recreation Conference, February 20-21, 1979, was announced by Mr. Finney and the Board recommended that Mr. Finney, Mrs. Nesbitt, Mr. Wettengel, and Mr. C. E. Metcalf, Historic Sites and Museum Director attend. Dr. Deupree also suggested that Mr. Metcalf attend meetings of the Tourism and Recreation Department as liaison person from the Oklahoma Historical Society if agreeable with Director Abe Hesser.

Meeting adjourned 12:20 p.m.

W. D. FINNEY, PRESIDENT

JACK WETTENGEL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

REORGANIZATION CHART

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

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& PUBLIC RELATION
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Responsibilities:

1. Maintenance, Construction & Security (Historical Building, museums & sites)
2. Engineering Service (Including architectural services)
3. Photography, Graphics Exhibit Production
4. Sales Programs & Central Supply

OFFICE OF VOLUNTEER
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DEPT. OF RESEARCH
PUBLICATIONS & EDUCATION

Responsibilities:

1. Publications, including *Chronicles, Oklahoma Series*, & Brochures
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PRESERVATION
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& SITES

Responsibilities:

1. Museum Exhibits & Services. Oversee, Coordinate & Integrate all Museums & Sites under one program (within the limits of state appropriations)
2. Determine collection needs

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

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February, 1979

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February, 1979

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October 27, 1978 to January 25, 1979

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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

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October 27, 1978 to January 25, 1979

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THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are \$5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is \$100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is \$6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine \$1.50 unless otherwise stipulated by the Historical Society office. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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Article I, Section 2—The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and to perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people; to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research; and to promote and to disseminate historical knowledge. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State of Oklahoma, it shall maintain a library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts, documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits, busts, statuary and other objects of art and all other appropriate museum material with special regard to the history of Oklahoma. It shall perpetuate knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers of this region; it shall collect and preserve the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes; it shall maintain a collection of the handiwork of the same, and an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods. It shall discharge all other duties and responsibilities placed upon it by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

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OF OKLAHOMA



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VOLUME LVII

FALL, 1979

NUMBER 3

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THE COVER A pen and ink drawing of Will Rogers' birthplace
by Oklahoma's national award winning artist, Greg Burns

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INTRODUCTION

*By Arrell Morgan Gibson**

In an age of non-heroes we look to those times when the nation had an abundance of men and women writ large whom we can admire, respect, perhaps derive a model to emulate, even draw some vicarious benefit to fill our present lack. The decade of the 1920s would serve nicely; it was the time of Babe Ruth, Charles Lindbergh, and a score of other mythic heroes. Many would claim that Lindbergh eclipsed all others in this galaxy, but we would challenge this. Such would be true for 1927, the year of his daring trans-Atlantic venture, when he so dominated the public mind that no other came close. But he soon faded with the public and while always remembered and revered, he was not able to maintain the fever pitch of acclaim of his year of triumph.

There was one person, however, who dominated the pack of super-Americans, except for 1927, throughout the decade. He could and did graciously share the public stage with many celebrities, but he maintained his scintillating impact after the others had faded. Will Rogers rose to national prominence in the early 1900s, he flowered during the twenties, and maintained his great popular force until his death in 1935. Thus, sustained public acceptance and acclaim loom large in the saga of Oklahoma's most distinguished son.

In introducing this special number, dedicated as a memorial edition commemorating the Will Rogers' centennial, one must be most impressed with his simplistic but near over-powering mystique which so captivated the American public that he suffered no stale performance periods so common with celebrities, and thus at no time had to undergo the difficult "comeback" or "rehabilitation of image" ordeals which most public figures face at some time in their careers.

The theme "versatility" dominates these memorial essays. James Smallwood's study illustrates Rogers' spectacular success as an entertainer with the circus, on the stage, the lecture platform, on the radio, and in the movies. Symbolically, Rogers' very genetic origins, traced by Howard Meredith, confirm the theme of versatility. Perhaps it could be said that through his Indian ancestry Rogers was genuinely American. What Jim

*The author is the George Lynn Cross Research Professor of History at the University of Oklahoma, Norman.



Will Rogers, Oklahoma boy and American hero (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

Thorpe, the Sac-Fox-Potawatomi Indian, was to the world of physical competition and performance, rated by many sports authorities as the world's greatest athlete, Will Rogers, the Cherokee Indian, was for his time perhaps the world-renowned humorist and populist philosopher.

Rogers' versatility was reflected in his ability as a writer. Blue Clark's study of Will Rogers as a literary person discloses that his newspaper commentaries, magazine articles, and books were popular and well-received.

Joe Stout demonstrates Rogers' talents for perceptive, if homespun, analysis of American society and his role as social critic. The American paradox of Blue Laws adopted to uplift a fallen society and their flagrant violation, the folly of Prohibition, the curious and nefarious tie between organized crime and law enforcement, and the professional politicians' foibles, all were fair game for Rogers' scornful, sometimes blistering, wit.

William Brown's study of Will Rogers as a public figure includes an assessment of the Oklahoman's role in elevating the flagging American spirit after the devastating crash of 1929 and during the crushing Depression that followed. Brown found that Rogers challenged Americans to look "to the future with optimism; he 'boosted' potential improvements in the American life-style, and quested for the good life."

Peter Rollins' essay on Will Rogers as "ambassador sans Portfolio" illustrates the "cowboy philosopher's" interest in international affairs and his ability as a cogent observer and commentator on world events. Rogers' observations on disarmament conference proceedings reveal a simplistic but surprising command of the issues. And he was merciless in expressing his disgust at the patent folly of American purpose, intent, and reckless innocence during that deadly time between the Great Wars. Also this essay reveals that Rogers was not a parochial isolationist or xenophobe; rather, he "kept an open mind, recognizing that differing cultures should expect to see the world differently." He added "I am not the fellow to go to a country and then start criticizing it from our angle at home. You have to look at a thing through their eyes to be fair." Certainly Rogers was an early advocate of cultural pluralism.

Rogers' confidence in his wide influence as a public figure led him to promote several national causes including raising funds for the relief of disaster victims and the poverty-stricken at the beginning of the Great Depression before government welfare programs got underway. Certainly one of his greatest public efforts was to promote the cause of commercial aviation. Fred Roach's study, "Vision of the Future," traces Rogers' commitment to popularize this mode of travel.

Most of the essays in this commemorative collection are descriptive and interpretive. Two are analytical. Bruce Southard provides an innovative study of Will Rogers' speech, cast in the Southwestern context. Certainly Rogers' spoken and written communication comprised a principal source of his popularity. His "comic spellings . . . joined together with Rogers' idiosyncratic punctuation system" tantalized his reader constituency. Newspaper columns, radio scripts, articles for magazines, even books he "pecked out on his portable typewriter" wherever he found himself—Rome, Paris, London, Moscow, Hongkong, Tokyo, Hollywood, Chicago, New York, Boston, or Oologah. Southard concludes that through Will Rogers "the language of the cowboy remains with us today, even though the cowboy is gone." And a most perceptive analysis of Will Rogers as the epitome of the cowboy image in America, and he as its primary transmitter to his public and to posterity, is the subject of the essay by William Savage.

Will Rogers was a phenomenon. The *Times* of London observed that

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

through him the "eccentric individualism of the 'open spaces,' where he was born, had been wedded to the sophistication of the East, and he was as much at home on the pavement as he was on the prairie." The essays disclose that Will Rogers was adaptable, that he was not frozen into a comfortable mind and action set. Certainly he had the midas touch for sensing and expressing popular will and viewpoint. For a people disillusioned by the failure of World War I to end conflict among nations and make the world safe for Democracy, incapsulated in a mass industrial society, made cynical and alienated by a mindless bureaucracy spawned by an enlarging and increasingly impersonal government, Rogers cast simple insight and interpretation on those confused and threatening times. He provided precious relief through his cogent humor; he coached Americans not to take themselves too seriously. The Will Rogers legacy for Oklahoma, the nation, and the world, is modestly commemorated by these memorial essays.

WILL ROGERS' ROOTS

By Howard L. Meredith*

Exile of the Cherokee Nation into the western wilderness by the federal government desolated the Indians. Some, in their anguish and despair, took a passive course; others, including the Rogers family, became an active molding agent that affected the recrystallization process even after the demise of the Cherokee Nation with the creation of Oklahoma. By achieving survival and growth the Rogers family existed as a creative element in the institutions that rule Oklahoma historically.

Robert Rogers, Will Rogers' grandfather, removed from the Eastern Cherokee Nation to Arkansas in 1832 and into the Cherokee Nation near Westville in 1835. Both Rogers and his wife Sallie Vann Rogers were mixed-blood Cherokees. Robert Rogers was a member of the Blind Savannah Clan; his wife was a member of the Wolf Clan.¹ These relationships remain paramount in Cherokee terms, for just as the nuclear family is the basis of the Anglo-Saxon legal system, the clan is the most important element in traditional Cherokee law.² As the legal historian John Phillip Reid stated: "... the clan was too basic to Cherokee society to be discussed merely by legal concepts. It was 'the family writ large.' More than a family, the clan was a corporate entity based on kinship. More than a private corporation, it was an arm of government to which all police power was entrusted." Membership in a clan was more important than citizenship in the Nation. Constitutionally speaking, there were no Cherokee citizens, only clan members. An alien had no legal security, rights, privileges, or duties until adopted by a clan. Once adopted, he was equal to any native-born Cherokee.³ Although the clan lost its primary status as an arm of government with the advent of the Cherokee Constitution, it remained central to all interpersonal relationships. Also, the matrilineal clan system of the Chero-

* The author is Dean of Education, Bacone College, Muskogee.

¹ Emmett Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indian and the Legends and Folklore* (Oklahoma City: Warden Company, 1921), p. 391; Ellsworth Collings, *The Old Home Ranch, The Will Rogers Range in the Indian Territory* (Stillwater: Redlands Press, 1964), pp. 6-7.

² Authenticated Rolls of 1880 Cherokee Nation, Cooweescoowee District, Cherokee National Papers, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society; Paula M. Love, Robert Rogers Genealogy, Clement V. Rogers Collection, Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore, Oklahoma; Richard M. Ketchum, *Will Rogers: His Life and Times* (New York: American Heritage Publishing Company, 1973), p. 21; R. Halliburton, Jr., *Red Over Black: Black Slavery Among the Cherokee Indians* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1977), p. 73.

³ John Phillip Reid, *A Law of Blood, The Primitive Law of the Cherokee Nation* (New York: New York University Press, 1970), p. 37.

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kees allowed the children of mixed-blood marriages, such as those of the Rogers family, to become full citizens of the Cherokee Nation.⁴ The children took the clan relationship of the mother, received the support of that clan no matter in which community the child lived, and always married outside the clan.

The Rogers family, from 1835 when its members entered the Cherokee Nation from Arkansas until the end of the Cherokee Republic in 1907, was constituted into two family groups in the Anglo-American perception—the Robert Rogers family headed by his son, Clement Vann Rogers—and three clans in the Cherokee sense—the Blind Savannah Clan, the Wolf Clan, and the Paint Clan. Robert Rogers, Jr., son of Robert Rogers of English-Scotch descent, and Lucy Cordey Rogers of mixed-blood Cherokee ancestry, was born on July 16, 1815, into the Blind Savannah Clan of his mother. He died July 4, 1842, in the Going Snake District of the Cherokee Nation. Robert and Sallie Vann Rogers had two children, Margaret Lavinia, born in 1837, and Clement Vann Rogers, born January 11, 1839, both in the Going Snake District near Westville.

Clement Vann Rogers married Mary America Schrimsher, who was born October 9, 1839, in Alabama and died May 28, 1890, near Oologah in the Cooweescoowee District. Mary America Rogers was a member of the Paint Clan and thus were all her children: Elizabeth, born and died near Westville in 1861; Sallie Clementine, born December 16, 1863, in Bonham, Texas, and died on August 23, 1943, at Chelsea, Rogers County, Oklahoma; Robert Martin, born April 15, 1866, near Oologah and died there April 13, 1883; Maud Ethel, born November 28, 1869, at Fort Gibson in the Illinois District and died May 15, 1925, at Chelsea; May, born in 1873 on the Rogers' Ranch and died in 1909, near Chelsea; Homer, born and died in 1878 on the Rogers' Ranch; Zoe, born and died in 1876 on the Rogers' Ranch; and William Penn Adair, born November 4, 1879, on the Rogers' Ranch and died August 15, 1935, at Point Barrow, Alaska.⁵

The Robert Rogers, Jr. family migrated west as a part of the "Old Settlers" movement prior to the period of the Trail of Tears, as the forced removal of the remaining Cherokee people from east of the Mississippi River is known.⁶ Robert Rogers, Jr., and his wife Sallie moved to the timbered foot-

⁴ Rennard Strickland, *Fire and Spirits, Cherokee Law from Clan to Court* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), p. 49.

⁵ George Morrison Bell, *Genealogy of Old and New Cherokee Indian Families* (Bartlesville: n.p., 1972), pp. 356–358; Ketchum, *Will Rogers*, p. 38; Love, "Clement Vann Rogers," p. 389; Clement Vann Rogers mss., Emmet M. Starr Collection, Library, Oklahoma Historical Society.

⁶ See, Annie Heloise Abel, *History of Events Resulting in Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi* in Vol. I of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (2 Vols.,



Old Baptist Mission in Westville, only a few miles northeast of the Rogers' house (Courtesy of the author's private collection).

hills of the Ozarks, three miles west of the little town of Cincinnati, Arkansas, and one mile from the Old Baptist Mission which the Reverend Jesse Bushyhead established. In 1838, Rogers built a two-story residence overlooking the fields and valleys being cleared of hardwoods.⁷ Within four years, Rogers died. He is still remembered in that area as a young man who had established a tradition of progressive thought in his community and his family. His son, Clem, was only three years old at the time of his father's death.⁸

Clem Rogers' earliest years were spent in close contact with the mixed-blood Cherokee community of which his father had been a leader. This centered around the Old Baptist or *Ju-da-ye-tlu* Mission. His early education and that of his sister were at the mission school under the tutelage of the Reverend William Upham and the Reverend Evan Jones. Discipline was strict and the curriculum stressed the fundamentals of writing, English, Cherokee, and mathematics for business purposes. While Clem took a dislike to school, his older sister excelled as a student. She related that Clem would plead with his mother not to be sent to school. Often Clem was truant unless his mother escorted him to the schoolhouse. It became such an ordeal that she was always remembered as saying: "If Clem ever gets any education at all, I'll certainly deserve some credit. I've gone often enough to the schoolhouse with him."⁹

During this period, Sallie Rogers married William Musgrove, a successful businessman who supported the family. As the children grew older, they continued their educations in the National Cherokee Male and Female Seminaries. The curriculum consisted of preparatory studies in the basic language arts and mathematics in the tradition of Mount Holyoke in Massachusetts.¹⁰ Clem attended the Seminary for three years. A major factor that kept Clem in school was a growing relationship with the Schrimsher children; Margaret was a classmate of Elizabeth Alabama Schrimsher. Clem became a fast friend of John Schrimsher and fell in love with Mary America. She drew the attention of the blustery Rogers with

Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908); Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932); Michael Paul Rogin, *Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian* (New York: Vintage Books, 1975); Ronald N. Satz, *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975); Grace Steele Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963).

⁷ Interview, Irene McSpadden Milam with the author, June 17, 1972.

⁸ Paula McSpadden Love, "Clement Vann Rogers," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1970-1971), pp. 389-399.

⁹ Harold Keith, "Clem Rogers and His Influence on Oklahoma History" (M. A. thesis University of Oklahoma, 1941), p. 4.

¹⁰ Sequoyah Memorial (Tahlequah), August 22, 1855.

her charm and bright humor. She became the harmonizer in their relationships. Whenever dissension or hard feelings threatened, she would tell a funny story to bring the malcontents out of their anger. She is remembered for her pleasing voice and ability to dance. At the heart of her personality was her spirituality, which found expression in the Methodist Episcopal Church throughout her life.

After Rogers left the Seminary, he became a drover for Cherokee businessman Joel M. Bryan of Chouteau, who owned several thousand head of cattle and a number of trading posts.¹¹ Rogers and five others spent the entire summer of 1855 trailing five hundred head of cattle to the St. Louis market. The Texas cattle ranches had not begun to drive their herds north to St. Louis overland in the pre-Civil War period in any great numbers. Most Texas cattle were driven to market in New Orleans and then shipped by river to St. Louis or slaughtered in Texas for tallow and hides, which were shipped east. Because of this, the Cherokee cattle ranches were in a very advantageous position. Clem Rogers quickly realized this.¹² The next year, he established his own ranch and trading post in the Cooweescoowee District, which reportedly possessed the finest grass in the Cherokee Nation. His mother gave him a bull, twenty-five cows, some ponies, and sent two blacks with him as laborers.¹³ He settled on a branch of the Caney River. Because Cherokee land was held in common by all the Cherokee people, there were no fees or charges connected with the establishment of the ranch.¹⁴

It was difficult work, but Rogers and the two slaves, Rabb and Huse, soon built a log cabin and planted a garden. He traded primarily with the Osages and a growing number of Cherokee settlers. The cattle herd increased, and after two successful annual markets Rogers went back to Tahlequah to marry Mary America. They established a home in the Cooweescoowee District.¹⁵ It was beautiful country. Bluestem and other prairie grasses covered the rolling hills; cottonwoods and sycamores crowded the valleys. Bass and perch were plentiful in the streams. Game was abundant. Large flocks of parakeets lived in the stream bottoms, while prairie chickens, quail, turkeys,

¹¹ Love, "Clement Vann Rogers," p. 390.

¹² Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma, A History of the State and Its People* (4 Vols., New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1929), III, p. 4; also see Edward Everett Dale, *The Range Cattle Industry* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960), pp. 6-8; Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1931), p. 211.

¹³ Keith, "Clem Rogers," p. 10; Halliburton, *Red Over Black*, p. 74.

¹⁴ *The Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation, 1839-1851* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Publishing Company, 1970), p. 5.

¹⁵ Sallie Rogers McSpadden Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. LXXVI, p. 158, Indian Archives.



Bluestem prairie that was once a part of the Clem Rogers ranch (Courtesy of the author's private collection).

and passenger pigeons abounded in the upland thickets. Deer grazed over the country where bison had once browsed.¹⁶

While Mary America and Clem were establishing their home, her sisters were doing the same, which was also important to the clan. Mary America's older sister, Elizabeth Alabama, married John Lafayette Adair, and after his death married Dennis Wolfe Bushyhead. Her younger sister, Sarah Catherine, married Frederick W. Gulager. All of the men who married Schrimsher girls played important roles in Cherokee national history. Because of their mothers, all of the children of these families were Paint Clan; thus, they could act in concert, which might otherwise have been impossible.¹⁷

In 1861 the Civil War spread westward into the Cherokee Nation. These people divided along lines that had existed through much of the century.

¹⁶ Agnes Walker (daughter of Houston Rogers) Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. LXXV, p. 38.

¹⁷ Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians*, p. 372; John Martin Adair Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. LXVI, p. 7.

The principal Chief, John Ross, declared neutrality for the Nation, although his sympathies were clearly with the North. His political foe, Stand Watie, and a Rogers' relative, favored the Confederate cause. Eventually the Ross faction supported the Union, the Watie faction the Confederacy. Clem Rogers joined the Watie forces, but not before he removed his family to Texas.¹⁸

The war devastated the Cherokee Nation. Each family suffered its loss; men were killed and wounded, livestock and buildings were destroyed. One killing, in the name of war or not, required a rejoinder killing to avenge the Cherokee code. Therefore, killing and privation did not stop with the declared peace in 1865, but went on for years. Western European culture did not run as deeply among the Cherokees as missionaries and public officials claimed. The ruthlessness and horror of the conflict were so terrible that after the war Rogers never spoke a word of it to anyone.¹⁹

In the immediate post-war period, Rogers restored a farm near Fort Gibson for Mary America's sister, Elizabeth. She gave him one hundred dollars in gold to repair the house and fences and to harvest a crop of corn. After he had planted the crop, Clem hired a young man to look after the place and went to work as a teamster for Oliver Lipe.²⁰ Rogers drove heavy freight wagons for four years from Fort Gibson to Kansas City and Sedalia, Missouri, in order to obtain enough capital to reenter the ranching business. He finally acquired a large enough stock of goods to trade for cattle in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations.²¹ The best range still existed in the Cooweescoowee District. Because he had lost all of his improvements on the land he had used before the war, Rogers decided to establish his ranch in the Verdigris valley. The new site had been occupied by Tom Boot, so Rogers paid him \$25 for the improvements made on the land and the right of occupancy. The Rogers' range covered the area east of a line from Oologah to Talala, to the Verdigris.²²

The first dwelling on the ranch was a small log cabin sixteen feet square. Rogers trailed his cattle up from the Choctaw country in 1869 and grazed them on the open prairie. In 1870, he brought Mary America and the children to the ranch. They fenced ground for garden and crops. The house,

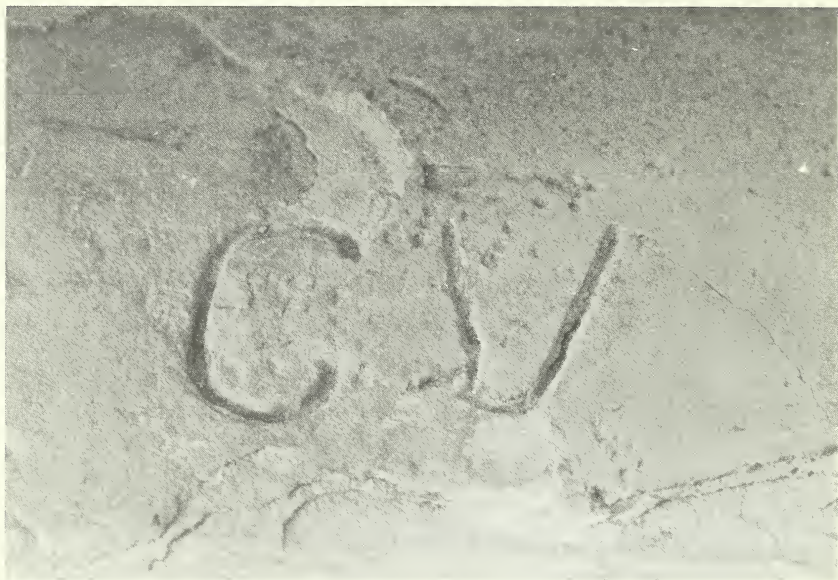
¹⁸ Rogers Children, compiled by Paula McSpadden Love, Clement Vann Rogers Collection; Sallie Rogers McSpadden Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. LXXVI, p. 158; Grace Steele Woodward, *The Cherokees* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), pp. 265-268.

¹⁹ Keith, "Clem Rogers," p. 15.

²⁰ Love, Clement Vann Rogers, p. 392.

²¹ Thoburn and Wright, *Oklahoma, A History*, III, p. 244.

²² Milde Hugo Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, Vol. LXXVI, p. 176; Clem Rogers Title Allotment, Clement Vann Rogers Collection.



CV brand carved in the stone steps of the Clem Rogers House (Courtesy of the author's private collection).

a two-story residence, was completed in 1875. It stood in a grove of oaks, elms, pecans, and sycamores.²³ Over the years the rhythm of the year at the Rogers' ranch centered around three principal roundups. In the spring cowboys branded the calves with Rogers' "C V" mark. In summer they herded together the fattened steers for market. In the fall they collected the entire herd to take to winter range.²⁴ In 1870 the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad reached into the Cooweescoowee District and simplified the movement of cattle to market.

Rogers' family hospitality attracted other ranchers in the area, Methodist circuit riders, and leaders in government for the district and the Cherokee Nation. By the mid-seventies four children—Sallie, Robert, Maud, and May—enlivened the home.²⁵ There was little to mar this life except occasional

²³ C. V. Rogers to Dennis Bushyhead, Rogers Ranch, March 29, 1875, Dennis W. Bushyhead Collection, Box XXIV, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

²⁴ Records of Marks and Brands, Cooweescoowee District, p. 2, Cherokee Nation Papers; Ketchum, *Will Rogers*, p. 32.

²⁵ Mary A. Rogers to Sarah C. Watie, Rogers Ranch, April 15, 1877, Cherokee Nation Collection, Box XVII, Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma; Authenticated Rolls of 1880, Cherokee Nation; Irene McSpadden Milam, "Will Rogers As I Knew Him,"

brushes with the lawless element that at times floated through the country. On one occasion, Clem Rogers and his brother-in-law, John Schrimsher, pursued the Dalton brothers, Bob, Grant, and Emmett, into Missouri, when they had tried to steal "C V" cattle.²⁶

Law enforcement became an official function for Clem Rogers when he received appointment as special judge in January of 1877 to preside over the local district court.²⁷ He stood for election to the judgeship in August of that year against Martin Thompson. When Rogers won a very close election, he began a public career to strengthen the Cherokee Nation, a monumental struggle which continued for the better portion of three decades.²⁸

Rogers won a seat in the Cherokee Senate in 1879 and was reelected in 1881, 1883, 1899, and 1903.²⁹ The treaty with the United States after the American Civil War had effectively weakened the Cherokee government so that the last decades of the nineteenth century were a time of decline of tribal autonomy. Rogers, anxious over the demise of Cherokee self-determination, in 1883 wrote Dennis Bushyhead, who then served as Principal Chief:³⁰

We are powerless to enforce our laws. Are we to submit to such rongs [sic] by white men not citizens. . . . Dennis Bushyhead there is not a single law in this country enforced. Men are hauling cattle in this country in open violation of law, and the sheriff and solicitor both know it, white men are putting up hay all along the lines in the Nation. . . . Timber, plank, logs are conveyed across the line all the while to which the sheriff and solicitor well know. How in the world can we hold up as a nation when our officers don't respect the law, as the oath they have taken . . . we are fast drifting into the hands of white men.

Rogers' public life reflected the bi-cultural efforts and consensus of his family's clans. In this he developed ways of coping within a civilization which was shrinking before Anglo-American expansion. Rogers' legislative efforts included attempts to conserve timber resources, grasslands, tribal ownership of land, tribal management of the minerals, and removal of in-

(Oklahoma City, 1935), p. 2; Sallie Rogers McSpadden, "Sketch of the Early Life of Will Rogers," *Ranchman*, I (November, 1941), p. 7.

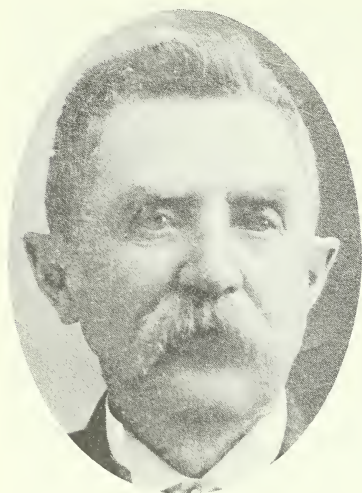
²⁶ Agnes Walker Interview, Indian-Pioneer Papers, LXXV, p. 39.

²⁷ Journal of the Court, Cooweescoowee District, Cherokee Nation, Cherokee Nation Papers, Indian Archives.

²⁸ Manuscript Precinct Count of the Election of 1877 for Judge of the Cooweescoowee District, Starr Collection.

²⁹ Starr, *History of the Cherokee*, pp. 272-273.

³⁰ C. V. Rogers to Dennis Bushyhead, Rogers Ranch, August 11, 1883, Cherokee Nation Collection, Western History Collection.



C. V. Rogers during the last days of the Cherokee Nation (Courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society).

truders. His public policy as well as his private efforts relied heavily on the traditional Cherokee conservationist attitudes. Yet realizing the impending liquidation of the Cherokee Nation through the Dawes Act and the Curtis Act to pave the way for the new state of Oklahoma, Rogers served on the important Cherokee Commission to supervise the transfer of land from tribal to individual ownership.³¹ C. V. Rogers began the process of modifying frontier institutions in his final public trust as a citizen of the Cherokee Nation when, in 1906, he served as a delegate to the Oklahoma State Constitutional Convention.³²

Clement Vann Rogers rode the crest of change. Rather than cringing at a future he would not have chosen, he worked through the change to buffer it so as little disruption as possible came from it.³³ His father, Robert Rogers, had done the same when he chose to migrate west. Clem's son, Will Rogers, would continue to mold the larger world through his Populist philosophy, humor, and reflective perception. These Rogers family scions passed the vision and the role from father to son to grandson.

³¹ Love, Clement Vann Rogers, pp. 394-397.

³² Webb, *Great Frontier*, p. 418.

³³ Blue Clark, "Delegates to the Constitutional Convention," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1970-1971), pp. 400-415D; also see H. L. Meredith, "Agrarian Reform Press in Oklahoma, 1889-1922," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. L, No. 1 (Spring, 1972), pp. 82-94.

WILL ROGERS: A CENTENNIAL REVIEW OF HIS CAREER

By James Smallwood*

Will Rogers was a man of many careers. He was a cowboy, ranch foreman, wild west show and vaudeville performer, radio commentator, star of motion pictures, an author who wrote books and columns for magazines and newspapers, and a humorist-philosopher who was a talisman for America.

Will Rogers was born near present-day Oologah, Oklahoma. His father, Clem Vann Rogers, a quarter-blood Cherokee born in 1839, operated a successful trading post in Indian Territory during the 1850s and met and married Rogers' mother, Mary America Schrimsher, also a quarter-blood Cherokee, in 1859. After serving under Confederate General Stand Watie during the Civil War, Clem Rogers settled on the banks of the Verdigris River near Oologah where he farmed and ranched. In time he built a large ranch house where William Penn Adair "Will" Rogers was born on November 4, 1879, the youngest of eight children, only four of whom reached adulthood. Rogers was named for Colonel William Penn Adair, a close friend of his father.¹

Clem Rogers was involved with the affairs of his tribe, serving as senator for many years. In addition, he served as a member of the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention. His home district, Rogers County, was named for him.²

Will Rogers grew up on the Oologah ranch. He learned to ride and rope at a young age and spent much of his time following the cowboys who worked for his father.³

In 1887 when Will was eight years old, his parents enrolled him in Drumgoole Academy near Chelsea, Cherokee Nation.⁴ Describing his first experience at school, Rogers later related: "Drumgool[e] was a little one-room log cabin. . . . It was all Indian kids went there and I, being part Cherokee, had just enough white in me to make my honesty questionable."⁵

Rogers did not enjoy Drumgoole, nor would he like any of the other schools he later attended. Staying inside all day studying never appealed to

* The author is Director of the Will Rogers Project at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater.

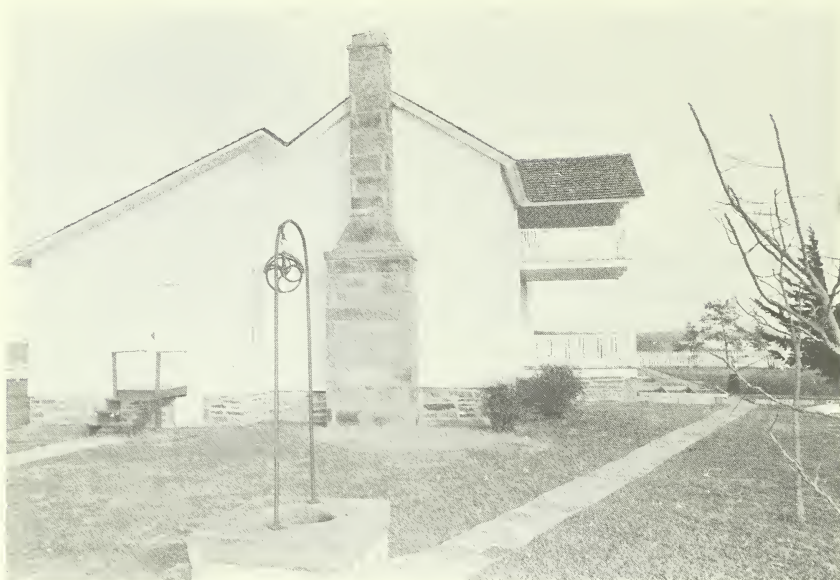
¹ Will Rogers biographical files, Will Rogers Research Project, Library, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, hereafter abbreviated WRRP; Donald Day (ed.), *The Autobiography of Will Rogers* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1949), pp. 1-6; Reba Collins, "Will Rogers: Part I," *Oklahoma Today* (Winter, 1978-1979), pp. 6-9.

² Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.

³ Collins, "Will Rogers: Part I," p. 7.

⁴ Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.

⁵ Day (ed.), *The Autobiography of Will Rogers*, p. 6.



Clem Rogers' house, the birthplace of Will Rogers (Courtesy of the author's private collection).

him. He preferred to ride horses and to practice with the lariat which would later make him famous. Unhappy at Drumgoole, Will was allowed to attend another school, Harrell Institute in Muskogee, a girl's school. His parents thought that his exposure to the fairer sex would tame him, civilize him. But as had been the case at Drumgoole, he was in constant difficulty because he teased his classmates. In 1890, tragedy struck the Rogers household. Will's mother, Mary America, died, a loss Will always felt keenly.⁶

In 1892 he enrolled at Willie Halsell Institute at Vinita, only thirty miles from the family ranch. Will felt comfortable at Halsell because many mixed-bloods like himself attended the school. After four years at Halsell, Will was sent to Scarritt Collegiate Institute at Neosho, Missouri, then in 1897 to Kemper Military School at Boonville, Missouri. Clem hoped the school's discipline would benefit his son.⁷

On January 13, 1897, Will arrived at Kemper wearing a ten-gallon hat with a braided horsehair cord, a flannel shirt, a red bandana handkerchief,

⁶ Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.

⁷ *Ibid.*

a brightly colored vest, and high-heeled, red-topped boots with spurs. He had his ever-present coiled ropes fastened to his luggage. His outfit seemed to signal that he would not fit in at Kemper. Indeed, as Rogers later joked, "The fact is I was sent to the Missouri State Reformatory . . . [but] through somebody's mistake they enrolled [me] at Kemper."⁸ Rogers also remarked that "the head man . . . didn't run Kemper in accordance with the standards I thought befitting my growing intellect. I was spending my third year in the fourth grade and wasn't being appreciated so I not only left them flat during a dark night, but quit the entire school business for life."⁹ Indeed Will left Kemper without his father's knowledge for a ranch near Higgins, Texas, where he worked as a cowpuncher for an old family friend, W. P. Ewing. When the Spanish-American War began, Rogers volunteered to serve with Roosevelt's Rough Riders but was turned down, much to his chagrin, because he was too young. After working at several jobs in Texas, Will returned home.¹⁰

Clem Rogers despaired of his son completing his education and permitted him to remain on the home ranch. Even there the youth was discontented; he found the ranch work dull, although he did enjoy the local rodeos. He became a frequent participant in steer roping contests, and his proficiency with a lariat amazed those who watched him perform.¹¹

Will eventually decided to see the world. His father proved willing to further Will's ambition; he "staked" his son to \$3,000 for his interest in the cattle herd he had been developing. With a cowboy friend, Dick Parris, Rogers began his travels, having a vague goal of eventually reaching Argentina where he understood there was a vast open range cattle country. Rogers and Parris went to New Orleans then to Galveston, thence to New York City. After two weeks of sightseeing, the cowboys set sail for England, arriving there in March of 1902. After touring London they boarded a steamer for South America, stopping at Lisbon, Portugal, and Vigo, Spain, enroute. The Oklahoma cowboys arrived in Buenos Aires during the first week of May. They had traveled first class for four months and were nearly broke. Parris was homesick and Will spent his remaining cash for his friend's transportation back to the states.¹²

Thereafter Rogers held several jobs including cattle tender on a boat bound for South Africa. After a twenty-five day voyage on the *Kelvinside*, Rogers arrived in Durban, Natal. From there, he drifted down to Lady-

⁸ Day (ed.), *The Autobiography of Will Rogers*, p. 8.

⁹ Collins, "Will Rogers: Part I," p. 9.

¹⁰ Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*; Day (ed.), *The Autobiography of Will Rogers*, pp. 16-20.

smith and took a job breaking horses. At Capetown, he discovered Texas Jack's Wild West Circus, small by Oklahoma standards but a big success in South Africa. Will auditioned for a spot as a trick roper, won the job, and began his career in show business. Billed as "The Cherokee Kid," Rogers entertained the South African crowds with scores of fancy western roping feats.¹³

Will stayed with the Texas Jack Circus until August of 1903 when he contracted with the Wirth Brothers Circus, then touring Australia. The manager billed Rogers as a Mexican rope artist. After touring Australia and New Zealand, Rogers decided to return home. He had been gone for two years, had traveled more than fifty thousand miles, and had tasted the thrill of show business. This experience confirmed young Rogers' determination not to settle down to a businessman's or even a rancher's life. Thus after reaching the states he signed on with the Mulhall Wild West Show performing at the St. Louis World's Fair, at Madison Square Garden, and at various other places in 1904 and 1905.¹⁴

Next, Rogers decided to try his hand in vaudeville. Texas Jack had earlier told him that he might succeed as a single doing his rope act. After a tryout in a burlesque show at the old Standard Theater in St. Louis, he secured a week's engagement at one of J. J. Murdock's theaters in Chicago at a salary of \$30. Unaware of vaudeville custom, he failed to forward photographs or publicity material. Consequently, his engagement was cancelled. However, he obtained another booking at the Cleveland Theater in Chicago when an owner desperate for a replacement act hired him. That launched Rogers' stage career.¹⁵

Will Rogers made his debut in New York City on June 11, 1905, quickly making a mark for himself. In the spring of 1906, he made his first tour of Europe, performing in Berlin, London, and other cities. In subsequent years he toured Canada and played return engagements in Europe. In his earliest vaudeville appearance, Rogers performed his act silently, but the silence was eventually too much for him to take. A gregarious person, Will soon began chatting casually with his audiences. "Swinging a rope is all right," he would drawl, "when your neck ain't in it." Or he would say, "Out West where I come from they won't let me play with this rope. They think I might hurt myself."¹⁶

On November 25, 1908, he married his long-time sweetheart, Betty Blake.

¹³ Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.

¹⁴ Day (ed.), *The Autobiography of Will Rogers*, pp. 27-30.

¹⁵ Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.

¹⁶ E. Paul Alworth, *Will Rogers* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1974), p. 20.



Will Rogers with rope in the Ziegfeld Follies (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore).

She then toured with him. The couple had four children—Will, Mary, Jimmy and Fred; the last died in infancy.¹⁷

By 1915 Rogers' career had soared. He opened at the *Midnight Frolic*, a fashionable late show on the roof of the New Amsterdam Theatre in Manhattan. It was produced by Florenz "Flo" Ziegfeld, Jr., who also produced the famed *Ziegfeld Follies*. Rogers was still with the show in the spring of 1916 when Ziegfeld began rehearsing a new annual edition of the *Follies*. He asked Will to join the cast. But Rogers decided the offer was unattractive because of low salary and long absences from his family when the show was on the road, and he turned down Ziegfeld's offer.¹⁸

The *Follies* of 1916 proved to be an extravagant and spectacular revue, but it "played slow." Certain scenes were dull and long. The revue needed more humor, and after only a few shows, Ziegfeld called Rogers, making him an offer that required Will to perform in both the *Follies* and the *Midnight Frolic*. Rogers accepted. He gave his first performance at the *Follies* with no advance publicity and no billing. But he was an immediate success, and his lasso act—interrupted by Rogers for his commentary on any and all subjects—drew critical praise. He, thereafter, became a regular with the revue and performed for Ziegfeld from 1915 to 1925,¹⁹ with occasional leaves to make motion pictures.

In 1918 Rogers began both his acting and writing careers while he was still performing in the *Follies*. Rex Beach, writer of Alaskan adventure stories, had authored *Laughing Bill Hyde* and had begun negotiations with motion picture producer Sam Goldwyn for a silent movie. Beach insisted that Rogers was the perfect man to play the lead role, that of an easy-going tramp. Rogers had never studied acting and had never aspired to be an actor but ultimately decided to "give it a try." The film was shot at old Fort Lee Studio in New Jersey, allowing Rogers to perform with the *Follies*.²⁰

Laughing Bill Hyde proved to be such a financial success that Goldwyn rushed to put Will under contract. The producer offered Rogers a contract for two years—the first year's pay to double the salary Ziegfeld paid; the second year's pay to triple it. Will debated about whether to accept Goldwyn's offer. He did not believe he was an actor; moreover, he liked his job

¹⁷ For more information on Rogers' wife and family and for a touching portrait of the humorist see Betty Rogers, *Will Rogers: The Story of His Life Told by His Wife* (Garden City, New York: Garden City Publishers, 1943).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 127–133.

¹⁹ Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.

²⁰ Rogers, *Will Rogers*, p. 143.

with Ziegfeld, but he decided to take Goldwyn's offer. When the *Follies* closed in the spring of 1918, the Rogers family moved to California.²¹

By this time Rogers had already begun his writing career. At first newspapers and magazines occasionally quoted witticisms Will uttered during his show with the *Frolic* and with the *Follies*. His humor was always topical, dealing with important issues of his day. It was not surprising, then, that Harper and Brothers asked him to compile his comments into short, inexpensive books. Rogers signed his first writing contract in May, 1919. Originally, Harper wanted to do six short volumes, but only two were completed: *The Cowboy Philosopher on the Peace Conference* and *The Cowboy Philosopher on Prohibition*, both published in 1919.²² In 1919 and 1920 Will also began a series of movie "shorts" which later led to another book. Under the heading of "Illiterate Digest," he made a series of shorts which were flashed upon the movie screen like a news show. His original scripts for this project proved later to be the genesis of weekly and daily columns for newspapers.²³

Will also continued his career as an actor. He divided his time between California and New York City from 1919 to 1922, alternately appearing in movies—some of which he produced himself—and on the stage. In 1919 he starred in several films, including *Jubilo*; then from 1920 to 1922 he appeared in several more, including *Jes Call Me Jim*, *Boys Will Be Boys*, and *The Roping Fool*. Rogers invested his money in the last film (he did that on several occasions) and produced it himself. He made the movie, he said, so he could exhibit his skills as a trick roper in order that future generations could see what he could do in his prime.²⁴

In 1920 the Newspaper Enterprise Association requested that Rogers cover the national nominating conventions. Rogers was not able to attend either the Republican or the Democratic convention held in Chicago during 1920 because of the death of his young son, Fred Stone Rogers, and because he was filming a movie, *Cupid the Cowpuncher*.²⁵ He nevertheless wrote columns about the conventions using daily newspaper coverage for ideas. His short one and two "liners" about the Republican meeting included: "All a fellow has to do to write something funny on a Republican

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 143–144.

²² Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP; and see Will Rogers, *The Cowboy Philosopher on the Peace Conference*, ed. by Joseph Stout, Jr. (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University Press, 1975) and Will Rogers, *The Cowboy Philosopher on Prohibition*, ed. by Joseph Stout, Jr. (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University Press, 1975).

²³ Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.

²⁴ Will Rogers movie files, WRRP.

²⁵ Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.



Will Rogers in the movie, "Young As You Feel" (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

convention is just write what happened;"²⁶ "The Democrats are investigating the Republican slush funds and if they find where it's coming from they want theirs;"²⁷ "Congress is investigating these slush funds. So that means nothing will be done about it."²⁸ Commenting about the Democratic struggle over prohibition, he said, "Prohibition has certainly drove the price of votes up. Votes that used to be bought for a half dozen 5-cent beers now cost a \$4 bottle of hair tonic."²⁹ So successful were Rogers' convention columns that he was asked to continue the series in 1924, 1928, and again in 1932. He attended these conventions in person.³⁰

²⁶ Will Rogers, *Convention Articles of Will Rogers*, ed. by Joseph A. Stout, Jr. (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University Press, 1976), p. 7.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

Rogers' career took another new direction in late 1922. On the last day of the year in dozens of newspapers, there appeared this notice: "The famous cowboy monologist, Will Rogers, has undertaken to write for this paper a weekly article of humorous comments on contemporary affairs."³¹ Actually, Rogers' first feature-length article appeared on December 24 in the *New York Times*, but it was not syndicated. On December 31 the column went into syndication with the McNaught firm of New York City. Soon, more than ninety metropolitan newspapers subscribed. Ultimately the column, which ran from 1922 until Rogers' death in 1935, reached a total of more than 600 daily and weekly papers.³²

The weekly series was not Rogers' first writing for newspapers. He had authored a few articles for the *New York Times*, the *Detroit Journal*, and the *Chicago Examiner* as early as 1916. The new series, however, was his first regular column and was one wherein appeared some of his most significant work. Will's subjects were always timely and topical; typically, he combed several newspapers before each writing, and he then mentioned news items which had attracted his attention. He gibed politicians and America's social elite; he talked of foreign dignitaries, and of wars; he wrote on economics, on politics, on anything newsworthy. From 1922 to 1935, his column became a barometer of public opinion, a barometer which gave insight to the social, economic, and political changes which the United States experienced during those years. The Teapot Dome scandal, prosperity under Calvin Coolidge, the depression under Herbert Hoover, Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal—Rogers saw it all and reported it.³³

In 1924 selections of his articles were collected and published under one cover, titled *The Illiterate Digest*, which had wide appeal.³⁴ Then in May of 1925, he started a new series for McNaught, which he continued until January of 1927, entitled "The Worst Story I Have Heard Today." In his travels Rogers met hundreds of people, all with their "pet" stories to tell. For the new column, Rogers wrote the stories in article form and sent them to the syndicate office. Never as popular as his weekly column, the "Worst Story" was nevertheless carried by such papers as the *New York Daily Mirror* and the *Tulsa Daily World*.³⁵

As his writing career blossomed, Rogers continued his movie career. From 1923 to 1926, he made sixteen major films, including *Two Wagons, Both Covered*, a humorous parody of the hit movie, *Covered Wagon*. He also

³¹ Day (ed.), *The Autobiography of Will Rogers*, p. 75.

³² Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.

³³ Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.

³⁴ Will Rogers, *The Illiterate Digest*, ed. by Joseph Stout, Jr. (Stillwater Oklahoma State University Press, 1974).

³⁵ Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.



Will Rogers starred in numerous silent movies (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

completed *Jubilo, Jr.*, and *Pretty Ladies*. His films were popular and financially successful—judging in part from the frequency that Hollywood producers sought his skills.³⁶ However, it seemed as though his writing and lecturing became more time consuming.

Never too busy to take on another project, Will undertook his first lecture tour in 1925 and 1926. “I am out to see how America is living,” he wrote. “I mean the ones that don’t go to New York. . . . I am meeting the ‘regular Bird’—the one that lives in his town; stays in his town; is proud of his town . . . I [want] to find out what he [is] thinking about—what he [is] reading about.”³⁷ On this initial tour—and many more would follow—Will lectured for 151 nights, from September to mid-April. The next year he appeared even more frequently. He toured the East, the South, the Middle West, and the Pacific Coast. And when he performed, he joked

³⁶ Will Rogers movie files, WRRP.

³⁷ Rogers, *Will Rogers*, 183.

with the audience. He said, "I don't make jokes, I just watch the government and report the facts and I have never found it necessary to exaggerate."³⁸ He philosophized on the state of the nation: "More people should work for their dinner instead of dressing for it." He considered foreign affairs: "The United States never lost a war or won a conference." He gibed businessmen: "Two-thirds of the people promote while one-third provide." He sympathized with farmers: "The greatest need of the farmers today is a third mortgage."³⁹ Will gave his opinion on national and international affairs, and his simple philosophy found sympathetic audiences throughout the country.

When Rogers concluded the tour in the spring of 1926, magazine publisher George Horace Lorimer asked him to do a series of articles from abroad for the *Saturday Evening Post*. On April 30 Will, with his eldest son Bill, sailed for England, where he was joined later by his wife Betty and the younger children, Mary and Jim. Using London as a base, Rogers toured most of Europe, including Russia. And he regularly sent copy to the *Post*, which ran the articles under the humorous heading, "Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat to His President." In the articles Rogers advised Calvin Coolidge on the state of international affairs. The *Post* articles later were collected and published in a book by the same title.⁴⁰ After returning home he continued his lecture tour.

It was also in 1926 that Rogers began his famous syndicated daily column—the "Daily Telegrams." Before he departed on his tour of Europe, Rogers had a chance meeting with Adolph S. Ochs, publisher of the New York *Times*, at a banquet. As the two men talked, Rogers told of his upcoming trip, and Ochs casually remarked, "If you run across anything worthwhile, cable it to us. We'll pay the tolls." Rogers remembered the conversation when he was in England being entertained by Lady Nancy Astor.⁴¹ He sent Ochs a cable which the publisher printed on the front page of the *Times* on July 29, 1926:⁴²

Will Rogers, Abroad, Bespeaks
A Welcome for Lady Astor

London, July 29,—Nancy Astor, which is the *nom de plume* of Lady Astor, is arriving on your side about now. She is the best friend America

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 184–185.

⁴⁰ Will Rogers, *Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat to His President*, ed. by Joseph A. Stout, Jr. (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University Press, 1977), p. xi.

⁴¹ See Will Rogers, *Will Rogers' Daily Telegrams: The Coolidge Years, 1926–1929*, vol. I, ed. by James M. Smallwood and Steven K. Gragert (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University, 1978), pp. xiii–xvi.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 1.



The Rogers family at their Santa Monica, California, ranch at the beginning of the Hoover years (Courtesy of the author's private collection).

has here. Please ask my friend, Jimmy Walker, to have New York take good care of her. She is the only one over here that don't throw rocks at American tourists.

Other telegrams were forthcoming, and they immediately captured the attention of the reading public. The McNaught Syndicate convinced Rogers to permit it to handle the daily feature—thus other papers in the United States could publish the column. Ninety-two newspapers originally purchased the right to print the “Daily Telegrams” which first appeared in syndication on October 10, 1926. Soon other papers subscribed, bringing the total outlets to approximately 600. The daily features were shorter and crisper than the weekly articles, but Rogers’ theme, talking about current events and people in the news, remained. The “Daily Telegrams,” published until Rogers’ death in 1935, became one of the most popular newspaper columns of all time.⁴³

Rogers devoted much of his time—and donated undisclosed but large amounts of money—to needy causes. He was a generous man who sym-

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. xiii–xvi.

pathized with the unfortunate, the downtrodden, and with those who suffered. For example, he once remarked, "I can applaud a winner as loud as anybody, but somehow a loser appeals to me."⁴⁴ At another time, he was in the midst of his lecture tour in April of 1927 when flooding along the Mississippi River reached catastrophic proportions. "There's hundreds of people being driven from their homes—homes that won't be there when they come back," he exclaimed.⁴⁵ Rogers immediately wired Flo Ziegfeld that he would come to New York City for a benefit performance if the producer would donate his theater. When word was announced that Rogers was giving the program alone, the noted Irish-American tenor John McCormack came to his aid. The men played before a packed house and gave the proceeds to the Red Cross.⁴⁶ This was not the first nor the last time Rogers gave his time and money for benefits. During his career, he raised untold millions of dollars for needy causes.

In 1927 Rogers suffered one of his few health problems. While speaking in Bluefield, Virginia, Will grew uncomfortable, unknowingly suffering from a severe case of gallstones. Characteristically, he refused to let the pain slow his pace. He traveled on to New Orleans where he raised yet more money for the flood victims. But he was finally forced into a hospital for an operation. While he was recovering he wrote articles for the *Saturday Evening Post*, entitled "A Hole in One," which humorously told of his operation. In 1929 the essays were published in book form under the title *Ether and Me, or Just Relax*, which became one of his best-selling books.⁴⁷

Rogers ventured into radio in 1927. In an elaborate broadcast, Al Jolson, Paul Whiteman, Fred Stone, and Will were featured simultaneously from studios in New Orleans, New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles. Broadcasting from his home in Beverly Hills, Rogers talked as usual about the state of the country, but then he announced that the audience would hear from a special friend of his. Imitating President Coolidge's high-pitched voice, he said: "Farmers, I am proud to report that the country as a whole is prosperous. . . . It is prosperous for a hole. A hole is not supposed to be prosperous and you are certainly in a hole. There is not a whole lot of doubt about that."⁴⁸ Coolidge had just returned to the White House from a trip to pacify farmers, and Will's audience thought the president was on

⁴⁴ Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.

⁴⁵ Rogers, *Will Rogers*, p. 207.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ See Will Rogers, *Ether and Me, or Just Relax*, ed. by Joseph A. Stout, Jr. (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University Press, 1973), pp. xiii-xviii.

⁴⁸ Rogers, *Will Rogers*, p. 170.



Will Rogers in the movie, "Too Busy to Work" (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

the air. His broadcast had attracted national attention, and he was later embarrassed that listeners had misunderstood his joke. However, the president took it in stride, saying that even his staff thought he was on the air.⁴⁹ Certainly, the broadcast and subsequent confusion convinced Rogers of the strength of radio, the power to reach a mass audience.

By 1927 Rogers' fortunes were at high tide. He had appeared on radio; his movie career continued; he remained so busy writing that he amazed friends with his ability to produce copy; he still lectured to huge audiences; his vaudeville act remained one of the most popular in the country; and he continued his international travels. He was becoming one of the best-known, most respected men of his age. That his career would continue to flourish was obvious. The public only watched to see what new direction it would take.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

And Rogers' career did take a new twist in 1927. He became the country's number one booster of aviation. Always interested in aviation, Rogers had championed to no avail Colonel William "Billy" Mitchell's attempts to expand the Army Air Corps. Then an event occurred in 1927 which captured the international public's attention which gave Will a "selling point." In the *Spirit of St. Louis* Charles A. Lindbergh made the first solo, trans-Atlantic flight from New York City to Paris. Internationally acclaimed a hero, Lindbergh returned home to promote the aviation industry. He found a willing ally in Will Rogers, who began to boost the industry in his daily and weekly newspaper columns. Rogers perhaps lavished more praise on Lindbergh than on any other public figure. After Lindbergh's epic flight, other pioneer aviators like Roscoe Turner, Frank Hawks, and Wiley Post began setting point-to-point speed records. And Rogers in his columns reminded the public of their feats. In essence, he kept public attention focused on aviation and helped the infant industry.⁵⁰

After his illness in 1927, Rogers made a dozen travelogue pictures, vignettes depicting his European travels, and his last silent feature film, *A Texas Steer*. Upon its release, Rogers' films, features, and "shorts" numbered forty-eight. The next year he made another short, *Over the Bounding Blue*.⁵¹

In 1928 Rogers returned from Mexico where he had met with United States Ambassador Dwight Morrow and Mexican President Plutarco Calles to cover the political conventions and to begin a lecture tour. However, when he learned that his close friend, actor Fred Stone, had been injured while piloting his plane at a time when Stone's new play, *Three Cheers*, was about to open in New York City, Rogers volunteered to take his friend's place even though the play was a musical. Rogers succeeded but was somewhat bothered by the singing: "When I sing, I feel that is as far as any man has ever gone for a friend."⁵²

Three Cheers closed in the summer of 1929, and Rogers returned to Hollywood to find, he said, everyone practicing talking. While he had been away Hollywood had experienced the advent of talking motion pictures. In the old days of silent films, Will said, everyone practiced silent nodding. But now, said Will, "you meet an actor or a girl and . . . they stop and start chattering. Whether politics, Babe Ruth, anything to practice talking."⁵³

⁵⁰ Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.

⁵¹ Will Rogers movie files, WRRP.

⁵² Rogers, *Will Rogers*, p. 230.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

William Fox quickly signed Will to a contract for his first "talkie," *They Had to See Paris*, written by Homer Croy who also had written a book by the same title. Rogers found the "talkies" to be bothersome. Accustomed to silent films, he was not used to following a set script. He was in the habit of doing things his own way and often made up his own lines. That, of course, drove his director, Frank Borgage, and actors to distraction. Ultimately, a compromise was reached wherein Will used his own style and made up his own lines. But he had to follow the plot and action of the script, and he had to "cue" other players when appropriate. Allowing Will to use his judgment yielded results. *They Had to See Paris*, a comic story of American tourists in France, proved to be one of Rogers' best films.⁵⁴

By 1933 he had made fourteen more films, including *A Connecticut Yankee*, *Business and Pleasure*, and *State Fair*. All his films were successes and by 1933 Will was established as a "box office" star, the highest paid actor in Hollywood.⁵⁵ Yet Rogers' movie career remained only one aspect of his life. He was too active to be restricted to one field.

In March of 1930, Rogers expanded into radio on a regular basis. He signed a \$72,000 contract for fourteen radio talk shows of fifteen minutes each. In his shows he continued to do what he had always done in his newspaper columns: to comment on American society, politics, and foreign affairs, flavoring his remarks with jest and ridicule. From 1930 to 1935, Rogers continued periodically to host a sponsored radio show. Especially during the trying years of the Great Depression, Rogers' voice became one that listeners wanted to hear because it often lifted their spirits.⁵⁶

In January of 1931, Rogers embarked on one of his greatest fund raising ventures. In the midst of the second winter of the depression, the plight of farmers in the South and Middle West had become serious. A drought the previous year resulted in entire crops being lost. And another severe winter worsened agricultural prospects. Early in January a dramatic incident occurred. Farmers at England, Arkansas, 500 strong, came into town and demanded food for their hungry families. "Those birds," wrote Will, "woke up America. I don't want to discourage Mr. [Andrew] Mellon and his carefully balanced budget, but you let this country get hungry and they are going to eat, no matter what happens to budgets, income taxes, or Wall Street values."⁵⁷

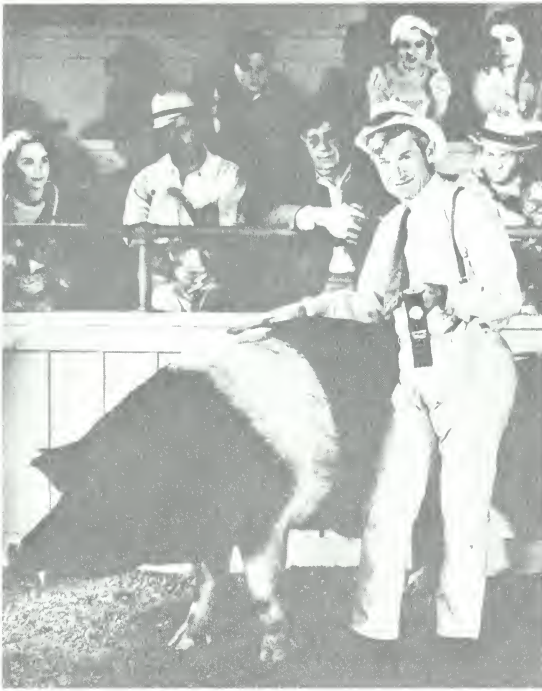
In mid-January he flew to Washington to confer with Hoover, asking the president to request an appropriation for the Red Cross, an agency that

⁵⁴ Will Rogers movie files, WRRP.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.

⁵⁷ Rogers, *Will Rogers*, p. 243.



Will Rogers in the movie, "State Fair" (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

could help the needy. However, when Congress and the president could not decide on a course of action, Rogers decided to take charge personally: he began a charity tour for the Red Cross. Borrowing a Navy plane, Rogers paid his expenses and raised thousands of dollars, touring Texas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas on a twenty-day tour. He took in \$18,000 at Fort Worth and \$30,000 at Tulsa. Altogether he raised \$250,000.⁵⁸

After his charity tour Rogers returned to Hollywood to make a new picture, *Young as You Feel*; then he resumed his world travels, first going to Central America to visit several countries including Panama. Later, in November of 1931, he launched an around-the-world tour with Betty, traveling first to the Far East to visit Japan, Korea, and China. He saw Singapore, then the Malay Peninsula, and went to India. During his travels he sub-

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*



In movies such as *Business and Pleasure*, Rogers became one of Hollywood's most popular performers (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

mitted reports to the *Saturday Evening Post*. The articles continued as Will skipped through Cairo, Athens, Rome, Paris, Berlin, London, and other cities. He returned home in February of 1932.⁵⁹

Once at his California home, Rogers took time to play polo, to entertain friends, and to take automobile excursions with family. He devoted time to his daily and weekly columns and he continued his movie career, making four more films in 1932.⁶⁰

Rogers attended the presidential nominating conventions in 1932. At the Democratic National Convention, on one ballot he received twenty-two delegate votes for president when Governor "Alfalfa Bill" Murray released the Oklahoma delegation to Rogers. When the votes later went to another candidate, Rogers decided that "Politics ain't on the level. . . . I was sitting

⁵⁹ Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.

⁶⁰ Will Rogers movie files, WRRP.

there in the press stand asleep and wasn't bothering a soul when they woke me up and said Oklahoma had started me on the way to the White House . . . Well, . . . I dropped off to sleep again, and that's when somebody touched me for my roll, took the whole twenty-two [votes], they didn't even leave me a vote to get breakfast on."⁶¹ Rogers later played a serious role at the convention. In an impromptu speech, he urged party unity with a stirring appeal that had a visible effect on the delegates.⁶²

After Franklin Roosevelt took office in 1933, Rogers continued to caricature both Democrats and Republicans in his columns, yet he was serious, too. He endorsed the New Deal and was pleased that Roosevelt's experimentation seemed to improve the economy, although he satirized some of its features. On deficit spending, for example, he once said: "The budget is a mythical beanbag. Congress votes mythical beans into it, and then tries to reach in and pull real beans out."⁶³

In 1934 and 1935, he made eight pictures, including *Judge Priest*, *David Harum*, *The County Chairman*, and *Steamboat Round the Bend*, which was released after his death. He was one of Hollywood's most sought after and highest paid stars.⁶⁴ He continued his newspaper columns which remained popular and he increasingly devoted his attention to aviation. In 1934 when the federal government cancelled all air mail contracts held by commercial airlines, deciding to use Army pilots to fly the mail, Rogers protested.⁶⁵ Eventually, the government reversed its decision and once again contracted with private carriers to haul air mail.

It was Rogers' continuing interest in aviation that ultimately brought about his death in 1935. One of Rogers' many friends was Wiley Post, the Oklahoma pilot who held two around-the-world flight records and point-to-point speed marks. Rogers believed that Post never had been properly recognized for his feats. Rogers wished to further Post's career and became involved in one of the pilot's projects. Post conceived the idea of surveying a mail and passenger air route to Russia by an Alaska-to-Asia land route as an alternative to long flight over the Pacific. Rogers decided to accompany him, planning an air reconnaissance of Alaska and portions of Siberia, China, and Africa.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Rogers, *Will Rogers*, p. 277.

⁶² Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.

⁶³ Day (ed.), *The Autobiography of Will Rogers*, p. 311.

⁶⁴ Will Rogers movie files, WRRP.

⁶⁵ Will Rogers biographical files, WRRP.

⁶⁶ P. J. O'Brien, *Will Rogers: Ambassador of Good Will, Prince of Wit and Wisdom* (n. p., John C. Winston Company, 1935), pp. 13-22; Rogers, *Will Rogers*, pp. 301-302.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Post and Rogers reached Fairbanks on schedule. Rogers then decided to go to Point Barrow, 500 miles distant to the Arctic Circle to visit Charles "King Charlie" Brower, a trader and whaler who had lived under the *aurora borealis* for fifty-one years. Post and Rogers flew over the high Endicott Mountains and intended to follow the coastline to Point Barrow. But in a dense fog Post missed the point; after much searching for a place to land, he set down the plane on a frozen inlet fifteen miles from the destination. After an Eskimo gave directions to the point, Post attempted to take off during the evening of August 15, 1935; he lifted the plane to approximately fifty feet then banked slightly to the right. At this point the motor apparently stalled. The plane dipped and nosed into the water, turning completely over. Both men were killed instantly.⁶⁷

When news of Rogers' death reached the United States he was grieved over as no other public figure. As news of the tragedy spread across the nation, children, women, and men cried. Will Rogers had become a vital part of the nation's life. There would be no more movies with Will playing the country bumpkin, no more national radio broadcasts by Rogers to entertain millions, no more newspaper columns of wit and earthy philosophy.

⁶⁷ O'Brien, *Will Rogers*, pp. 13-22; Rogers, *Will Rogers*, pp. 302-312.

WILL ROGERS AS SOCIAL CRITIC

*By Joseph Stout**

On August 15, 1935, a red, low-winged monoplane carrying Will Rogers and Wiley Post crashed into a bleak, frozen Alaskan promontory. Several hours later, after a native reported the crash to officials at a federal government station fifteen miles from the crash site, the world learned of the tragedy. Almost everyone had seen Rogers' movies or read his daily quips, so many realized that in the future something would be missing in their lives.

Will Rogers was unquestionably America's best-loved "prince of wit and wisdom." The public continues to honor him by visiting the Will Rogers Memorial in Claremore, Oklahoma, estimated at 20,000,000 visitors since the memorial's completion in 1938. Rogers' fame rested on his easy ability to make people laugh, albeit sometimes at themselves, and perhaps to be tolerant of human differences. Through his books, daily telegrams, weekly articles, and other publications he reported what was happening in the world, cast in his viewpoint. He flavored his daily commentary with earthy anecdotes and aphorisms which remain relevant. Rogers' humorous comments about government and politicians were particularly well received. He saw the transparency of much of American life, and he pointedly expressed his feelings. Humorous allusion was his primary communication device.

As Will Rogers was born on election day, 1879, he joked that this gave him the natural right to "poke fun" at those who sat in the chancelleries of government. When people asked him where he was born, he would tell them Claremore; he was certain none of them could pronounce Oologah, the nearest village to his birthplace. Rogers' parents were Cherokee, and he often referred proudly to his Indian ancestry. Rogers became a successful entertainer during the first two decades of the twentieth century, but it was during the 1920s that he became a well-known movie actor and journalist.

He made his greatest contribution to his generation through his writings. Rogers was often an astute political analyst. He was at times pragmatic, and his cogent comments provided penetrating insights into American behavior and society. He expressed his ideas in a way that every person could understand the most esoteric aspects of government, finance, and society. He began his writing career in 1919, when he wrote a short book containing some of the jokes which he had used in the Ziegfeld Follies. This volume,

* The author is Associate Professor of History at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater.



Through books, telegrams, articles, and newspapers, Will Rogers provided revealing comments about American society (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

The Cowboy Philosopher on the Peace Conference, sold well and was followed in the next few years with five complete, but short books, hundreds of weekly articles, and daily telegrams.

In his writing he demonstrated concern about such subjects as the growth of crime in the country during the 1920s, and he offered criticism and solutions. Al Capone, Bugs Moran, Dion O'Banion, and other criminals profiting from the sale of illicit alcoholic beverages were seemingly immune to local law. Rogers observed this, and in November, 1926, he was invited to speak in Chicago. In St. Joseph, Missouri, the day before the Chicago engagement he wrote.¹

¹ Will Rogers Daily Telegram, St. Joseph, Mo., November 22, 1926, xerox copy of original telegram, Will Rogers Research Project, Oklahoma State University Library. All subsequent telegram citations are from this source. Moreover, no editing of Rogers' telegrams has been done for this paper. Hereafter cited as WRDT.

Playing Chicago tomorrow night, perhaps. Hope I reach the stage before the machine gun bullets lay me low. I want to go with my chaps on. Everybody in America has been good to me and I love you all, even critics and Congressmen. P.S. Don't try to find who did it. I don't want any exceptions made in my case.

In this telegram Rogers expressed the ordinary citizen's lack of confidence in law enforcement in regard to organized crime.

Concerning treatment of criminals when some minor charge was brought against them Rogers offered an explanation:²

The government has finally been able to arrange an "armistice" with Al Capone. He is to go to jail "in person" for two years (which term he named himself). His lieutenants are to carry on his business and deliver the receipts to him at the jail every day.

In return the government is to feed, clothe and protect him from harm and release him just about time business turns the corner. The government is remodeling Leavenworth now for him.

Gangster funerals also made headlines throughout the country and Rogers read the newspapers eagerly searching for new material. The funeral of Capone's rival Dion O'Banion was spectacular. Frederick Lewis Allen has written, "O'Banion had a first-class funeral, gangster style: a ten-thousand dollar casket, twenty-six truckloads of flowers, and among them a basket of flowers which bore the touching inscription, 'From Al.'"³ Rogers saw humor in such practices, and had considerable suggestions on the subject. He once wrote:⁴

Well, Chicago is having the last laugh. The rest of the country rose up in wrath with pictures and editorials of Chicago killings, and its elaborate gangster's funerals. Now if your town hasn't buried a gangster with a rose festival it's rather plebian.

Los Angeles, backed by the Chamber of Commerce and the florists, are out for that trade now. They put on a trial funeral here last week that looked like a movie opening night. The flowers were only limited by the amount they could ship in. Our slogan is, "Before you shoot each other don't overlook Los Angeles." Racketeering is America's biggest industry, and their funerals is "big business."

Finally, Rogers suggested a solution for the crime problem:⁵

² WRDT, Beverly Hills, California, June 18, 1931.

³ Frederick L. Allen, *Only Yesterday* (New York: Harper and Row, 1931).

⁴ WRDT, Beverly Hills, California, March 26, 1931.

⁵ *Ibid.*, March 20, 1931.

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Every State in the Union gambles as much as Nevada does, but they were smart enough to pass a law and get some tax money out of it.

If Wall street paid a tax on every "game" they run, we would get enough revenue to run the government on.

Another thing, we don't seem to be able to even check crime, so why not legalize it and put a heavy tax on it.

Make the tax for robbery so high that a bandit couldn't afford to rob any one unless he knew they had a lot of dough.

We have taxed other industries out of business; it might work here.

Rogers' solution might not seem appropriate but it reflected the exasperation most Americans had at the seeming inability of government to cope with crime.

In matters directly related to criminal activity, Rogers had additional opinions. He was particularly concerned about the dangers of consuming homemade alcoholic beverages and of some alcoholic products sold at drug stores for medicinal purposes. Some individuals made beer or corn liquor in breweries or stills set up in backyards or in cellars. One could buy most components for making a still and build it for about five hundred dollars. The apparatus would produce 50 to 100 gallons of liquor each day. However, there were dangers involved. Improper distilling produced a poison which would cripple, blind, or kill the drinker. In addition, druggists and chemical firms often sold methanol alcohol which could be converted to drinking liquor. Stories abounded of the errors made and disabilities suffered. Rogers occasionally wrote warnings of the dangers in consuming these liquors.⁶

There is not much humor in this, but there is a lot of warning.

This "Jamaica ginger jag" has hit our coast. Here is what you get in a two-ounce bottle for 50 cents:

First, the fingers or toes become numb; then the legs and knees become permanently paralyzed. It seldom reaches above the knees.

Among yesterday's cases was a barber with a wife and two children, hands totally paralyzed; a laborer with wife and three children, will never walk again; at Old Soldier's Home thirty-two cases, and two deaths.

And all a druggist has to plead is that he didn't know it was poisoned. This is not to be construed as a prohibition lecture. It's really an ad for just old "corn." It only paralyzes you temporarily.

During the 1920s and 1930s most of the major powers sought to achieve international peace, but the United States was isolationist and was re-

⁶ *Ibid.*, March 9, 1931.



Rogers relaxing with friends, Death Valley Scotty [left] and Governor Fred B. Balzar of Nevada [center] (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

luctant to sign any agreement which would obligate the country to act on behalf of any other nation. Rogers claimed that the American people generally were willing to talk endlessly and do nothing. In 1931, four years after the signing of the Kellogg-Briand anti-war pact, he was critical of what had not occurred in regard to securing a lasting peace. He wrote in this regard:⁷

Well, Mr. Hoover's disarmament plan fell just like all of 'em have. Nations that have none say it's "fine," but the ones that are well armed say it's terrible.

⁷ *Ibid.*, June 24, 1932.



Rogers with Henry Ford (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

I have been to every one of those disarmament Conferences both here and in Europe and if there is one thing that has been absolutely proved that can't be done it's to get countries to agree on what constitutes protection.

We can make fine proposals over here, for Mexico and Canada are not so strong, but you put us over there in the midst of that mess, and brother, we could go out and buy another gun, too. We ought to set by a day of thanksgiving, blessing the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans for their splendid judgment in locating where they did.

In 1933, just after Franklin D. Roosevelt became president, he sent a representative to the London Economic Conference, where world powers were trying to stabilize world currency through international agreements. Roosevelt essentially limited the effectiveness of the conference by advising countries that the United States would resolve its own monetary problems without cooperation. In fact, he wanted the United States currency tied to no other in the world. Rogers remarked:⁸

Well, the London Economic Conference closed today. It just disbanded today, but it ended the day it started.

You will hear a lot of 'em say that it didn't accomplish anything, but it did. They stayed in session till every nation got thoroughly disgusted with each other.

⁸ *Ibid.*, July 27, 1933.

There is no place in the world like a conference to find out the short-coming of each other.

Not every delegation goes home and tells tales on the others. Of course we leave as the principal villain. We were supposed to bring the pie that they were to cut. When we didn't bring it the banquet was a total loss.

Where is the next conference? We just love to confer.

Rogers was vexed as far as explaining such successes and failures of American diplomacy, but he naturally had an analysis to offer. For example, in regard to difficulties with China he suggested:⁹

When American diplomacy gets through messing us around over in China, I can tell them what has caused this hate of us over there. It's our missionaries who have been trying to introduce "chop suey" into China. China didn't mind them eating it there, but when they tried to call it a Chinese dish that's what made them start shooting at us. Yours for corn bread, chitlins and turnip greens.

In the 1920s most Americans appeared disinterested in anything other than the immediate and their personal lives. Even in 1928 as the stock market continued its climb, and as the standard of living for most improved, Americans seemed unconcerned with increasing threats to prosperity. Rogers reflected American disinterest for politics, economics, and other serious matters. He offered:¹⁰

Politics are receiving a lot of attention because we have nothing else to interest us. We don't have to worry about anything. No nation in the history of the world was ever sitting as pretty. If we want anything, all we have to do is go and buy it on credit. So that leaves us without any economic problem whatever, except perhaps some day to have to pay for them. But we are certainly not thinking about that this early.

Yours for more credit and longer payments.

In this piece Rogers also revealed that more people owed long term credit accounts than in any previous time in American history. Perhaps Rogers was aware of the forecasts of impending doom by Roger W. Babson, a writer, who predicted the crash of the stock market beginning in 1926.

Rogers did not suffer financially as a result of the depression. In fact, he was in demand to entertain people who wished to forget their sufferings. During this period he was critical of the federal government, and of tradition-bound politicians who refused to recognize the seriousness of the depression for the common man. In January, 1930, he wrote.¹¹

⁹ *Ibid.*, Providence, Rhode Island, May 15, 1926.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Beverly Hills, California, September 6, 1928.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, January 7, 1930.

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The Senate passed a bill appropriating 15 million for food but the House of Representatives (up to today) has not approved it. They said no.

They seem to think that's bad precedent to appropriate money for food—it's too much like the "dole." They think it would encourage hunger.

The way things look, hunger doesn't need much encouragement. It's just coming around naturally.

Rogers also was critical of the so-called big-business men in the country. He recognized that *laissez-faire* government had passed, but that many individuals were clinging tenaciously to the past. He offered his opinion of Social Darwinism when he attacked these entrepreneurs. While he acknowledged that the national corporate edifices had been responsible for the improved standard of living, he blamed them for the depression. He also chastized Americans for being careless, and for believing that the "bull market" and prosperity could continue. In June, 1931, the year before the depression reached its nadir Rogers remarked:¹²

We used to always be talking and "sloganing" about "back to Normalcy." Well, that's right where we are now, and where we are going to stay, so we might just as well get used to it.

It's taught us one important fact, that we haven't got as many "big men" as we thought we had. We used to think every head of a big organization was a "big man," and he was as long as everything was running in spite of him, but when old man "get-back-to-earth" hit us in the jaw, why we didn't have an industry that shrunk like the "big man" industry did.

Big men are just like stocks now, they are selling at just what they are worth, no more.

Clearly, Rogers understood better what had happened in the country than many so-called experts. While his articles and other writings were insightful, he often suggested solutions which, on the surface, seemed absurd, but were so cast deliberately. For example, he decided as the depression worsened that he had found a solution. He told his readers:¹³

I have heard every kind of reason given for our hard times, and as causes of our slow recovery. But I have never heard the real one, that's that interest is too high. The world and about everybody in it are broke from paying too high interest.

No man should receive more for the "hire" of his money than he could take it and earn with it himself, and for the last three years there has been nothing that he could have made even 1 per cent on it, outside of loaning it.

The banks all failed because the interest people owed 'em was larger than the principal. What would be the matter with banking on a real percentage

¹² *Ibid.*, Hollywood, California, June 4, 1931.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Beverly Hills, California, December 2, 1932.



Captain Frank M. Hawks (left), Will Rogers, and Jimmie Rodgers, America's Blue Yodeler during the Red Cross drought relief campaign of 1931 (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

of business? The banker receives in interest in accordance to what the borrower makes on the loan. If he don't make anything, he don't pay anything. Well, that's about all for today. Be busy tomorrow reading wires from bankers.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt became President in March, 1933, Rogers reflected the great optimism in the country. He sincerely hoped that the new administration would take bold steps to alleviate national economic suffering. After hearing Roosevelt's inaugural address, Rogers remarked:¹⁴

America hasn't been as happy in three years as they are today. No money, no banks, no work, no nothing, but they know they got a man in there who is wise to Congress, wise to our big bankers, and wise to our so-called big men.

The whole country is with him. Even if what he does is wrong they are with him. Just so he does something. If he burned down the Capitol we would cheer and say, "Well, we at least got a fire started anyhow." We have had years of "Don't rock the boat," go on and sink it if you want to, we just as well be swimming as like we are.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Santa Monica, California, March 5, 1933.



A reclining Rogers, reading his daily newspaper (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

Rogers ranged widely for subjects during his writing career. And part of the charm of his writing was consistent people-centeredness. He sometimes wrote about the average man in the country, and on occasion even mentioned someone known only to him and a few friends. Most of the time his biographical treatises dealt with the famous and the powerful who made the daily news. But while he wrote of politicians and crowned heads, he often wrote of sports figures like those who tried to swim the English Channel, of boxers, and baseball heroes. Rogers loved sports and maintained a polo field at his ranch in California. He had met many of the sports greats and when a respected sports figure passed away, Rogers' eulogies were the talk of the country. Thus at the death of Knute Rockne, football coach at Notre Dame, Rogers wrote:¹⁵

We are becoming so hardened and used to about any misfortune and bad luck that comes along that it takes a mighty big calamity to shock all this country at once. But Knute, you did it, just as you have come from behind all your life and fooled 'em where they thought you didn't have a chance, you did it again.

We thought it would take a President or great public man's death to make a whole nation, regardless of age, race or creed, shake their heads in

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Hollywood, California, March 31, 1931.

real sincere sorrow and say, "ain't it a shame he's gone." Well, that's what this country did today, Knute, for you. Why, you old bald-headed rascal, you died one of our national heroes. Notre Dame was your address, but every gridiron in America was your home.

Finally, Rogers provided all Americans an opportunity to laugh at their society and at themselves. His comments on American life were revealing in their simplicity. In short, he seemed to verbalize his observations better than almost anyone of his times. The depression era was a time when there was little to laugh at, and Rogers recognized the need for cogent but humorous comment. For example, when he traveled about the country making personal appearances, he was the guest of honor at all types of celebrations. It occurred to him that Americans seemed to have a celebration for almost everything. Moreover, when he appeared in a particular part of the country he tried to personalize his comments so the audience could identify with what he said. Once after having returned from one of these trips, he wrote about this public penchant for celebrations:¹⁶

We have all kinds of various "weeks"—"Eat an apple week," "Don't shoot your husband week," "Don't cuss the Republicans any more than you can help week."

But, Claremore, Okla., the home of the great radium water, is having this week one of the most practical and useful ones, "Take a bath week." They can't relieve the present depression but they relieve the tissues. Even the Rotaries, Kiwanis, Lions, Apes and Chamber of Commerce have joined the novelty of the thing and it bids fair to become a yearly event.

My old friend Governor Murray and myself have been cordially invited to attend.

Thus it is evident that much of what the Oklahoma humorist wrote did reflect his times, and did help Americans to look at themselves critically and humorously. Significantly, much of what Rogers wrote was relevant only for persons of his age, for he wrote of people and events of his time. Thus, many of his daily telegrams, weekly articles, and other writings do not appear humorous by today's standards. However, these writings do provide insight into the attitudes, prejudices, and frustrations of the first three decades of the twentieth century.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Beverly Hills, California, May 7, 1931.

WILL ROGERS AND HIS MAGIC MIRROR

By William R. Brown*

A reviewer for the New York *World*, disgruntled at Will Rogers' dismissal of Europe's patina of high culture in 1926, may have been equally disturbed by the process of influence-creation which is the subject of this essay. Believing Rogers to be "simple and naive," the critic complained, "It is as though somebody had told Rogers . . . that he was a great satirist; and as though he began to take himself too seriously, under the guise of casualness and frivolity."¹

Indeed, fellow performers and audiences had for years acted as a magic mirror to Rogers, confirming to him that they took him seriously. Such accolades had, for instance, played an important part in the gradual development of the public persona that Americans knew as "Will."² Franklin Adams, the critic unfriendly to Rogers' *Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat*, had witnessed the metamorphosis of "the Cherokee Kid" into "the Cowboy Philosopher":³

The first time I ever saw him was, I think, in 1913, the year after the Bull Moose Convention. "This is one," said Rogers, attempting a difficult trick with the noose, "Colonel Roosevelt showed me." Then there was a long pause, interspersed with rope throwing. "I wonder whatever became of him," Rogers would say. From that shoestring of humor Rogers has become an institution. On the stage he is still adroit with a rope, and on the stage his humorous remarks usually are humorous.

By the time Homer Croy, author of *They had to See Paris*, worked with Rogers on the film version, the man from Oklahoma could assume his public persona effortlessly:⁴

One evening he dropped in and the two of us must have been alone in my room for close upon an hour. When we were alone, I never thought of him as a comedian; he was someone I liked and felt at home with, a lusty, vibrating, appealing personality but not necessarily a comedian. . . . At last I went down with him in the elevator. . . . Will and I paused on the sidewalk for some last words; in no time a crowd was around him. And

* The author is Professor of Communications at Ohio State University in Columbus.

¹ *The World* (New York), October 31, 1926.

² See Homer Croy, *Our Will Rogers* (New York: Duell, Sloane, and Pearce, 1953), pp. 104, 118, 139-140, 146-147, 224, 231, 275 for accounts of audiences reflecting their understanding of Rogers back to him, thus helping him to find his optimal public role. Croy does not believe the private Rogers took himself *too* seriously: See pp. 188, 230-231.

³ *The World*, October 31, 1926.

⁴ Croy, *Our Will Rogers*, p. 271.

now he was a showman. He talked to me but watched the crowd, as he always did, and as he always watched an audience. I laughed, for he was immensely amusing. The crowd laughed; Will was in fine spirits. At last he left and I went upstairs again, still a little astonished at how he could be two such contrasting personalities.

Although Croy may have made too much of the “contrasting” personalities, his experience undergirds my judgment that Will Rogers established his believability with audiences via his *public* character created as response to those audiences.

More specifically, over the years of his ascendancy, Rogers’ “Rogers” developed credibility with the public via mutually-shared signs of the ideal (and therefore influential) American. “As historical personages become legendary,” says Klapp, “they are made into folk heroes by the interweaving and selection of mythical themes appropriate to their character as popularly conceived. Even popular heroes of the present day are subject to a myth-making process.”⁵ “Will Rogers” became just such a folk hero as his creator offered mass-media messages from which the American public could select themes constitutive of the influential American: the ideal democrat, the self-fulfilled individual, the successful self-made man, and the apostle of progress.

In the discussion that follows, portions of the interaction between “Rogers” and his national audience will appear, so that the reader may re-create the process of influence-building that arose between the Sage of Claremore and his magic mirror. Rogers’ words will be followed by words of those who remembered him, who criticized his work, or who wrote publicity pieces about him. The words of admirers or detractors are to be understood as being (1) their audience response to “Rogers” and (2) their efforts to influence others to see “him” as did the commenters. From all this emerged the mythic character of the American Democrat, the American Adam, the Self-made Man, and the American Prometheus—teacher of the Useful Arts. The whole of “Rogers’” aura was greater than the sum of the parts in making a persuader influential by means of *who* and what he was seen to be.⁶

Throughout, it will be helpful to think of the messages as a series of names for “Rogers” offered to the public and selectively reflected back to

⁵ Orrin E. Klapp, “The Folk Hero,” *Journal of American Folklore*, LXII (January–March, 1949), 17.

⁶ For a fuller discussion of this point, see William R. Brown, *Imagemaker: Will Rogers and the American Dream* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1970), pp. 270–273. For a discussion of how the Rogers persona’s art of irony conferred roles upon its audience members, see William R. Brown, “Will Rogers: Ironist as Persuader,” *Speech Monographs*, XXXIX (August, 1972), 183–192.



With his ever-present typewriter, Rogers commented on the affairs of the world (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore).

that persona. As with any name or series of names, the *defining* qualities of each become the major concern. In the discussion that follows, the confluence of several such characteristics is necessary for creating each aspect of the “Will Rogers” in the media who became the legendary ideal American.

William Penn Adair Rogers’ “Will Rogers” consisted in large part of the American democrat. The unknown writer of advance press releases for lecture tours during the late ’twenties, for example, caught the overall flavor of this “name” for “Will” when producing this bit of puffery: “Rogers has seen life from all angles. He has known princes and paupers, he has been sought after by politicians with all sorts of offers to lend his wit to their cause. Rogers, however, prefers to stand on his own platform for the truth as he sees it.”⁷ Here appear, then, two of the three qualities defining

⁷ See Miscellaneous Scrapbook #1, Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore, Oklahoma, p. 1. Such themes appear repeatedly in releases.

the ideal American democrat: (1) moving freely among various classes of society, thereby leveling such distinctions; (2) showing an interest in politics but remaining above parties; (3) practicing fair play and defending the underdog. The press agent was, in turn, picking up on themes which already had been offered the public and selected for reflection by that magic mirror back upon Will Rogers, as passages from his newspaper columns and radio speeches, together with commentary on him, will illustrate.

In print as "American democrat," "Rogers" hobnobbed with kings and cowboys, with American presidents in between. A future king of England, for instance, became only a fellow cowboy when "Rogers" as "Self-Made Diplomat" visited him in London in 1926:⁸

We just talked like a couple of old Hill Billies about neighbors and friends, and I don't think that he will consider this any breach of confidence by me reporting it to you. I told him that I was surprised to find him at his York House; that I thought he lived at some other place.

He said, "No, I have lived here now for several years."

I asked him, "But didnt some of your folks that died leave you some other place?"

He laughed and said, "Yes, Marlborough House; but it's not ready yet."

I said, "Ready? What's the idea? Haven't they moved a bed in there yet, or are you waiting for a cookstove? A Canadian rancher [like you] ought not to kick on being shy a few luxuries. . . . I said, "This ain't a bad joint you have got here."

"No, we have plenty of room," he admitted.

I never felt any more at home in a place in my life. Although I didnt have any room just exactly like this in my house, I did have a fireplace, and a mantel with Pictures; just as good pictures as he had. Not royalty, perhaps, but to me they were just as much as they were to him.

Presidents Coolidge and Franklin Roosevelt entertained Will Rogers, whose mass-media persona responded by saying, "Now if any Nation can offer any more of a demonstration of democracy than that, I would like to hear of it" and "Having dinner in the White House is more fun and laughs than any place I know, and it has just about as much formality as dining with a neighbor."⁹ Further, Rogers, as a cowpuncher of 1898 was asked to participate in a 1926 reunion of old trail drivers; in print, he was a "mighty

⁸ "Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat to His President," *Saturday Evening Post*, July 24, 1926, pp. 129-130. Circulation of the *Post* was about 2,500,000 at the time. See also the text of Rogers' radio speech on the Prince of Wales in *Wit and Philosophy from the Radio Talks of America's Humorist, Will Rogers* (New York: The Squibb Company, 1930), pp. 25-28.

⁹ "A Letter from a Self-Made Diplomat to His Constituents," *Saturday Evening Post*, January 8, 1927, pp. 6-7; *Tulsa Daily World*, February 18, 1934.

young man to be allowed to mingle with those old fellows.”¹⁰ Cowboys and ranchers were more than knights of the range. “Their names were to me like you look on Presidents. I had heard all my life of such families as the Pierces, the Slaughters, the Pryors, Wagners, Burnetts, ‘Windy’ Scotts, Russells, McFadden, Saunders, Blockers, Mavericks.”¹¹ Other cowboys, royalty of the range, would make even a Balkan queen feel right at home in this class-leveling scenario:¹²

Am at Miller Brothers’ One Hundred and One Ranch just ahead of the Queen’s visit here. She will love it. It’s just the size of Rumania, only more conveniences. There is a bathroom here to every revolution there. Cowboys sleep in silk pajamas, round-up in Rolls-Royces and dress for dinner.

As American democrat, the mass-media Rogers persona mingled with Senators, cabinet members, and the “regular bird.” In the way “he” spoke of their milieu, he minimized class differences.

As “democrat,” “Rogers” also showed an interest in politics but remained above parties. Millions, perhaps, saw on film or heard on radio his irreverent introduction of FDR in the Los Angeles Coliseum in 1932 that put the Democratic nominee “in his place.”¹³

This introduction may have lacked enthusiasm and floweriness, but you must remember you are only a candidate yet. Come back as President and I will do right by you. I am wasting no oratory on a prospect.

In contrast with that talk illustrated earlier which grew out of travels and “doings,” such passages as this were *themselves* actions suited to the “democrat” aspect of the Rogers persona. Speaking on one occasion with his public persona de-emphasized, Rogers revealed his essentially non-partisan strategy for political commentary: “I generally give the Party in power, whether Republican or Democratic, the more digs because they are generally doing the Country the most damage. . . .”¹⁴ As the apex of his partyless interest in politics, how many of us remember that he “ran” for President in 1928, at the suggestion of Robert Sherwood and the old *Life* magazine, as the “Bunkless Candidate?” The public Rogers was a politician free from party “hooley.”¹⁵

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, November 14, 1926, V, p. 4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² New York *Times*, October 26, 1926. For other examples of “Rogers” mingling, see *ibid.*, January 5, 1928; April 16, 1928; April 24, 1931; July 24, 1933, and July 25, 1933.

¹³ Text from file of speeches collected by Donald Day, Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore, Oklahoma.

¹⁴ Tulsa *Daily World*, November 9, 1924.

¹⁵ New York *Times*, November 5, 1928.

McAdoo finally came out for Smith, and to offset that Democratic gain, why Coolidge came out for Hoover.

So that leaves only myself in the open.

I have been studying the two parties and here is the difference: Hoover wants all the drys, and as many wets as possible. Smith wants all the wets and as many drys as he can get.

Hoover says he will relieve the farmer, even if he has to call congress. Smith says he will relieve the farmer even if he has to appoint a commission.

Hoover says the tariff will be kept up. Smith highly indorses prosperity.

Hoover wants no votes merely on account of religion.

Smith wants no votes solely on religious grounds. Both would accept the mohammedan vote if offered.

Hoover would like to live in the white house. Smith is not averse to living in the white house. And in order to get in there either one will promise the voters anything from perpetual motion, to eternal salvation.

So I am out openly for myself.

If I have had any religion I have at least not advertised the fact. If I want the constitution changed, or if I want it left as it is, I know that is the people's business and not mine.

I have promised nothing, and am the only one of the three that can make good on the promises, so to offset Coolidge and McAdoo I come out for myself.

The second criterion for the image of "democrat," thus, was "Rogers'" fulfilling Walt Whitman's prescription of being interested in politics but above party: "If we didnt have to stop and play politics any administration could almost make a Garden of Eden out of us," the public Will Rogers pronounced.¹⁶

In conjunction with mingling with all classes and being above parties in political concerns, practicing fair play and defending the underdog defined the persona's image as American democrat. Usually consisting of following the rules and refusing to take unfair advantage of another group or individual, fair play was a hallmark of the public Rogers. His dispatches could hit at American inconsistency such as an intervention in Nicaragua, supposedly protecting democratic elections there:¹⁷

You want to know why we are so funny to the rest of the world? Here we are sending warships to tell Nicaragua who to seat after their election and we haven't got a Senator that was elected here last Fall that will be

¹⁶ *Tulsa Daily World*, November 11, 1928. For other examples relevant to this defining attribute, see *ibid.*, January 8, 1933; *New York Times*, March 19, 1927; *Saturday Evening Post*, March 30, 1929, p. 161.

¹⁷ *New York Times*, January 10, 1927.



Dressed for a rare formal occasion, Will attends the annual Admiral's dinner at the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore).

allowed to sit down. I wish I was as funny as that is. My opposition is getting unusually keen in Washington just in the last few days. . . .

P.S.—What did you do, father, in the great war of Nicaragua?

As American democrat, the public Will Rogers also defended individuals who were underdogs. "I can applaud a winner as loud as anybody, but somehow," he said, "a loser appeals to me."¹⁸ The individual underdog might be as internationally prominent as Gandhi or as little-known as a single bootlegger among the many thousands during national prohibition: "Rogers" understood, for instance, that a mother of ten might go to life imprisonment in Michigan on her fourth offense:¹⁹

I guess that will just about blot out the liquor business in the State. I suppose she was the last one selling. Any woman that tries to raise ten orphan kids in that cold State not only ought to be allowed to sell booze, but the State should furnish it to her to sell, and guarantee that it was pure. That would make her the greatest life saver in Michigan.

Hence, given the three defining criteria of leveling class distinctions, practicing politics without party, and defending the underdog with fair play, "Will Rogers" named himself as ideal American democrat in newspaper dispatches and public speeches during his years of national prominence. How did his magic mirror potentially reflect that image back to him and at the same time relay it to others? What refractions appear?

On occasion, the "Rogers" who went second-hand to others was a reverse image. John Riddell, writing a parody of Rogers' own "open letter" convention, found "Will" to be a snob instead of a class leveler, a name-dropper instead of a champion of the underdog. Addressing "Will," the "folksy Riddell" opined:²⁰

It is very flattering when you keep on pretending you are just one of us Common People, and go around Europe chewing gum and acting like Just Folks, when all the time you are hobnobbing with Kings and Princes and people that Matter. We are mighty glad you got so many nice friends, every time we read one of your articles we realize how many Important people you know, I guess nobody practically gets onto the Front page that you don't know him in a day or two, usually by his first name.

To such audience members as "Riddell," then, the public Rogers was an "I'm-not-a-snob" Snob, a refraction that disconfirmed the role of American

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, October 10, 1934.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, December 13, 1928. For other examples of practicing fair play and defending the underdog, see *ibid.*, October 10, 1934; January 4, 1929; August 16, 1932; and *Tulsa Daily World*, May 6, 1930.

²⁰ An Open Letter to Will Rogers," *Vanity Fair*, XXXII (October 1929), p. 90.

democrat for "Will." Such responses were clearly the exception, however. Most frequently, the "hearsay" Rogers was congruent with, if not identical to, the one projected in speeches and "Will Rogers Says."

Through such reflections runs the common thread announced in a (New York) *Sun* review of a Rogers book, with its *implied* Rogers "saying in effect, 'No airs about me.'" ²¹ To Reinhold Niebuhr, theologian and social activist, the leveling performed by "Rogers" as "king's jester" humbled the Babbitts of America "by putting hard sayings in the capsules of humor"; that was the technique "by which King Demos is approached" and which underlay "Will Rogers' facility in puncturing foibles which more pretentious teachers leave untouched." ²² Others saw "Rogers" as bringing the rich, the powerful, or the famous into contact with the common folk on the pavement. For instance, a feature writer for a mass-circulation magazine relied on alliteration to intensify his reflection of "Rogers-as-American-Democrat": he was "the friend alike of presidents and peasants, of cattlemen and kings." ²³ Among the financially powerful, stories of "Rogers'" social leveling must have circulated, too; Amon Carter of Fort Worth recalled in a statement written in 1933, "He makes no distinction between the great and the near great, the big and the little, the successful and the unsuccessful." ²⁴ Mrs. Betty Rogers had earlier added to the public portrait of the ideal democrat by saying, "If he heard that the Prince of Wales was across the street, even though Will might be in pajamas and slippers, he would jump up and run across the street and say, 'Hello, Prince. How are you?'" ²⁵

A climactic indication of how "Rogers-as-Democrat" grew from the interaction among the persona, his publicists, and his publics appeared in the influential New York *Times*, reporting the homecoming of Rogers to Vinita and a reunion with old classmates in 1934: ²⁶

The principal address was made by W. E. Rowsey, second president of Willie Halsell, who had just returned to America after a long time abroad.

"During my recent travels," he said, "I found people in every country who asked me about Will Rogers. The man we all knew as 'Rabbit' Rogers, of school days, has become more popular than any king, emperor, or potentate."

²¹ Edwin H. Blanchard, review of *There's Not a Bathing Suit in Russia*, *The Sun* (New York), May 28, 1927.

²² New York *Times*, November 19, 1928.

²³ Jerome Beatty, "Betty Holds the Reins," *American Magazine*, CX (October, 1930), p. 61.

²⁴ Quoted in David Milsten, *An Appreciation of Will Rogers* (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1935), p. xvi.

²⁵ Beatty, *American Magazine*, October, 1930, p. 113.

²⁶ New York *Times*, December 23, 1934.

"Yes," chimed in some one from the audience, "and better loved."

The applause that followed the remark was too much for Will. As he stepped to the platform his eyes were moist.

"Folks," he said, "What you say about me ain't so, but I like to hear you say it."

So "Will of the People," as *Collier's* magazine had earlier dubbed him,²⁷ refused the crown offered by publicists and publics. "He" remained the ideal democrat by declining to see differences between "himself" and his magic mirror²⁸ in a symbolic drama available to all readers of the *Times*.

Publicity also reflected "him" as the democrat interested in politics but above party. Constance Rourke, aspiring to delineate the American national character in this country's humor, incidentally promoted Rogers' political persona: "Will Rogers, rover, lecturer, cowboy, showman, is an adviser in high places, a hundred years after [fictional crackerbox philosopher] Jack Downing."²⁹ One admirer, speaking probably for many others, wanted "Rogers" for President, bracketing him with another American whose legend placed him above party. The public Will Rogers' "letters as an unofficial ambassador in Europe and his daily articles in the *Times* show a grasp of affairs, a keen knowledge of human nature, a far-sighted wisdom and a homely common sense, sugar-coated with flashes of humor, such as no President since Abraham Lincoln has possessed."³⁰ The same image as politician above party came through in the *American* feature quoted earlier, appearing during the Hoover administration.³¹

If the President of the United States says a thing is so, the Democrats may doubt him. But if Will Rogers backs him up, even the Democrats believe. In Washington they say that the Senate fears Will Rogers more than all the editors in America, for Rogers, in a hundred words, can laugh away the effect of hours of oratory.

Such attributions of power to "Rogers"³² themselves potentially created perceptions of the *influential* persuader, both to "Rogers" followers and to the private Will Rogers. Moreover, in the available audience reactions to "Will's" use of that power, it was wielded fairly. An English critic of

²⁷ *Ibid.*, July 4, 1931.

²⁸ For other indications of "ideal democrat" publicity, see *New York Times*, October 2, 1926; January 22, 1931; and *Folks Say of Will Rogers*, ed. William Howard Payne and Jack G. Lyons (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1936), pp. 26, 192, 202.

²⁹ *American Humor: A Study of the National Character* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931), p. 99.

³⁰ Will Atkinson, Letter to the Editor, *New York Times*, February 11, 1928.

³¹ *American Magazine*, October, 1930, p. 61.

³² For others, see *New York Times*, February 13, 1928; March 24, 1928; and May 27, 1928.

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"Rogers'" analysis of Russian Communism found "Mr. Will Rogers" to be "a man of wisdom as well as wit. . . . He is a fair critic . . . with few prejudices and a very shrewd sense not only of humour but of humanity."³³ Surveying the Rogers canon nearly thirty years after the fatal air crash, American critic Cleveland Amory concluded that "above all, [Rogers] was always the champion of the underdog."³⁴ That mythic theme was, therefore, still contributing to the Rogers legend as it continued to gleam from the magic mirror of publicists, even though "Will's" creator had been long departed.

In sum, as "Rogers" leveled classes, offered non-partisan political pronouncements, and practiced fair play, audiences found ways to publish responses which *themselves* promoted "The Sage of Claremore" as the ideal democrat. The public Will Rogers was "National Congressman-at-Large" and "Ambassador of Good Will" to the world.³⁵ One influence-conferring name confirming Rogers' public persona was, therefore, the ideal American democrat.

Along with the image of the American democrat, "Will Rogers'" creator transmitted that of the self-fulfilled individual, the American Adam as natural man who enjoyed life, liberty, and achievement of happiness.

Three defining attributes coalesced to identify the American Adam: being a "new man," "he" rejected the past; following the advice of Emerson, "he" trusted direct experience; realizing the dream of the common man, "he" achieved self-fulfillment in three forms: wisdom, joy of life, and friends.

The adamic rejection of the past was often aimed at Europe, the old serpent. "You take the Guides and the Grapes out of Europe and she is just a Sahara," Will Rogers as Adam said. "It's great for you to see, if somebody is paying for it, or paying you to do it. But just as a pure educational proposition or pastime, it ain't there."³⁶ European Culture left this "Adam" unimpressed:³⁷

In the first place, I don't care anything about Oil Paintings. Ever since I struck a dry hole near the old home ranch in Rogers County, Oklahoma, I have hated oil, in the raw, and all its subsidiaries. You can color it up, and it don't mean anything to me. I don't want to see a lot of old pictures. . . .

This thinking that everything was good just because it was old is the Apple Sauce.

³³ *The Spectator*, September 3, 1927, p. 352.

³⁴ *Saturday Review*, August 25, 1962, p. 14.

³⁵ See *New York Times*, August 28, 1927, and the words of Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Irias, *ibid.*, April 9, 1931.

³⁶ "Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat to His President," *Saturday Evening Post*, August 21, 1926, p. 170.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

In addition, of course, much of the *American* past came in for light treatment: Rogers' Adam jousted with the D.A.R., had fun with Paul Revere's ride, the history of Philadelphia, and stories of houses where Revolutionary heroes reputedly slept.³⁸ "If every history or books on old things was thrown in the river and everybody had nothing to study but the future, we would be about 200 years ahead of what we are now,"³⁹ Will Rogers' "natural man" concluded.

Historians should not feel singled out by such treatment; *all* books to Rogers' Adam were less useful than direct experience. "An educated man just teaches the things that he has been taught, and its the same that everyone else has been taught that has read and studies the same books that he has," the experience-trusting "Adam" explained. "But if these old fellows [like cattlemen] know anything, it come direct to them by experience, and not the way of somebody else."⁴⁰ "Rogers" found "a lesson of every day life in every little animal or Bird we have"; such knowledge inspired confidence for "it come from a prairie and not from under a lamp."⁴¹ Rogers' persona revelled not only in prairies but in experiencing all the American landscape: New England was "the most beautiful place in the summer time"; the Midwest had its "big grain farms"; the Northwest, "just anything in the way of scenery you want, any crops, any view."⁴² The Pacific coast? The California Chamber of Commerce would take that up with you!

Out of rejecting the past and trusting experience, the "Adam" part of Rogers' public image fulfilled himself with wisdom, joy, and friends. "All I know is what I read in the papers," he said at almost every opportunity; but the public Rogers seemed much wiser than that: "Poor old 'Brink'. I dont know of anything we have been on more of than we have it. We have tottered on the Brink so long and so much," the wise Adam observed, "that I think the old Brink has got hand holts on it."⁴³ Proclaiming a consistently

³⁸ For examples of Rogers' writing that show jousting with the D. A. R., see *Tulsa Daily World*, April 29, 1928, and *New York Times*, April 20, 1928. For comments on Paul Revere's ride, see *Tulsa Daily World*, April 23, 1929; for the comments on the "slept here" stories, see "Boston," June 15, 1930, in *Wit and Philosophy from the Radio Talks of America's Humorist, Will Rogers*, p. 41; for comments on Philadelphia history, see *Tulsa Daily World*, May 19, 1929. Many of the isolationist views were also appropriate to the American Adam's rejection of the past: See *New York Times*, June 1, 1927; November 28, 1927; May 9, 1929; July 26, 1929; June 6, 1931; June 25, 1932; June 23, 1933; and February 16, 1934. My impression is that most of the isolationist sentiments were based on a policy of anti-imperialism.

³⁹ *Tulsa Daily World*, January 13, 1929.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, July 5, 1931. For another ringing pronouncement on books versus "experience," see *New York Times*, January 27, 1928.

⁴¹ *Tulsa Daily World*, July 5, 1931.

⁴² *Ibid.*, January 1, 1933. From 1926, when the daily telegrams began, a common theme had been the pleasure of seeing America.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, July 15.

anti-imperialist foreign policy, coupling it with a state of military preparedness, and commenting on domestic politics and economics, Will Rogers as wise Adam potentially helped make sense of the world to those who followed his messages.⁴⁴ Moreover, "he" had a good time while doing it. "With the baseball season opened and Washington headed for another pennant, boy, Congress better be good from now on!"⁴⁵ "Rogers" could exult in springtime. The 1932 summer olympics had been "the greatest show from every angle that was ever held in America."⁴⁶ At Christmas, "he" might confide "I am too busy replacing presents to write today. I bought some mechanical and electrical things for the kids and wore 'em out playing with 'em myself."⁴⁷ The pleasures of friendship were his, too: "If we havent got any friends," the American Adam announced, "we will find we are poorer than anybody."⁴⁸ All during his national stardom, Will Rogers' Adam spoke of friends old and new, their lives and deaths.⁴⁹

Turning his back on the Old World and its ways in the New World, learning by direct experience when possible, finding fulfillment in friends, fun, and thought, "Will Rogers" added the portrait of the American Adam to that of the American democrat; as the former, "he" had found the best of all worlds east of Eden.

As was the case with the Rogers democrat, publicity releases for the lecture tours contained themes appropriate to highlighting the American Adam in the magic mirror which was the hearsay "Rogers." In one of these, for instance, the democratic leveler blends with the essence of the natural man:⁵⁰

He has travelled all over the earth, has been wined, dined, and feted by royalty and great ones, yet withal he has preserved that modesty and simplicity that made him a friend of and endeared him to all . . . he rode the range back in Oklahoma when he was a kid. . . . Prominence, greatness, and popularity, have not changed Will Rogers.

In another "canned" story, such a natural man of wide experience comes

⁴⁴ See New York *Times*, July 19, 1927; February 9, 1928; April 14, 1931; March 12, 1927; October 28, 1930; June 8, 1933; October 1, 1934; and May 11, 1924.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, April 18, 1934.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, August 9, 1932.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, December 24, 1926. See also *ibid.*, September 6, 1934; May 27, 1933; and December 27, 1931.

⁴⁸ Tulsa *Daily World*, January 8, 1933.

⁴⁹ See *ibid.*, December 28, 1924, New York *Times*, October 28, 1928; January 7, 1929; April 11, 1931; July 18, 1931; April 16, 1932; and December 13, 1934.

⁵⁰ Miscellaneous Scrapbook #1, Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore, Oklahoma, pp. 3-4. This paragraph was prepared for release during a 1928-1929 tour which never occurred because of Rogers' substitution for Fred Stone in a Broadway musical, *Three Cheers*. It is reproduced here because it is short, yet similar in tone to stories sent out to publicize earlier tours.

through also as the *wise* Adam who deserves the influential status he enjoys: "The man who can see clearly and honestly as Rogers, think as deeply and sanely, then give those thoughts to the world dressed up in laugh-provoking words and phrases, exercises a greater influence over the minds of the people than many newspapers, preachers and politicians."⁵¹ Such puffs, whether or not actually relayed by papers in towns where Rogers was to appear, are evidence for the intent within the humorist's entourage to have "Rogers" reflected as the wise, natural American Adam. Was this the dominant light in which the "Cowboy Philosopher" was seen, as evidenced by available public reactions to him?

Yes, although the same Riddell who regarded Rogers' "democrat" as a sham mourned the loss of his "natural" personality: "I can remember when you first started, Will, you was being natural then, that was before you begun to write and get took up by Society."⁵² More typical than such a refraction of the Rogers Adam is the reflection from critic Edwin Blanchard, who—far from thinking "Rogers" was a "drug store cowboy"—reaffirmed the American authenticity of the humorist's persona. "Rogers does not belong by blood to the Broadway wisecrackers who have accepted him," Blanchard wrote. "His comments are not wisecracks. They are not . . . the comments of a smart aleck. They are the comments of a humorist with a moral purpose."⁵³ In so writing, the critic was projecting the same wisely innocent American Adam ("whose artlessness is a mask for real art"⁵⁴) that had been portrayed as early as 1915 by the magic mirror of publicity. "At heart" Rogers was "still a cowboy" who was "'glad to lasso the luck while it' " was "'still coming' " his way, and when it stopped "'breakin' to go back to the ranch." It was "this simplicity, this genuineness, that wins his audiences and proves that Barnum was only partly right," concluded the author of "Chewing-Gum and Rope in the Temple."⁵⁵

Such a fully-realized individualism on "Rogers'" part appeared in publicity picturing him as being free from the traditions of the past, as having trusted direct experience for acquiring wisdom, and as having actually found wisdom together with satisfaction in life. For example, the Adam independent of the past shone in Jerome Beatty's characterization of "Will": "He's an old oak, meant to grow its own way, and any attempt to train it would spoil it."⁵⁶ John Carter of the *New York Times* had drawn a similar

⁵¹ Miscellaneous Scrapbook #1, p. 2.

⁵² *Vanity Fair*, October, 1929, p. 90.

⁵³ *The Sun* (New York), May 28, 1927.

⁵⁴ *New York Times*, October 3, 1915.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *American Magazine*, October, 1930.

conclusion, writing that "Will Rogers is Will Rogers. America has never produced anybody quite like him. . . ." ⁵⁷ Blanchard, continuing his image-making of "Rogers," saw in that American Adam's aesthetic divorce from High Culture an emblem for "a majority of his fellow Americans." It was as though "the works of Titian and El Greco, of Cervantes and Voltaire, [had been] brought home to the Arkansas grocer and the Dakota farmer in such a fashion that they can say, 'Well, I ain't much, and don't pretend to be, but there's no nonsense about me.'" ⁵⁸ Coupled with that rejection of the past in the form of European culture was the "Rogers" schooled by practical experience. W. E. Woodward of *Nation* found him to be "a genuine ranch hand, as homely as Abraham Lincoln." ⁵⁹ Again, "Adam's" commitment to direct experience was clear in the purpose of "Rogers'" travels, as inferred by "G.K.," writing for a Boston paper: ⁶⁰

We believe he really wanted to find out what was happening to all the poor peasants in Russia and that that was the reason . . . why he went to Russia. He found out, and he says he doesn't know whether to kiss the Russians or to kill'em. They are wasting time and money, he says, on propaganda, when they ought to be using it to put their country in order and make it an example of what Communism can do.

At Rogers' death, the London *Times*, as quoted in the New York *Times*, was still featuring the "Adam" of direct experience who had grown to be at home not only in Eden but in worlds east of there.

His death robbed American life of something which not only enlivened but illustrated it. In him the eccentric individualism of the "open spaces," where he was born, had been wedded to the sophistication of the East and he was as much at home on the pavement as he was on the prairie. ⁶¹

Surely "being at home" in the world is both wisdom and satisfaction; in other publicity which "Rogers" received, that dimension of "Adam's" individualism was amplified, both negatively and positively. Disturbed, for example, by "Rogers'" efforts at understanding world affairs as the wise innocent, a critic for *The Saturday Review* differed from what shone forth in other gleams from the magic mirror: "Rogers has been praised for his 'horse sense' as well as for his humor. . . . He seems to us to fall between two stools, between humor and philosophy." ⁶² Ambivalent could have been

⁵⁷ December 31, 1926.

⁵⁸ *The Sun* (New York), May 28, 1927.

⁵⁹ *The Nation*, February 11, 1925, p. 160.

⁶⁰ "Will Rogersana," *Boston Evening Transcript*, June 25, 1927.

⁶¹ *New York Times*, August 17, 1935.

⁶² *Saturday Review of Literature*, May 28, 1927, p. 869.

the response to the "secret" of "Rogers'" happiness as divined by Jerome Beatty (who also had called him "an old oak"), saying that "Will is only a child himself" while concluding that "he never has become an adult—and in that lies much of his charm."⁶³ Such a public persona would be influential with audiences who could see its character as following the teacher of two millenia ago who urged that the abundant life would come only to those who become as little children; to other publics, such a child-like persona would appear to be simply a case of arrested development.

Such a perception of "Rogers" was less likely, however, if listeners and readers encountered estimates of the Cowboy Philosopher's words as being wisdom. The New York *Sun* cast him as "the shrewd American who cuts through sentiment and glamour, gets at the practical moral of the affair, and states it vigorously."⁶⁴ *Nation*, seeing the Sage of Claremore as one of the "circling matadors" planting darts of jolly satire in the hide of the "gorged bull" of an American in which "appetite and personality" had gradually melted together, made of him "a humorous philosopher, a cowboy Montaigne and all-around sly bird," at bottom finding him "a great deal deeper and more subtle than he seems to be at first glance."⁶⁵ Most pristinely, "Rogers" appeared as the wise, self-fulfilled American Adam in the Boston *Evening Transcript*:⁶⁶

Will Rogers's humor seems particularly heaven-sent because it is mixed up with so much kindness. And you cannot be kind unless you have something to give. A pauper cannot be kind in a money sense, nor can a weakling be kind spiritually. Mr. Rogers has great reserves of character to give, and he gives them without stint.

In the publicity accorded the Rogers persona, then, those themes were selected from "his" words, interwoven, and amplified to make "him" out as the self-fulfilled individual who had much to give the world.⁶⁷ That is one way of saying that Rogers' public character was an influential one. "Will of the People" was the ideal democrat, the wise, self-fulfilled American Adam, and more.

Tracing these lines in campaign fashion—letting them develop over time—Rogers made "Will Rogers" emerge from print and microphone not only

⁶³ *American Magazine*, October, 1930, p. 62.

⁶⁴ *New York Times*, May 28, 1927.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, February 11, 1925.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, June 25, 1927.

⁶⁷ For other imagemaking publicity relevant to the American Adam, see *New York Times*, July 1, 1917; *New York Herald-Tribune*, December 12, 1926; *Saturday Review of Literature*, December 25, 1926, p. 465; *Spectator*, September 3, 1927, p. 352; *Folks Say of Will Rogers*, ed. Payne and Lyons, pp. 171–172, 188.

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as democrat and Adam but also as Self-Made Man. This "name" depended, in turn, upon three defining criteria: being a hard worker, preferably with country origins; being a jack-of-all-trades; and being a benefactor of others. An advance "release," intended as pre-appearance advertisement via "news" of a Rogers' lecture, succinctly captures the themes of the country origins, hard work, and versatility of the American success figure.⁶⁸

Will Rogers, the Ambassador without portfolio who has rocked two continents with laughter by his penetrating wit and devastating sense of the ridiculous will appear here at _____ on _____ for one evening only under the auspices of _____.

Mr. Rogers has had a varied career which began on a ranch in Oklahoma and has led him across the world as a vaudeville performer, a cowboy in a rodeo in Madison Square Garden, a monologist, Mayor of Beverly Hills, California and unofficial ambassador to the world at large from the United States.

The mass-media Will Rogers never let his audience forget his rural background: "I am just an old country boy," he would write, "I have been eating pretty regular and the reason I have is I have stayed an old country boy."⁶⁹ In his weekly columns, he would tell of his versatility, including the early days in the Wild West shows, his experiences in vaudeville, the Ziegfeld Follies and the early movie years;⁷⁰ his rise to success would be clear when he would tell his readers of his humble beginnings: "The limit of my 'Pay Dirt' was I think 30 dollars a month," he wrote of his first cowpunching job.⁷¹ At one point he even asserted that his world travel was for the sake of work, not pleasure: "I was always pretty busy. Done a lot of traveling but it was always working my way."⁷² Over time, the expression of the versatile, hard-working "boy" from the country was clear. So were some of the Self-Made Man's benefactions which etched lines of the socially-responsible success figure, yet which always spoke modestly of the persona's own part. "Say, that Tulsa is a bear! We played there last night to exactly \$30,000 at one single performance, making \$100,000 the State of Oklahoma paid in one week," "he" might report, on behalf of drouth relief. "It wasn't the

⁶⁸ Miscellaneous Scrapbook #1, Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore, Oklahoma, p. 1. Internal evidence dates it as having been prepared for the 1928-1929 tour which did not materialize, but it is helpful here in that (1) its sweep of the Rogers career is faithful in outline to more detailed releases used on earlier tours and (2) it evidences awareness in the Rogers camp of the public role for "Will" that had been developing since the vaudeville days. Emphasis is mine.

⁶⁹ New York Times, August 31, 1924. See Also Tulsa Daily World, January 3, 1926.

⁷⁰ See, for instance, *ibid.*, April 19, 1925; January 10, 1932; July 17, 1932; July 8, 1934; February 24, 1935; June 2, 1935; and June 16, 1935.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, July 29, 1934.

⁷² *Ibid.*, March 24, 1935.

attraction, it was the cause. These people down in these States know that there is folks that are hungry and they are going to feed 'em as long as they are able."⁷³

For the sake of being unassuming, "Will" the Self-Made Man announced, "I am no believer in this 'hard work, perseverance, and taking advantage of your opportunities' that these magazines are so fond of writing some fellow up in." Without denying that he worked hard himself, he credited success to another cause: "The successful don't work any harder than the failures. They get what is called in baseball the breaks."⁷⁴ Will Rogers' Self-Made Man thus avoided the deadly sin of pride so often evident in others who had "worked hard, persevered, and taken advantage" of their opportunities."⁷⁵

As part of that ideal humility associated with the success legend, "Will Rogers'" creator usually waited for publicists to make known his "personal" benefactions, news of which appeared in leading papers that detailed his inspection tours, benefit performances, and occasionally the private Rogers' own considerable donations.⁷⁶ Charities, too, benefited from the successful "Will's" philanthropy. "Not long ago," an interviewer revealed in 1925, "he received a fee of \$1200 for making an after dinner speech in Philadelphia, and gave away the whole sum to charity. . . . He will speak for nothing if it will help out in a good cause," even being willing to go to unusual lengths. "Recently he addressed the Jewish theater guild, hiring an instructor and learning sufficient Yiddish to begin and end his address in that somewhat complicated language."⁷⁷ Significantly, the feature-writer had not heard of "Rogers'" generosity from the performer, himself. "Rogers will not tell you these things. You get them around a corner, as most things about Rogers are got," R. L. Hartt added.⁷⁸ Recipients, of course, sometimes knew how important Rogers' efforts had been; through the creation of a news event they managed to let mass audiences see "Rogers" as benefactor. For instance, along with details of a Red Cross announcement that "Rogers" had been elected to life membership in that relief organization appeared the text of its commendation from the National Red Cross Chairman:⁷⁹

⁷³ *New York Times*, February 1, 1931.

⁷⁴ *Tulsa Daily World*, November 15, 1925.

⁷⁵ The author Will Rogers had done his share of writing success stories on the likes of Henry Ford, with a stance, however, of tongue-in-cheek as well as of serious admiration. See, for instance, "The Grand Champion," *American Magazine*, December, 1929, pp. 34-37; see also the radio address on Henry Ford, June 1, 1930, in *Wit and Philosophy from the Radio Talks of America's Humorist, Will Rogers*, p. 35.

⁷⁶ For example, see *New York Times*, September 28, 1926; April 26, 1927; May 3, 1927; January 22, 1931; and April 9, 1931.

⁷⁷ See R. L. Hartt, "Will Rogers is Most Effective of Newspapermen," *Tulsa Daily World*, June 7, 1925.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *New York Times*, June 28, 1927.

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You are unanimously elected a life member of the American Red Cross and entitled to all of the joys and benefits which result from devotion and distinguished service.

I want you to know how very grateful we all are for your splendid service in the Mississippi flood disaster. Your letters were tremendously helpful, an inspiration, and a constant joy, not only to those of us here, but to the millions of people whose hearts were touched by your unfailing help.

("In his newspaper articles Mr. Rogers made a daily appeal to the nation to contribute to the Red Cross fund," explained the news story, adding that Rogers "was largely responsible for a benefit at New Orleans which netted many thousands of dollars for the flood fund.") Because of such publicity and because of a perceived serious purpose in the pronouncements of "Rogers" on current events, a reviewer concluded that "Will Rogers seems to be interested above all in the well-being of his fellow-men."⁸⁰ Such publicity made of the public Rogers, then, a philanthropist in the precise sense of the word—an identity probably coveted by others with ample means and the practice of discerningly distributing largesse.

Not missing in the publicity reflections of the Rogers persona were the success-depicting themes of versatility and busy-ness. "It is a fine achievement," wrote a reviewer of a Rogers book on international affairs, "to succeed simultaneously in two such difficult and mutually exclusive fields as humor and politics."⁸¹ Professional politicians agreed; Nancy Astor, Virginian-become-British parliamentarian, recalled "Rogers" as her guest "at a dinner of politicians, peers, and poets, holding the table spellbound with his wit and wisdom." Most significantly for the success image, she recalled that "we treated him as a serious politician. . . ."⁸² And in a popular magazine treatment of "Rogers'" versatility, the dollar signs clearly marked him as a success legend.⁸³

Even the most farseeing astrologer, palm reader or clairvoyant would not have been so daring as to suggest that a few years would bring into every home a magic contraption called radio and that this Cherokee cowhand would be paid \$12,500 to talk into a funny little dingus for fifteen minutes. Nor that magazines and newspapers would pay thousands of dollars for the privilege of printing sly comments such as he was delivering then of evenings around the stove in the Oolagah general store just for the fun of it.

⁸⁰ Boston *Evening Transcript*, June 25, 1927.

⁸¹ New York *Times*, June 26, 1927.

⁸² From N. B. C. transcript of Memorial Broadcast, November 19, 1935, in Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore, Oklahoma.

⁸³ Beatty, *American Magazine*, October, 1930, p. 61. For another "Rogers" success story that emphasizes the triumphal return home of the country-boy turned success, see New York *Times*, September 4, 1932.

With such varied professional commitments, it followed in the "Rogers" publicity that the success legend was appropriately occupied with important activities:⁸⁴

Mr. Rogers, one of the busiest men in pictures, is also one of the busiest men in the world. During filming of the Judge Priest picture he managed to portray the leading role in the stage production of "Ah Wilderness" at the El Capitan Theatre, get out a daily syndicated newspaper column, crowd in a few radio broadcasts and attend innumerable banquets wherever a Senator, Congressman, statesman or film executive appeared. During his leisure hours he personally supervised the renovation of his Beverly Hills home.

Among American audiences such a reflected image of busy-ness was, like cleanliness, next to godliness. All these and other representations of the Self-Made Man in "Rogers" made him seem to be, in the words of George M. Cohan, "a natural success."⁸⁵ In combination with the publicity-attributed names of American Democrat and Adam, that of the Self-Made Man added credibility to the perceived character of the "Rogers" hero. Simultaneously, a fourth aspect of that persona enhanced its public appeal and influence.

Remaining for brief consideration is "Rogers'" face as the American Prometheus, teacher of the useful arts. Here three defining qualities combined to create this final name. The imaged "Rogers" looked to the future with optimism, "boosted" potential improvements in the American life-style, and quested for the good life.

Time-views defined for the "cowboy philosopher" the essential difference between East and West. "That's the biggest difference between . . . Oriental and Occidental," he wrote back from China in 1932, "We are a foresight people, and they are a hindsight people."⁸⁶ Moreover, that "foresight" emphasis was filled with optimism. Rogers as Prometheus glimpsed the coming of the space age; he foresaw the outcome of a future war, with "the real energy and minds of the normal majority" fighting "it through to a successful conclusion."⁸⁷ As American Prometheus, he looked hopefully also to the more immediate future, seeing the beginning of the end of the

⁸⁴ New York *Times*, October 14, 1934. For an early publicity piece stressing the hard work that went into "Rogers'" success, see New York *Times*, July 1, 1917.

⁸⁵ Memorial Broadcast, November 19, 1935, re-broadcast on "Biography in Sound," N.B.C. News, May 22, 1955. For other pieces imaging forth "Rogers" as a success legend, see *Nation*, February 11, 1925, p. 160; New York *Times*, August 17, 1935; Carl Stearns Clancy, "Aviation's Patron Saint," and *Scientific American*, October, 1929, p. 283.

⁸⁶ Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat to Senator Borah," *Saturday Evening Post*, April 2, 1932, pp. 21, 52.

⁸⁷ New York *Times*, June 24, 1930; and Tulsa *Daily World*, February 22, 1925.



Rogers offered Americans glimpses into the future, serving as a stabilizer in times of doubt (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore).

Great Depression, "Things are definitely picking up." He added that if "more folks" could be put to work, there would be "no way of stopping this country. Just quit listening to the politicians. They have to make a noise the nearer it comes to next year," he explained. "The Constitution will remain as is. The Russians are not going to take us," he prophesied.⁸⁸ For the future-dwelling "Rogers," there was thus a dynamic stability about the American world.⁸⁹

A large part of that optimism for the future rested on actual or potential technological developments. Overseas telephones, globe-encircling radio, improved safety devices for aircraft, higher and faster flight, larger and speedier aircraft—these were some of the innovations that "Rogers" championed and thereby "taught."⁹⁰ His "boosting" partook also, of course, of city-building, of which Boorstin has elsewhere written so vividly. "Rogers" even "boosted" boosting:⁹¹

Well, it was a joke—a hundred men getting off a train, marching with a Band, a boosting a place nobody had ever heard of. But business men in the places we paraded commenced to realize that there must be something in our Town or we couldn't do all this.

Now, if you are anxious to know whatever became of this Tank town, it's Tulsa, Oklahoma, which would have been a real town, even if its people weren't greasy rich with Oil, for it is founded on the spirit of its people.

Rogers' boosts differed from ordinary Chamber-of-Commerce promotions; while there was plenty of the "bigger and better" in them, he kept out the self-satisfied chest pounding by including the tongue-in-cheek:⁹²

Corn? . . . Why, the way that Florida got that little patch that sold for \$10,000,000 was by Oklahoma's corn growing so high that some of the stalks fell over into Florida. We gather our corn in airplanes. Why, our corn last year in Oklahoma ran over 200 gallons to the acre.

Finally, where Rogers as "Adam" roamed over the earth to enjoy direct experience with humankind and nature, there was also the possibility of

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, July 14, 1935, IV, p. 4.

⁸⁹ For other statements looking to the future with optimism, see *Tulsa Daily World*, February 22, 1925; November 4, 1928; April 21, 1935; *New York Times*, June 2, 1930; and January 25, 1935. Also CBS broadcast of June 9, 1935, sound recording at the Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore, Oklahoma.

⁹⁰ *New York Times*, January 21, 1930; June 29, 1934; May 29, 1930; April 8, 1931; February 16, 1935; *Tulsa Daily World*, December 11, 1927; and March 1, 1931.

⁹¹ *New York Times*, July 22, 1923.

⁹² "Florida Versus California," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 29, 1926, p. 72. For other examples of boosting, see *Tulsa Daily World*, December 28, 1924; *Saturday Evening Post*, August 21, 1926, p. 170; *American Magazine*, April, 1929, p. 34; and *New York Times*, February 18, 1930; November 6, 1931; and October 7, 1932.

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Promethean quest. Not unusually, the "Sage of Claremore" would report from afar the location of a potential new cattleman's paradise.⁹³ Nowhere was the quest more apparent, however, than that leading to a return to Eden.⁹⁴

Was in a very big long valley, hundreds of miles, and I thought looking down on it from the plane . . . my goodness, why don't folks settle here. I bet they dont know where it is. . . .

I said to the pilot, a Holland Dutchman, too bad people dont know about this place, it sure looks fertile. Pretty soon he circles the plane, and pointed down and said, "There is the Garden of Eden."

The quester and all the readers of that newspaper piece had come home again to paradise with the aid of that technological marvel, the airplane. This was progress; such messages from "Will Rogers" invited publicists to associate him with that American god-term.

For Americans, however, who believed that worship of "bigger and better" mistook the "scaffolding" of civilization for civilization itself, the "Rogers" they refracted was a philistine rather than a hero of progress. "A man from Oklahoma," wrote Boston-brahmin James Truslow Adams of the public Rogers, "depresses us by yawping about it in such a way as to give the impression that there is nothing in that young State but oil wells and millionaires."⁹⁵ From such a viewpoint, "Rogers" with his supposed pride in oil and wealth, promoted false values and quested for a will-o'-the-wisp.

Again, however, such reverse-images of "Will" in the magic mirror were the exception. The mass American audience of *The Literary Digest*, for instance, had access to an English review which was quoted in the American magazine. There, "Will's" forward-looking optimism showed in his energy and confidence. To the English critic, the American was "an incarnation of the artful, absurd, bubbling energy of the Middle West, quite sure of itself. . . ."⁹⁶ His persona to another English observer was a "clever presentation of the whole American pose," one "accomplished with . . . the actor's art"; it included not only "approachableness" and "frankness" but also an "experimental zest which will not accept tradition" and "obvious sincerity of the belief in world salvation through 'boost and 'pep.'"⁹⁷

⁹³ See, for instance, *Saturday Evening Post*, October 23, 1926, p. 164; *New York Times*, July 28, 1934; July 30, 1934; and August 24, 1934.

⁹⁴ *Tulsa Daily World*, March 24, 1935.

⁹⁵ *The Epic of America* (New York: Triangle Books, 1941; first published 1931), p. 412.

⁹⁶ Quoted from *The Daily Herald* in "Will Rogers in London." *The Literary Digest*, August 28, 1926, p. 22.

⁹⁷ James Agate, "The Dramatic World: America's Envoys," *The Sunday Times* (London), July 25, 1926.

Nor did publicists miss the dominant strain of "boosting" that appeared in "Rogers'" own words. A popular commentator wove that theme of air-travel-as-progress into a passage appearing in the popular bible for dreamers of the bigger-and-better, *Scientific American*:⁹⁸

While in Europe [in 1926], Mr. Rogers saw so many fine municipal airports and rode over such a large number of scheduled airlines that he decided, upon his return to the United States, to tour the country on a lecture crusade to awaken Americans to their backwardness in commercial aviation. On this tour he ended the fears of local reception committees, after the last train had pulled in without bringing him with it, by a last minute arrival by plane.

Such passages should not be read for their factual accuracy (the private Rogers' interest in aircraft had preceded his European tour; the 1926 lecture series was a sequel to the successful one of 1925) but for their faithfulness to the mythic outlines of culture heroism. The optimism of the American Prometheus, for instance, was clear in the final paragraph of the story: "Will's enthusiasm increases with the years," it began. "He declares he is going to keep on flying until his beard gets caught in the propeller."⁹⁹

Nor was that optimism for a futuristic quest limited to aviation; Otis Ferguson of *The New Republic* pointed out "Rogers'" persona as one "moving toward a final triumph over everything that was new or fancy or politically not right."¹⁰⁰

On balance then, popular writers and commentators served as auxiliary imagemakers to the "Will Rogers" projected in the first instance by William Penn Adair Rogers. They helped their own readers to clarify the legendary outlines of "Rogers" as ideal American democrat, a self-realized individual, success figure, and progress booster for American life. They also probably confirmed that identity to the creator of "Will," in effect telling him, partly, "who" he "really" was. To that we turn in a word of conclusion.

By 1932, Will Rogers' magic mirror had given him the most grandiose reflection he had ever had. If we glance at it, too, we can infer the esteem in which Americans held him. He told James M. Cox of an idea that he had for a scenario. As related by Cox:¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Clancy, *Scientific American*, October, 1929, p. 284.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 286.

¹⁰⁰ "Two Show Figures," *The New Republic*, September 4, 1935, p. 104.

¹⁰¹ Quoted in *Folks Say of Will Rogers*, ed. Payne and Lyons, p. 159. Will Rogers' good sense, however, also dictated that the country philosopher would produce bizarre developments in Washington. The private Rogers resolutely turned down every real-life invitation to run for office.

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It was based upon an old country philosopher who had enough mind and assertion to pretty much run his whole part of the country. He became famous statewide. And then, as the fiction unfolded, he found himself by his quaint philosophy to be known in every household in the nation.

The public opinion of the country became very turbulent and out of it came his election to the Presidency.

The creator of "Will Rogers" had undoubtedly heard that thousands had given him write-in votes for the Presidency in 1928.¹⁰² The building of a national image that would encourage a belief in his reliability and trustworthiness had begun many years before and had continued as his own persona's words, those of his observers, and responses from his publics formed a national conversation from which were selected themes making "Rogers" the ideal American.

By 1925, he could have read words like these, at once telling him "who" he was and making clear to his publics that there was a private person as well as a public persona named Will Rogers.¹⁰³

Clicking a typewriter in his dressing room at the "Follies," an Oklahoma cow-puncher, part Cherokee Indian, is the most effective journalist in America. Every week a hundred newspapers print his broadside of mingled fun and philosophy. Numberless others re-echo it in editorials beginning, "Will Rogers says," and ending with "Will Rogers is dead right."

I first caught him during a matinee. I remember a stage entrance, a flight of stairs, an open door. Through the door I saw not only Rogers but Mrs. Rogers who had dropped in by chance. . . . In her charming presence he is not the Rogers of the grin, the prankish eyes, the lariat and the gun. He welcomes calls with a fine dignity, and only his carelessness of the king's English revives the impression you got of him across the footlights.

Mrs. Betty Rogers had seen the growth of the public persona as "the development and unfolding of a personality through the various vehicles that seemed to be constantly and almost miraculously presenting themselves."¹⁰⁴

Publicly, then, "Will Rogers" had become—as revealed by novelist Clarence Budington Kelland's insight—Uncle Sam without a beard as legend-makers combined the American Democrat, the Self-Made Man, the Self-fulfilled Individual, and the Believer in Progress.¹⁰⁵

Privately, he had learned that he was a person to be taken seriously. Late in his career, recalled Homer Croy of the Hollywood years when he knew

¹⁰² Croy, *Our Will Rogers*, p. 233.

¹⁰³ *Tulsa Daily World*, June 7, 1925.

¹⁰⁴ *Will Rogers: His Wife's Story* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1941), p. 24.

¹⁰⁵ Cited in *Folks Say of Will Rogers*, ed. Payne and Lyons, pp. 198–199.

the private Rogers, "He was growing more serious. Now and then he spoke of 'influencing thought in America.'"¹⁰⁶ There came a day, says Croy, when "as the two of us stood alone, he said he had the idea of wanting to become the world's first 'flying reporter.' I didn't know what he meant until he explained that he wanted to buy a plane, keep it in London, and then post off to wherever there was a hot spot. 'When I knock around, my newspaper stuff gets better,' " Rogers believed.¹⁰⁷

Whether the speed of air travel made his "Will Rogers" a more artistically satisfying "Uncle Sam," it gave "him" in his creator's death in the mists of a faraway sky, at the edge of a cold sea, something of the quality of Arthur's charismatic journey to Avalon. The legend was complete.

"Will Rogers" had become an influential speaker—both to his public and to his creator. Today, that legend as the ideal American is re-presented by actors who re-create "him" and by editors of his commentary who syndicate "his" words; "Will Rogers" remains the influential spokesman for the historic dream of *quality* in American life.

¹⁰⁶ *Our Will Rogers*, p. 293.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

WILL ROGERS, AMBASSADOR SANS PORTFOLIO: LETTERS FROM A SELF-MADE DIPLOMAT TO HIS PRESIDENT

By Peter C. Rollins*

1926 was an exceedingly busy year for Will Rogers. He began a transcontinental speaking tour toward the end of February, and was in constant motion until his return from Europe in September. The pace of his American tour was staggering. Small cities kept him one night; larger ones demanded two evenings of the humorist. On the average, the forty-seven year old Oklahoman was seeing a different American city every day. But the rewards for touring were as great as the labors. Rogers enjoyed prowling about the country, for travel allowed him to plumb the mood of average Americans (whom he called "the regular birds") outside of the political and commercial worlds of Washington and New York. He took advantage of this opportunity to feel the pulse of his audience. And the pay was excellent. Charles Wagner, manager of the tour, reported that Rogers and the De-Reszke Singers had grossed over \$82,000 in receipts during their eleven weeks on the road.

There were competing demands for Rogers' valuable time after the national tour. On April 2, he received a telegram from Florenz Ziegfeld pleading for help. Ziegfeld had heard that Rogers was thinking about sailing to Europe at the close of his transcontinental lecture series. Hoping that Rogers would instead join the *Follies* for the coming year, Ziegfeld advised against leaving the country: "decide to postpone visit to Europe. Rotten over there anyway." Ziegfeld was sanguine about the prospects for his show if Rogers would participate: "I could make the *Twentieth Follies* (and probably the last) the greatest of them all." On the telegram was a conspicuous blue stamp instructing the recipient that an immediate answer was expected by wire or phone. "Flo" got a negative response, for Will Rogers was determined to talk with "the Regular Birds" of Europe.¹

Will Rogers had joked and written about European affairs in his book of 1919, *Rogersisms: Cowboy Philosopher on the Peace Conference*, but he had not visited the continent in seven years.² The entire country was curious about how Europe was emerging from the wreckage of war. Americans

* The author is Associate Professor of English at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater.

¹ Zeigfeld to Rogers, April 2, 1926. File Box No. 14, Will Rogers Memorial and Museum, Claremore, Oklahoma.

² All volumes by Rogers cited in this article have been reprinted as part of the Oklahoma State University series, *The Writings of Will Rogers* (Stillwater, Oklahoma: Oklahoma State Univ. Press). Volume four of the series is *Rogersisms: The Cowboy Philosopher on the Peace Conference*.

were especially concerned about international responsibilities in the postwar era, the war debt question, and the viability of the new League of Nations. Rogers was anxious to get a first-hand appraisal of these developments, and he had found a sponsor, *The Saturday Evening Post*.

On the fifteenth of April, Will Rogers had lunch with George Horace Lorimer, the famous editor of the *Post*. The *Post* had recently carried a feature titled "Letters of a Self-Made Merchant to his Son." Lorimer wondered if Rogers could write a special feature series of weekly articles which would take a similar approach to the pressing foreign policy issues confronting the nation, something along the lines of Mark Twain's famous travelogue, *Innocents Abroad* (1879).

As seemed always the case, Lorimer knew how to pick the proper writer for an assignment. The very basis for Will Rogers' humor was that of the Innocent Abroad. Rogers played the role of an Oklahoma cowboy thrown down in the middle of modern America. The appeal of his social commentary stemmed primarily from his ability to judge modern developments by the values of traditional American life. Most Americans in the 1920s were aware that their modern mores and values were moving away from a tested life style. They turned to Rogers for humor, but also for insights about changes which were beneficial and which were ephemeral or even harmful. Lorimer wanted to commission Rogers to pass through the European scene with such a perspective, judging recent developments and the new rulers in his homespun way.

As a writer, Will Rogers had a literary problem to overcome. To whom would the letters of this self-made diplomat be sent? Fortunately, a comedic technique developed by Rogers in the *Follies* suggested itself. It was Rogers' habit in the *Midnight Frolic* to call celebrities in the audience up on the stage, or to address them as they sat with their friends. Always an energetic reader of newspapers, Rogers would refer to some business or political issue currently before the public, gently "roasting" the celebrity or giving "personal" advice on the issue, but always with an eye toward entertaining the audience present. Playing the role of public confidant had proven popular at the *Follies*, but experiments in print had yielded only mixed results. President Woodrow Wilson heartily responded to Rogers' counsel, and frequently quoted the comedian to the press and to public audiences. Like a later President, Franklin Roosevelt, Wilson recognized that attention from Will Rogers could not hurt men in the public eye. Unfortunately, the imaginary advisory role had not been well received by Wilson's successor, Warren G. Harding. On one occasion, Harding even refused to attend the *Follies* because Rogers was on the program; Ziegfeld and Rogers received telephone calls from Harding's staff requesting that the Oklahoma humorist

temper his comments about Harding's leisure time activities, especially his golf.

Will Rogers knew that Calvin Coolidge was not as dour as the press portrayed him. He decided to make the President his pen pal. An advertisement for the *Post* series conveys the light tone of the letters.³ A slender man, who is obviously President Coolidge, faces away from us. Into his ear, Will Rogers is whispering sage counsel about foreign affairs: "Now listen, Mr. Coolidge. This is between you and me . . . and the rest of the nation." The technique was simply a carry-over from Rogers' Midnight *Frolic* show, except that now the audience numbered in the millions, for admission to this show cost only a nickel.

It should quickly be added that Rogers intended no disrespect toward the President from Vermont. On the contrary, Will Rogers was an admirer of Coolidge, whom he described as "a great politician. He looks further ahead than any of them." Choosing the letter format had more to do with literary considerations than political judgments. In writing letters rather than essays, Rogers could employ an informal and intimate style, emphasizing personal observations and feelings rather than abstractions. Hundreds of books had been written on the future of Europe by professors and pundits; Will Rogers needed a literary vehicle which would allow him to emphasize the human side of the story. Why not a series of letters from one rural man to another?

Will Rogers' tour of Europe and Russia would have the same lively pace which characterized his early spring transcontinental speaking tour. There was no fixed itinerary. Rogers was simply to wander according to impulse, provided that he sent back colorful and instructive copy. While the title of the series had been conceived in jest, the role which Rogers was to play was ambassadorial in a serious sense: he was performing a special private service for the nation. There had been so many variant reports, perplexed Americans looked forward to reading his down-to-earth opinions.

At 12:30 on the morning of May 1, the *Leviathan* backed out of its berth in New York harbor carrying among its passengers Will Rogers and his fifteen-year-old son, Will, Jr. Six days later the liner docked in Southampton, England. After a week in London, father and son flew to Paris in a large new French airliner. It was a rough trip, and an air-sick-prone devotee of aviation experienced one of the negative effects of flight. The next day, the Americans were on a train bound for Rome. When they

³ The *Post* articles were later collected and published under the title *Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat to His President*, which recently appeared as volume six of the *Writings*. At least nine more volumes are in press.



World traveler, Will Rogers, provided Americans rare “down-to-earth” observations of the international community. Here he is seen with James Gleason (left) and A. P. Moore on board the *S. S. Leviathan* (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore).

stopped *en route* to visit the disarmament proceedings in Geneva, business almost came to a halt. As the *Tulsa Daily World* proudly reported: “Will Rogers, American Lariat Artist and ‘Wise Cracker’ bobbed up in the League of Nations Disarmament Commission session in the afternoon and attracted more attention than many delegates.”

Dictator Benito Mussolini was the object of Will Rogers’ trip to Rome. A “non-interview” between the representative from Claremore and Il Duce is one of the more enthusiastic moments of the *Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat*, for Rogers saw the early work of Mussolini as constructive and beneficial to Italy. (It should be noted that this evaluation preceded by four years the excesses of Mussolini’s foreign policy, and that Rogers’ views at this time were shared by many.)

While in Rome, Rogers was given an audience with the Pope. His letters indicate that he saw many of Italy's masterpieces of architecture and painting while in the eternal city. From Italy, Rogers sailed to Spain for an interview with another dictator, Primo de Rivera. The American democrat took pleasure in the traditionalism which he encountered in this backward country.

Within two weeks, Rogers was back in London preparing for a flight into Russia. Permission to observe the Communist experiment in social engineering had arrived while Rogers was in Italy. The *Saturday Evening Post* was as obliging in this case as it had been about the European tour, and for the same reason. Because there had been so many contradictory reports by commentators, the American people were expected to welcome a Rogers' treatment of the subject. The series was published independent of the European travelogue under a facetious title, *There's Not a Bathing Suit in Russia and Other Bare Facts*. Like the *Letters*, the series first appeared in the *Post* and was later published in book form.⁴

By mid-July, Rogers was back in London where he signed a much publicized contract with British National Pictures. The British were hoping to break Hollywood's monopoly on film comedy. While in London, Rogers found other ways to communicate with the British, while paying expenses. Almost as soon as he stepped off the plane from Moscow, he signed a contract with "Cochran's Revue," a British imitation of Ziegfeld's *Follies*. In addition, he began to appear in a late night cabaret in a show similar to the *Midnight Frolics* which had made him so popular among New York's late night set. Finally, the Oklahoman made quite a stir when he went on the air in August "for the largest fee ever paid to a radio talker in this country" and then donated the fat check to a hospital charity.

Early September found Will Rogers in Ireland, delighting in the Irish landscape, but again taking time to do benefits for charity. A tragic fire in Drumcollogher had killed many and seriously injured scores. Rogers immediately volunteered to perform at a theater in Dublin, with all proceeds to the sufferers. He raised two thousand dollars at the door, to which he added a contribution of five hundred dollars. Will Rogers was fast transforming himself into an ambassador of good will! (In 1927, President Coolidge capitalized on this humanitarian image by sending Rogers on a good will tour of Mexico with Dwight Morrow and Charles A. Lindbergh.)

Mrs. Rogers, daughter Mary, and younger son Jim joined the humorist in early August. Will Jr. was sent home; he had been away from his books

⁴ *There's Not a Bathing Suit in Russia and Other Bare Facts* (1927) has been reprinted as volume two of the *Writings of Will Rogers*.

long enough. After the comedian settled his family into comfortable quarters in Switzerland, he left for a hasty last reconnaissance, to include Greenland, Scotland, Wales, and Germany. On the twenty-first of September, the entire family boarded the *Leviathan* for home.

As he sailed back to the United States, Will Rogers could total up a number of accomplishments: he had plumbed the motives of the intellectual and political leaders of the new Europe; his travels had allowed him the opportunity to talk with average citizens, the “regular birds” of the continent; and he now had first-hand information about basic foreign policy matters. It was no longer true—as it had been during the war—that all he knew was what he read in the papers. His horizons had enlarged, and his insights deepened; his observations in the future would be increasingly authoritative.⁵

The distance between the country bumpkin and the city slicker seems always to have tickled the American funny bone from Royall Tyler’s eighteenth century play, *The Contrast*, up to the continuing television story of the *Beverly Hillbillies*. Will Rogers put himself in the role of innocent abroad for both comic and serious purposes. He was aiming strictly for comedy when he described the difficulties of gaining entrance to the House of Commons. According to his tall tale, all doors were suddenly opened when he announced that he was from Claremore, Oklahoma. The letter goes on to report that not only was he given a seat immediately, but that the English were very curious about Claremore’s exemplary city government! Following Twain’s example in *Innocents Abroad* (1879), Rogers played upon the theme of the superiority of the American landscape. His disdainful comparison of the bay of Naples with American ports is only one example among many:

Did you ever see the bay of Naples that you have heard and read so much about? Did you ever see the harbor in San Francisco? Well it makes the bay of Naples look like the Chicago drainage Canal, and I am from Los Angeles, too. When even the harbor of Los Angeles with its growing barley fields, and its thriving subdivisions, if it had any water in it would be better than Naples. Why Houston stole a better harbor from Galveston than Naples is. It hasent got the blue water that Naples has, but it will float an old tug full of cotton. Why Miami Florida if they ever cleaned those gin bottles out of that harbor of theirs would lay it all over the Mediteranian.

The obvious point made by the loyal provincial was clear; he loved his country and refused steadfastly to be hoodwinked by Europe’s pretensions.

⁵ Information for this survey of Rogers’ movements was culled from the numerous chronologies, datebooks, scrapbooks in the vault of the Will Rogers Memorial.

But Will Rogers used the device of American innocence for serious purposes, especially in Rome. He was irritated by the claim that living among historic monuments automatically made Europeans more cultured than Americans. As a dedicated observer of the Washington scene, Rogers could deny this environmentalism without much difficulty: "Men in Washington you know yourself, Calvin, live where Washington and Jefferson and Hamilton lived," but their actions had clearly shown that "Association has nothing to do with culture." The much vaunted grandeur of the Roman republic made little impression on this professional critic of senators and congressmen. Rogers was more alert to the brutality of the Roman games than the civic genius of the republic. Over the entire city, he sensed a dark cloud of accumulated sin, a history of human wrong which his own isolated, "innocent" nation had been exempted from experiencing: "Everything in Rome was stolen from somebody at some time. It's just a question of who's got it last." Curiously, Nathaniel Hawthorne, a very different sort of American visitor to Rome, had come to the same conclusion some sixty-seven years earlier.

Another serious idea emerged during Rogers' light-hearted discussion of American innocence. As he warned his President, Coolidge was "standing guard over the best little patch of ground in all the various Hemispheres." The thought had broader meaning, to include a corollary that the United States should stay out of European affairs in order to maintain its innocence. Europe seemed destined to quarrel and fight. Our self-interest therefore dictated a healthy distrust of any entanglements with the fallen continent.

As *The Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat to His President* revealed, the issue of war debts owed to the United States was hotly debated on both sides of the Atlantic. In fact, Rogers noted that Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon was visiting Europe, consulting with the former allies about payment. There were two very different sides to the debt question. Most Europeans believed that they had paid an incalculable price on the battlefield. Many attributed the astronomical casualty figures to the United States for vacillating four years before joining the Allied cause. On the other hand, the average American saw the war debts as simply financial obligations to be honored by borrowers. As Rogers simplified the matter for his readers, it had come down to two plans: either the European Plan (no payments) or the American Plan (partial payment). Using rhetorical irony, Rogers' personal contempt for anything less than full payment was conveyed in the following description of the French reception of a recent settlement: "It seems that there is just some little minor difference or defect in the agreement with America. The change don't mean anything, but they want to have it put just right before passing on it. There is just some three

ooo—naughts—on the end of some figures that they want to have erased. It was probably just a misprint, and taking off just those three little figures will of course make no material difference in the main settlement.” As with other judgments in his writings, Rogers analyzed the issue in terms of individual morality. The French Deputies might wish to assume a *nonchalant* attitude, but from Rogers’ old-fashioned perspective, a debt was a debt. For millions of his readers at home who were experiencing the pangs of post-war inflation, such elementary thinking made good sense.

President Woodrow Wilson had entered the Great War with an ideal, one which at first attracted considerable enthusiasm. The President hoped that out of the peace settlement would emerge a League of Nations which could place the international community under a rule of law. Nations, the argument went, could disarm when both a World Court and a League of Nations supervised international relations.

Will Rogers was a sanguine supporter of preparedness. Germany’s conduct in World War I had proven to the Oklahoman that the ability to hurt an opponent was much more persuasive than arguments on paper. The inefficacy of President Wilson’s many notes and telegrams to the Kaiser just prior to America’s entrance into the war seemed *prima facie* evidence that a nation best protected itself by supporting a powerful and mobile military establishment.

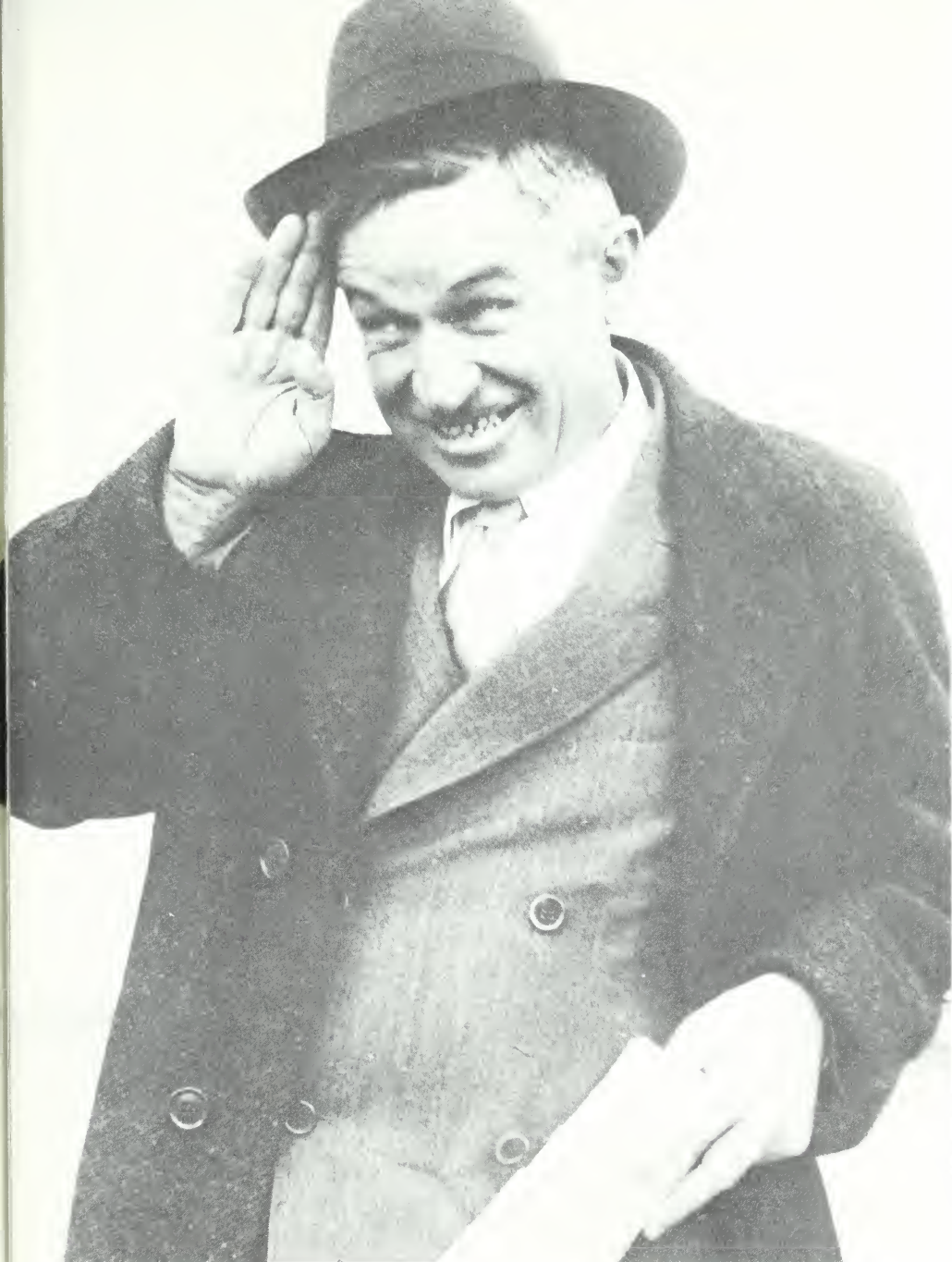
Rogers’ European tour was only to confirm this prejudice. While aboard the *Leviathan*, Rogers chuckled over the absurdity of sending military men to negotiate a disarmament agreement: “Can you picture these Army and Navy fellows being enthusiastic for disarming? Can you see Andy and Hilary voting a Battleship out from under themselves? It’s a great move to passify the pacifists, but these are pretty smart old Birds and they know when those boats will come in handy.” Any concessions made would probably be limited to antiquated equipment and weapons: “General Nolan and Major Strong say if they give up anything it won’t be anything more than their Spurs.” During their non-interview, Mussolini re-enforced Rogers’ sense of the futility of disarmament schemes. Rogers asked the Italian Premier about the prospects for the Geneva meeting. Mussolini first laughed, and then replied that “we disarm when England disarm on sea; when France in air and land. So you see we never have to disarm.” Spain’s ruler, Primo de Rivera answered similarly. As Rogers reported to his friend Calvin, “I got the same laugh out of him I had out of Mussolini. He had the usual European reply: ‘When everybody else disarms, I will disarm.’”

The dictators had very little good to say about the fledgling League of Nations. Mussolini hinted that the organization would be unable to cope with a real emergency. De Rivera told Rogers about the ridiculous treat-

ment of Spain by the Geneva Conference. Age-old national rivalries were heightened rather than restrained by the supposed supranational organization: "Now, between you and I, Calvin, I have talked to everybody that I could possibly get to that I could understand in this whole trip, and they all feel the same about this League and Disarming and World Courts and all that stuff. They feel like England and France runs the whole thing and they don't want anything to do with it."

The final letter of the *Post* series distilled the many lessons Rogers learned during his four-month mission. The question of America's image abroad could now be settled. While it was obvious that part of the animosity toward America could be linked to the debt question, Rogers espied deeper roots: "We don't stand like a Horse Thief abroad. Whoever told you we did is flattering us. We don't stand as good as a Horse Thief. They know what you were sore at them for." Europe's "regular bird" had disclosed a deeper motive than the recent money problem. The hate-America campaign was just a fad, one that would disappear as soon as American aid was needed again. The truth was that Europe increasingly was an armed camp with every nation hating the others, and summoning up memories of past grievances if current ones were not bilious enough: "If you can find me one Nation in Europe that has a real down-to-earth, sincere regard for any other Nation, I will jump out of the top of the Washington Monument." The specificity of Rogers' itemized list of grievances shows how much he had learned from his European tour: "Russia hates everybody so bad it would take her a week to pick out the one she hates most. Poland is rarin' to fight somebody so bad that they just get up and punch themselves in the jaw. They can't make up their minds whether to jump on Russia, Germany, or go up and annex Lithuania. Turkey has been laying off three months now without any war, and Peace is just killing them. You can't even pass out of the south of Russia into Rumania. Bulgaria is feeding an Army and deriving no benefits from it whatever."

Will Rogers blamed conditions rather than human nature for these horrible portents of war. Principally, he blamed geography and the spirit of nationalism. Pacifists were simply ignorant of these principles: "You let France change places with Canada, and Germany change places with Mexico, and England with Cuba, and Japan with Hawaii, and you would see if we would be so anxious to disarm." The fires of nationalism were so strong, Rogers saw little hope for the future: "Say, if I didn't have any more friends than some of these Nations have around them, I not only would not disarm, but I would get another Gun, and wouldn't only have a gun in each hand as I went to bed, I wouldn't go to bed—I would stay up and watch all night." Americans had helped shape these fatal condi-



Rogers arriving in New York following his visit to the Five Power Naval Conference in London (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

tions. To Rogers' mind, President Wilson's principle of self-determination of nations had only added more fuel to the fires of nationalism. In a short time, the result of arbitrary nation-building would lead to a "self-disintegration of small nations. You see, the more Nations you create, the more chances you have of war."

The final letter of the *Post* series contained a number of serious recommendations for President Coolidge. Rogers was very pessimistic about the efficacy of any action by the United States. Every major power was tottering as the result of internal upheaval: strikes were plaguing the British while the French could not maintain a government in office for more than a few weeks, and often for only a few days. Many smaller powers were on the brink of revolution. The general tone of bellicosity on the continent simply increased Rogers' pessimism. World War I and other recent examples of American intervention had shown that this nation was often blamed even though its intentions were good: "All we have to do to get in bad is just start out on what we think is a good Samaritan mission, and we wind up in the Pesthouse."

It is important to note that Will Rogers' isolationism was thoroughly consistent. He did not advise detachment from European affairs only. He counseled total aloofness, and decried the brand of imperialism practiced during the 1920s by his friend Calvin. American hemispheric diplomacy had to be guided by the same principle of non-involvement: "if Argentina, Brazil, Peru, Chile, or anyone else have disputed territory, and they want to populate it . . . why let them go ahead and do it. What business is it of ours?" Rogers told his President to concentrate on domestic inequities. America would attract the friends it deserved by setting an example to the rest of the world: "It will take America fifteen years steady taking care of our own business and letting everybody else's alone to get us back to where everybody speaks to us again."⁶

Until recently, "isolationism" has been more of a smear word than a legitimate foreign policy position. But the term does accurately describe Will Rogers' outlook, if it is properly understood. After thousands of miles of travel and hundreds of hours of talk, he simply concluded that no one—not even a well-meaning United States—could significantly affect the European conditions described in the *Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat*. The air was charged with national rivalries. Even the small nations created after the recent war were enthusiastically training pilots for the next conflagration. The League of Nations had failed to exert the elevating effect

⁶ Will Rogers' 1920s: *A Cowboy's Guide to the Times* (Los Angeles: Churchill Films, 1976).

upon the international community which President Wilson had promised. With two oceans serving as geographical barriers, Rogers recommended that the United States devote her energies to improving domestic conditions, an activity which would produce tangible results. In a recent interview for the film *Will Rogers' 1920s*, Will Rogers, Jr. stressed that his father's position was positive, that it included a respect for the rights of other nations, a dimension of Rogers' isolationism which is too easily overlooked:

I think that Dad represented what we think of as fundamentally American at that time. He wanted us to be the most powerful country in the world and he wanted us to have a big Army and Navy and later a big Air Force, but he didn't want us to use it. He didn't want to see America go into Nicaragua, for example. He didn't want us to send the Marines into China. . . . He was very outspoken in that way. He was anti-imperialist; he didn't want us to interfere with other people's business. . . . He said, "I saw an odd thing. I saw a Marine in Washington." He took a lot of cracks at our expansionism.

Certainly Will Rogers was no xenophobe. The Oklahoman kept an open mind, recognizing that differing cultures should expect to see the world differently: "I am not the fellow to go to a Country and then start criticizing it from our angle at home. You have to look at a thing through their eyes to be fair." Rogers made an effort to apply this principle of cultural relativity in his analysis of Mussolini. He knew that the typical American view of the Italian leader was simplistic: "Well, you got to be in Italy to really understand this fellow. Now to us he looks like he was the Tyrant and the Dictator, and that he was always posing like Napoleon, and that he was going to get his Country into war any minute. Now that's our angle on him." But in context, Mussolini was only adapting to Italian conditions. In fact, Rogers tried to show that while Coolidge and Mussolini appeared to be very different kind of political leaders, in many ways each was working for the same ends, but within very different constitutional conditions:

He gets up in Public and tells Austria and Germany what to do. You have Kellogg send Mexico a note telling them what time to quit work that day. He comes into the House of Deputies over there and tells them the measures that shall be put through. You have five or six Senators for breakfast and the same thing happens.

You see, everyone of us in the world have our audience to play to; we study them and we try to do it so it will appeal to what we think is the great majority. Now Italy likes everything put on like a Drama; they like a show, they like to have their patriotism appealed to and spoke about. . . . Mussolini says a lot of things publicly that sound like boasting, but they are only meant for Home Consumption.

It would be hard to imagine Will Rogers as a devotee of the Communist system, but he was willing to see the world through the eyes of Leon Trotsky, if only for a short time. Unfortunately, Trotsky was going out of favor and Rogers was not allowed to speak with him. Speaking about the cancelled appointment, Rogers reflected: "If I had met him and had a chat with him, I would have found him a very interesting and human fellow, for *I have never yet met a man I didnt like*. When you meet people, no matter what opinion you might have formed about them beforehand, why, after you meet them and see their angle and their personality, why you can see a lot of good in all of them."⁷

This was the first public formulation of a phrase for which Rogers would be long remembered, "I never met a man I didn't like." The statement in its full meaning should be seen as a counterbalance to the theme of isolationism which runs through Rogers' advice to President Coolidge. Will Rogers was certainly no mindless nationalist who supported his country right or wrong; nor did he ever adopt an irresponsible attitude toward the world community. Finally, Rogers was never misanthropic; his writings abound with humor about the joys of being a social human being. The saying which now is inscribed at the base of his statues in Claremore, Oklahoma and Washington, D. C. was internationalist in the best sense. It meant that below nationality, class, sex, religion, or politics there is a basic humanity which we must honor. Respect for this common humanity could serve as a foundation for a peaceful world community.

Such was Rogers' hope. But he was also keenly aware that men had great difficulty detaching themselves from their roles and the influence of ideologies. As he sailed back from Europe in 1926, he felt that the barriers of class and nationality had been constructed to insuperable heights. Thus while Will Rogers hoped for mutual respect among nations, his *Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat* focused upon the actual state of affairs in Europe. Instability characterized both internal and external politics. Governments were toppling; the masses were turning to dictators to restore order. Rogers advised his President to cast his influence where it would do palpable good, in settling America's farm problem, in bringing a new tone to our nation's politics, in confronting honestly that legislative fluke, Prohibition. After our recent experience with Vietnam and Watergate, many Americans are again advocating that internal rejuvenation should be given priority over our bumbling attempts to shape the destinies of distant nations.

But it was not necessary to share all of Will Rogers' conclusions to enjoy his articles for the *Saturday Evening Post*. Franklin D. Roosevelt was as

⁷ *There's Not a Bathing Suit in Russia*, p. 52.

internationalist as any American politician, but he could savor the combination of drollery and insight of which he found in the *Letters*: "In addition to my deep appreciation of his humor, the first time I fully realized Will Rogers' exceptional and deep understanding of political and social problems was when he came home from his European trip in 1926. While I discussed European matters with many others, both American and foreign, Will Rogers' analysis of affairs abroad was not only more interesting but proved to be more accurate than any other I had heard."⁸ Whether Calvin Coolidge agreed with all that his Ambassador had to say was not so important as the President's much publicized response when Rogers returned home. An official car was sent to bring the private citizen ambassador to the White House for an "official" report. Rogers was asked by the Coolidges to spend the night at their House. A literary device had become a reality! But there was more poetic justice involved; it was only right that the pen pals should meet.

⁸ Memorial Scrapbook No. 14, p. 32.

VISION OF THE FUTURE: WILL ROGERS' SUPPORT OF COMMERCIAL AVIATION

By Fred Roach, Jr.*

The 1920s and 1930s represented a critical era for commercial aviation in the United States. At that time, the fledgling industry's survival was doubtful, and the support from public opinion was vital for the development of commercial flying. Two men, Charles Lindbergh and Will Rogers, were the major contributors to this effort. They helped keep commercial aviation alive in the United States until the demands of war and economic development ensured a permanent commitment to its expansion.¹

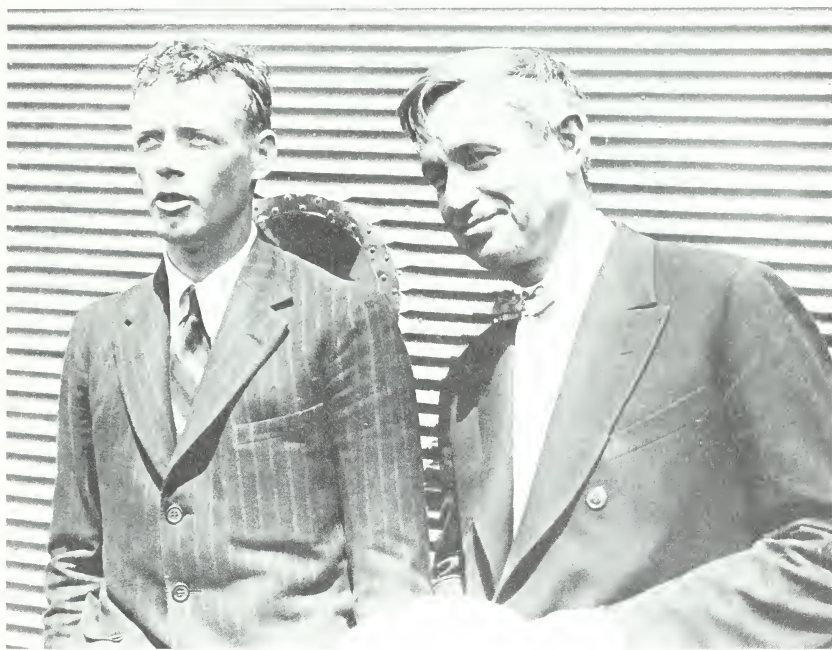
Charles Lindbergh's activities in mobilizing support for commercial aviation are well-known. However, this is not the case for Will Rogers. Nevertheless, Rogers did make a substantial contribution in the 1920s and 1930s to the efforts of those who tried to create a public awareness concerning the importance of commercial aviation. During 1929, Carl Stearns Clancy, in a seldom cited article from the *Scientific American* entitled, "Aviation's Patron Saint," defined Rogers' role in the "air movement." He announced that aviators across the country had recently and with "unanimous acclaim" given the Oklahoma humorist the "honorary distinction" of being "'Aviation's Patron Saint.'" Specifically, Clancy described how "'Casey' Jones, a long time aviator and head of Curtis Flying Service, was the first to 'bestow this unique appellation' upon Will. 'Over a year ago,' the writer reported, 'Mr. Jones declared: 'After Lindbergh, Will Rogers is aviation's best press agent. The industry owes him more than he is ever likely to collect. His wit, his extraordinary publicity resources, and his genuine enthusiasm for flying entitle him to the nomination as patron saint of aviation.'" Clancy followed these remarks by quoting the reaction of "aviators and ground men in every state" to Will's activities: "We can always count on Colonel Lindbergh to do the right thing and on Will Rogers to say the right thing at the right time. They are two of a kind."²

Will Rogers' first experience with what can loosely be termed commercial aviation came in 1915 when he was fulfilling a vaudeville engagement in Atlantic City, New Jersey. A Glenn Curtiss flying boat located in the water close to the boardwalk in the resort town took passengers on brief air ex-

* The author is Associate Professor of History at Kennesaw College, Marietta, Georgia.

¹ References to "commercial aviation" are made in the broad sense of the term. They include mail, freight, and passenger service.

² Carl Stearns Clancy, "Aviation's Patron Saint," *Scientific American*, CXIV (October, 1929), p. 283.



Known as "Aviation's Patron Saint," Rogers is seen here with Charles Lindbergh (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore).

cursions for five dollars. Will's wife, Betty, recalled in her book, *Will Rogers: The Story of His Life Told by His Wife*, how the stage performer wanted to try a flight but was too "frightened." Each day he walked down to the pier and watched people being carried through the water on the back of a man who delivered them to the pontooned plane. Finally, on the last afternoon of their stay, Will worked up enough courage to take a flight. When he landed "he was still scared, but vastly excited, and so pleased that he had a picture made of himself in the plane and took pleasure in exhibiting it."³ Little evidence exists concerning whether or not the Oklahoma entertainer flew much in the years immediately following this initial experience. However, his eldest son, Will Rogers, Jr., has hazy recollections of an airfield being located near the family home in Beverly Hills, California, where people could enjoy brief entertainment rides for a nominal fee. The younger

³ Betty Rogers, *Will Rogers: The Story of His Life Told by His Wife* (Garden City, New York: Garden City Publishing Co., 1943), p. 200.



Seen here with fellow aviator, E. K. Jaquith, Rogers dramatized his devotion to aviation by flying whenever possible (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore).

Rogers thinks Will probably took his children on some of these flights before 1925.⁴

There can be little doubt, regardless of whether Will did much early demonstration flying, that the year 1926 marked the point when he became an enthusiastic supporter of commercial aviation.⁵ At that time, he signed a contract with George Horace Lorimer, editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, to write a series of articles for the popular magazine while traveling through Europe as its correspondent. After arriving in Europe, the reporter's eldest son, Will, Jr., evidently talked his hesitant elder into using air transportation. The humorist quickly became enamored with commer-

⁴ Interview with Will Rogers, Jr. cited by Reba Neighbors Collins, Curator of the Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore, Oklahoma, in an interview she had with this author on 8 August 1977; Homer Croy, *Our Will Rogers* (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1953), p. 223.

⁵ Interview with Reba Neighbors Collins, 8 August 1977; Clancy, "Aviation's Patron Saint," p. 284.

cial air travel and informed the readers of his syndicated weekly newspaper column: "I have flew around Europe so much that if I don't have an airship I think I am walking."⁶ A few months later a *Saturday Evening Post* article described how he had told President Calvin Coolidge that flying was "the only way to travel."⁷

The trip to Europe in 1926 did more than convert the Cowboy Philosopher into a dedicated air traveler. It made him painfully aware that commercial aviation in Europe was far ahead of the United States. He told the readers of his weekly newspaper column that "Europe is using Aeroplanes and flying everywhere" while he expanded and emphasized this sentiment in a *Post* article:⁸

The field [an airfield in Moscow] was full of Airplanes; there must have been eight or ten single-seaters up doing their stuff. Now just the last few days you have read about the advance in aviation and the amount of planes that Russia has. Now that is what I am trying to get you to understand. These Guys over here in Europe, no matter how little or big the country, they have left the ground and are in the air. Nobody is walking but us; everybody else is flying.

The realization that Europe was surpassing his own country in commercial aviation disturbed Will and he returned home determined to promote this cause. Specifically, he used his touring road show in 1926 and 1927 to define the situation for the public. He dramatized his position by flying whenever possible.⁹

Once Rogers committed himself to the advocacy of commercial aviation, he supported that goal doggedly until his untimely death. Although usually cautious when it came to advocacy of government participation in the economy, he began propagating the idea of public subsidies for private aviation as early as 1927. At that time, in one of his weekly newspaper articles, he criticized federal officials for not aiding commercial air development "like the governments in Europe."¹⁰ The Oklahoman continued to

⁶ New York Times, August 22, 1926; Betty Rogers, *Will Rogers*, p. 188; Croy, *Our Will Rogers*, p. 203. Since grammatical and spelling errors were part of Will's written and oral style, no effort will be made to correct or designate them.

⁷ Will Rogers, "A Letter from a Self-Made Diplomat to His Constituents," *Saturday Evening Post*, January 8, 1927, p. 230.

⁸ New York Times, April 4, 1926; Will Rogers, "Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat to His President," *Saturday Evening Post*, October 23, 1926, p. 164. Copies of Will's newspaper columns dealing with aviation were provided by Reba Neighbors Collins, Curator of the Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore, Oklahoma.

⁹ Betty Rogers, *Will Rogers*, p. 203; Clancy, "Aviation's Patron Saint," pp. 284-285.

¹⁰ New York Times, April 17, 1927.

call for government assistance to civilian aviation over the years. In 1934, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt cancelled government mail contracts with commercial flying firms because some instances of fraud had been uncovered, Will used a radio broadcast to plead with the Chief Executive to reverse his decision. The humorist promised to help the President in his effort to lower interest rates "if you'll help me by countermandin' that order stoppin all the planes and air mail, you know. I hold no grief for any of those crooks that might have done somethin, but there's an awful lot of innocent people mixed up in it, and the pilots . . . who fly our mail—they're fine fellows. And I wish you'd just let 'em haul it. . . ." ¹¹ The satirist continued to show his concern over Roosevelt's action in a daily newspaper article when he stated that he wished "they would prosecute the crooks but not make a great growing industry suffer." "I hope," he concluded, "they don't stop every industry, where they find crookedness at the top." ¹²

Anyone who becomes the least bit familiar with what Will Rogers wrote and said soon realizes that he was a realist. This applied to his advocacy of commercial aviation as with almost every other subject he considered. The entertainer openly admitted that there were some difficulties connected with air travel. Specifically, he was quite candid about cramped sleeping accommodations and the possibility of getting air sick. He told, for example, a nationwide radio audience in 1934 that you could sleep fine on commercial flights "if there is just half as many passengers as there is seats for." "Well," he continued by recalling a personal experience, "I was just sleeping fine, just like Vice President Garner in his Senate Chair, till midnight when we hit Fort Worth and five more passengers got on. Then we had to sit up on our one chair." ¹³ On the topic of air sickness, Rogers explained: "Now the air is just the same as the ocean. I'm making no alibis for it. If its windy and rough, you are liable to feel your stomach rising and falling with the plane." ¹⁴ Although Will infrequently referred to some negative facets of air travel, his main thrust definitely emphasized the positive aspects of flying. The Cowboy Philosopher's obvious intention was to encourage the public to both support and use commercial aviation. In this effort, and despite his wife's views to the contrary, the Oklahoman chose what he saw as the safe nature of commercial flying for special emphasis. He periodically

¹¹ Will Rogers, Gulf Oil Radio Broadcast, February 11, 1934, verbatim copy. All radio broadcast transcripts are courtesy of the Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore, Oklahoma.

¹² New York Times, February 12, 1934.

¹³ Will Rogers, Gulf Oil Radio Broadcast, January 28, 1934, copy made by Will Rogers Memorial.

¹⁴ Carl Stearns Clancy interview with Will Rogers cited in Clancy, "Aviation's Patron Saint," p. 285; Will Rogers, "Bucking a Head Wind," *Saturday Evening Post*, January 28, 1928, p. 7.



Rogers often traveled with pilots carrying mail (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore).

informed his nationwide audience of mathematical data which dramatized this position. "This line we have just left," he wrote while recounting a flight experience for the *Saturday Evening Post* during early 1928, "... has a very remarkable record that will compare with the Boeing or Western Air. . . . They have flown over 1,000,000 miles [in less than a year] and no injury to anyone. . . . Their planes fly 5,000 miles every day."¹⁵

Will did not limit his comments regarding the safety of commercial air travel to simply quoting statistics. He went into great detail explaining the many factors which resulted in such success. Specifically, he lauded the engineering excellence of the planes, the expertise of service crews, and the ability of pilots who could handle their aircraft in any kind of weather. He emphasized the extensive safety precautions which had been applied to assure safe transit. These included a string of lighthouses, emergency landing fields, fuel stations, and flashing lights which extended from coast to coast so that in good weather planes were never without visual assistance, well-lighted landing strips for night travel, radios which provided constant contact with the ground, instruments that aided pilots in finding airports when visibility was poor, the use of parachutes as a last resort, and an extremely cautious attitude concerning avoiding bad weather by either flying around it or staying on the ground until conditions improved. Rogers summarized these ideas in an effective comment which personalized his position:¹⁶

Why, these fellows [the pilots] are the most careful ones in the world. They have all flown enough to know the danger of it. Do you think they are purposely taking a chance with their lives? I always figure their lives are worth more than mine. I've lived mine and had my fling, while most of theirs is in front of them. I don't advise flying with anybody that happens to have a thing that is shaped like an airplane, But I do advise with the utmost confidence anyone flying with our real recognized passenger lines.

There is guys trying to fly planes in this country that couldn't keep a kite up on a windy day, and they have some 1910 cars with wings fastened on 'em and a propeller where a bumper ought to be. But these real boys, they have a dozen different things up their sleeves to do in case of any kind of danger. I will get in one and start for the Fiji Islands with an Army, Navy or Mail Pilot if he says he thinks he can make it.

¹⁵ Will Rogers, "Bucking a Head Wind," p. 36; Betty Rogers, *Will Rogers*, p. 201; *New York Times*, November 15, 1931; and August 18, 1935.

¹⁶ Will Rogers, "Flying and Eating My Way From Coast to Coast," *Saturday Evening Post*, January 21, 1928, p. 114; *New York Times*, February 20, 1928; November 16, 1928; October 30, 1929; March 1, 1931; April 20, 1933; April 30, 1933; and August 18, 1935; Will Rogers, "Bucking a Head Wind," pp. 6-7, 40; Clancy, "Aviation's Patron Saint," p. 285.



Seen here with a pilot, Rogers consistently promoted the safety of commercial aviation (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore).

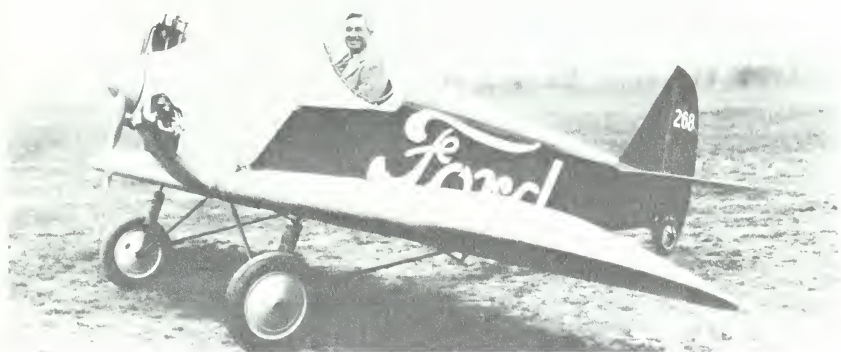
Because Rogers felt so strongly about the safety of commercial air travel, he thought the general population's hesitancy toward flying was caused by a lack of "nerve." This assumption led him to goad his non-flying fellow citizens into action through intimidation. He indirectly compared them to an "old fellow" in his home town of Oologah, Oklahoma, who had never ridden a train. "We used to point him out," he continued, "and laugh."¹⁷ Rogers made regular references to the statistical safety of air transportation as compared to automobiles, busses, trains or boats. A daily telegram in 1928 related: "There were eight people killed all over America in planes Sunday If there was a single state that didn't get that many in automobiles yesterday it was simply because it fell below its average." This line of thought was taken up again when Will compared the safety record of a commercial airline which actually travelled 5,000 miles every twenty-four hours with the likely accident rate a theoretical group of automobiles might be expected to experience in covering the same distance during a day. He predicted the automobile drivers would discover they possessed "more cemeteries than they [had] automobiles. You don't have to stop to figure out which is the safer," he concluded with characteristic humor. "All you have to do is to compare the intelligence of the men that Pilot Planes with the intelligence of everybody that drives a car."¹⁸

Because of his strong belief in the safety of commercial aviation, Rogers sharply criticized what he regarded as the excessive coverage which newspapers gave to airplane accidents. He clearly thought such exposure not only presented a distorted view of aviation safety but also frightened the public into adopting a negative attitude toward commercial air travel. "When will the newspapers commence giving aviation an even break?," he lamented in a daily newspaper article during 1928. "There were eight people killed all over America in planes Sunday and it's headlined in every newspaper today." A little over a year later he echoed these same sentiments concerning another air disaster and sadly reflected that the "tremendous publicity all over the country" would "no doubt have a tendency with some of the more skeptical ones to say that aviation is unsafe."¹⁹ Due to his concern over the amount of publicity received by flying "mishaps," Will made "light" of several minor accidents in which he was involved. And, when he fractured his ribs in a serious crash, he "managed to conceal it entirely

¹⁷ Will Rogers, "Flying and Eating," p. 3; *New York Times*, April 4, 1926.

¹⁸ Will Rogers, "Bucking a Head Wind," p. 36; *New York Times*, April 30, 1928; November 16, 1928; and September 8, 1929; William Howard Payne and Jake G. Lyons, comps. and eds., *Folks Say of Will Rogers: A Memorial Anecdote* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1936), pp. 209-210.

¹⁹ *New York Times*, September 8, 1929; and April 30, 1928.



Rogers in a Ford experimental plane (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

from the newspapers" because he feared it "would be bad publicity" for aviation.²⁰

Next to safety, Rogers stressed the speed and convenience of air travel more than any other aspect of flying in his effort to present a positive view of aviation. For example, he read the following telegram from Charles Lindbergh to the Dwight Morrors on a 1930 radio broadcast: "Dear Mr. and Mrs. Morrow, I left Mexico City this morning at six o'clock. I arrived at Guatemala at 7:13. I was 13 hours and 13 minutes in the air. It will take this letter 12 days to reach you. If we had air mail, it would reach you tomorrow night."²¹ Rogers' most extensive commentary concerning the advantages of speed appear in two lengthy articles he wrote for the *Saturday Evening Post* in 1928: "Flying and Eating My Way West" and "Bucking a Head Wind." These selections purportedly described the record-breaking round-trip transcontinental flight he made during late 1927 in an air mail plane. Topically, they compared the satirist's progress across the country with a fictitious friend who left California by train a half-day earlier headed for New York. The Oklahoman tellingly described how he completed his round-trip excursion from coast to coast before his rail-

²⁰ Betty Rogers, *Will Rogers*, pp. 201-202.

²¹ Will Rogers, *Twelve Radio Talks Delivered by Will Rogers During the Spring of 1930 Through the Courtesy of E. R. Squibb and Sons* (n.p.: E. R. Squibb & Sons, 1930), May 11, 1930, p. 21.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

traveling acquaintance reached Cleveland, Ohio, going east. The most effective portion of these pieces concerned a purported conversation that took place on the observation platform of a westward-moving train as Will's plane flew past. The humorist described the situation as follows:²²

The train was just at that time passing an old wagon that some old mover was going from one part of the Country to the other in. It was covered.

Now I got pretty good hearing when the wind is blowing right. There was a bunch of fellows sitting out on the Observation, fanning themselves and wiping the cinders off their faces and ordering ice water to try to keep cool while they were crossing the desert. As they passed the old fellow in a Wagon, they all looked at him. One spoke. But they all had the same thought, even if he hadent spoke it for them:

"Well, that's a pretty tough way to travel. Just think how the old-timers had to get from one place to another, and to think that poor deveil is doing it still."

"Well, it's his own fault. Why don't he sell that old outfit and get on a train? It's his own fault."

"Well, some people just don't take to progress even when it's brought right to em," said another of the group. "Just think, that fellow maybe left Salt Lake before we left New York City, and this is all the further he is."

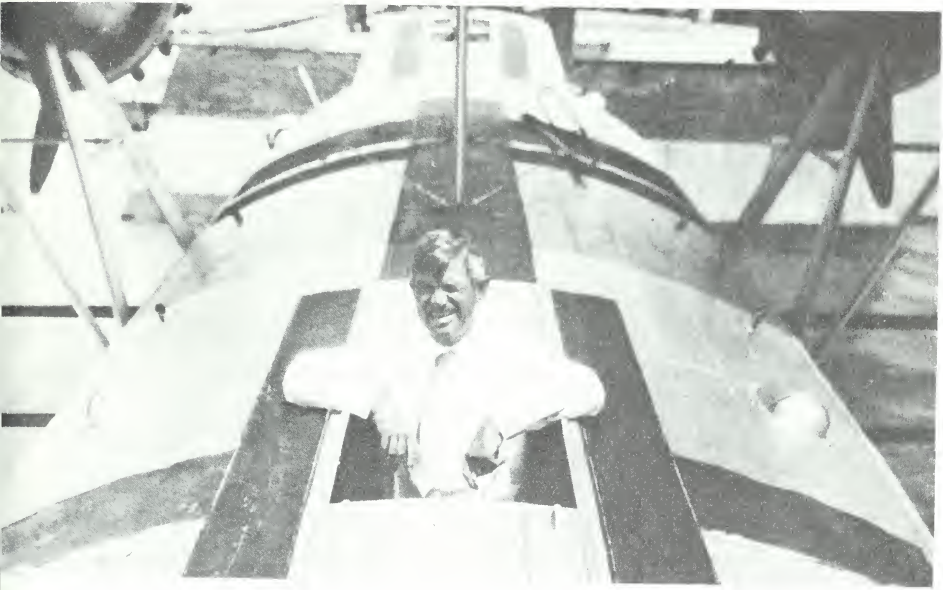
Another spoke up: "Well, the only way you can account for it is that he just don't know any better. It's people like him that can't see things that's holding this country out here back. They need some Eastern Pep and life and Gogetem, and wake-up-and-move-around spirit out here."

I was sorry I couldn't hear more, but we were passing so fast that's all I could grab. I think I will go down to the Depot tomorrow night when they get in and hear the rest of it, for it's that go-getem Eastern spirit that we need.

As is frequently the case, childhood experiences provide insights into Rogers' personality and help explain his affinity for aviation. One such development occurred when young Willie, as the Rogers family called him, was only ten years old. At that time, the youngster's mother, Mary Schrimsher Rogers, died. Willie loved his mother deeply and her passing removed much of the love, warmth, and security which the youth had previously associated with home. Some forty years later a mature and famous Will Rogers verbalized these feelings when he told a radio audience: "My own mother died when I was ten years old. My folks have told me that what little humor I have comes from her. I can't remember her humor but I can remember her love and understanding of me."²³

²² Will Rogers, "Bucking a Head Wind," pp. 38, 40; "Flying and Eating," pp. 113-114, 117; and Betty Rogers, *Will Rogers*, pp. 200-201.

²³ Will Rogers, *Twelve Radio Talks*, 11 May 1930, p. 21; Interview with Paula M. Love, 31 December 1970; Harold Keith, *Boys' Life of Will Rogers* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell



Seen here in a seaplane, Rogers' interest in aviation was unlimited (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

Mary Rogers' death seemed to launch Willie on a search to replace the love and sense of security which had been taken from him. Soon after this event, the young Rogers began working on his father's, Clem Rogers', ranch as a cowboy. The rambling life of the open range and the dream of becoming a great rancher agreed with him and appeared to soften the passing of his mother. Unfortunately this second love was also taken from the maturing Oklahoman when squatters began to move onto his father's land, put up fences, and divided it into small farms. Rogers told his nephew, Herb McSpadden, he "wasn't used to getting off his pony every few minutes to open a gate, or to working cattle in a fence corner."²⁴ He gave definition to these feelings when he wrote years later:²⁵

Company, 1938), p. 45. Paula M. Love was Will's niece and Curator of the Will Rogers Memorial in Claremore, Oklahoma.

²⁴ Harold Keith interview with Herb McSpadden cited in Keith, *Boys' Life of Will Rogers*, p. 176; Betty Rogers, *Will Rogers*, p. 56; William Richard Brown, "The Rhetorical Techniques of Will Rogers," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Oklahoma, 1964), p. 174; Donald Day, ed., *The Autobiography of Will Rogers* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1949), p. xiv.

²⁵ Betty Rogers, *Will Rogers*, p. 56.

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No greater, no happier life in the world than that of the cattleman. I have been on the stage for twenty years and I love it, but do you know, really, at heart, I love ranching. I have always regretted that I didn't live thirty or forty years earlier, and in the same old country—the Indian Territory [Oklahoma]. I would have liked to have gotten there ahead of the 'nesters,' the barbed wire fence and so-called civilization. I wish I could have lived my whole life then and drank out of a gourd instead of a paper envelope.

With the passing of the open range, Will lost his sense of belonging for a second time and was cruelly forced to begin the search for security, love, and identity once again.²⁶

There seems to be a very real question as to whether Will Rogers ever completely succeeded in the emotional pilgrimage to replace the sense of security he lost due to his mother's death and the closing of the frontier. His adult life was characterized by a feeling that something was missing. That something he defined as lack of excitement and adventure. "Besides," he wrote in a candid weekly newspaper article during 1933, "I haven't even started living. I am going to cut loose here some day and try and get some life into my life and even then it won't be fit to tell about. The first part will be uninteresting and the last part will be too scandalous."²⁷

Will's feeling that there was something incomplete about his life probably explains the strong attraction which travel held for him. Being constantly on the move is one way of searching for things and there can be no doubt that he liked mobility. Spi Trent, Will's cousin and boyhood companion, and Betty Rogers both described Will as having a nervous temperament which kept him continually busy and on the move. Trent, for example, stated in his book, *My Cousin Will Rogers, Intimate and Untold Tales*, that his famous relation had always suffered from a "certain old disease" which periodically goaded him "like the pesterin of a bluebottle fly in August. And that disease was Roamin."²⁸ Paula McSpadden Love, the Cowboy Philosopher's niece, sometimes traveling companion, and Curator of the Will Rogers Memorial for years, recognized this same characteristic in her uncle's personality. "Any kind of trip was fun for Will;" she wrote, "by rail, air, car, horse or carriage—just so he was traveling."²⁹ As

²⁶ Day, *Autobiography of Will Rogers*, p. xiv.

²⁷ *Atlanta Journal*, June 11, 1933; Jerome Beatty, *The Story of Will Rogers* (New York: Soalfeld Publishing Company, 1935), p. 30; Day, *Autobiography of Will Rogers*, p. xiv. The *New York Times* does not contain all of Will's syndicated newspaper pieces. Where such omissions occur, the *Atlanta Journal* is used as a source.

²⁸ Spi M. Trent, *My Cousin Will Rogers, Intimate and Untold Tales* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1938), p. 209; Betty Rogers, *Will Rogers*, pp. 113-114, 117.

²⁹ Paula McSpadden Love, comp., *The Will Rogers Book* (New York and Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1961), p. 147.

WILL ROGERS' VISION OF THE FUTURE



Pictured here with Billy Mitchell, Rogers supported an expanded Army Air Corps (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

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Will's career developed and his schedule became more hectic, he was obviously and increasingly attracted to aviation because it alone provided the means to engage in the extensive travel required by his temperament.

Another facet of Rogers' personality also drew him to flying. His wife described how, despite ever mounting demands upon his time, the comedian refused to "plan ahead" and insisted on living a "casual day-to-day existence" which avoided "prearranged plans." "If he wanted to do something, he wanted to do it immediately."³⁰ And that dictated the use of the airplane as the only means of getting from place to place.

Will's work represents a final factor which helps to explain why he became so enamored with the convenience (speed) of commercial aviation. By the late 1920s, he was producing a prodigious amount of material. He had a nationally syndicated daily and weekly newspaper column, wrote special articles for popular magazines including *The American Magazine*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and *Life Magazine*, regularly toured the country on lecture trips, was one of the nation's most popular after-dinner speakers, and periodically performed on radio. Ever since his early days in the "Ziegfeld Follies," the satirist had based his humor largely on contemporary events. The numerous mediums which he worked through by the mid-1920s required a continually increasing amount of this type material. Since Rogers was not "satisfied with second-hand information," the only way he could acquire such knowledge was to be on the move; seeing things and talking to people.³¹ He described this condition in a 1934 radio broadcast: "That's why people ask me . . . They say, Will, why do you run around? . . . You have got to travel; you've got to go places in order to see things to talk about."³² And the most effective way to get around was obviously by flying.

Not all the positive characteristics which Rogers attributed to commercial aviation received the extensive attention he conferred upon "safety" and "speed." For example, he only infrequently mentioned what he considered to be an excellent record of punctuality. The relative comfort temperature of air travel as opposed to various types of ground transportation received even less consideration.³³

The scenic beauty of flying, like the characteristic of speed, not only represented a positive attribute of aviation which Will extolled, but explained part of his fascination with air travel. He described the uniquely

³⁰ Betty Rogers, *Will Rogers*, p. 173.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 242-243.

³² Will Rogers, Gulf Oil Radio Broadcast, 7 October 1934, verbatim copy.

³³ New York *Times*, July 29, 1928; and April 30, 1931; Will Rogers, "Bucking a Head Wind," pp. 3-4, 6, 114; "Flying and Eating," pp. 3-4.

aesthetic character of ground lights at night, "the inland passage to Alaska," the "valley of Mexico City," the "Grand Canyon," and Japan's "Mount Fujiyama" when viewed from the air.³⁴ Carl Sterns Clancy's version of an interview he had with Rogers expressed these views clearly, but in a finished literary style uncharacteristic of Will: "Why, it's [flying] like sitting astride a lively cloud and sailing over the earth with a marvelous ever-changing mountain-top view beneath you. In the east you get the colorful panoramas of spring's tender greens and autumn's gorgeous foliage. Out west you soar over magnificent painted deserts lonesome as the moon. . . ."³⁵

The scenery available to air travelers drew Rogers to aviation because it allowed him to escape career pressures; especially the numerous fans who continually sought him out and drained his energies. He used flying as a "diversion," a place for regeneration, introspection, and reflection, where, as the satirist visualized it himself, "you can just sit up there in the middle of some clouds, or maybe fog, and you don't even have to worry."³⁶ Since passengers on commercial flights were "mighty secretive" and didn't "talk much," Rogers confided to researcher David Randolph Milsten, "no one but me knows what I think about as I fly from place to place."³⁷

Viewing specific characteristics of commercial aviation favorably represented only one manner in which Will Rogers supported that fledgling industry. Another way he endeavored to get public and governmental opinion behind aviation was to extol all new developments. For example, the creation and expansion of commercial mail and freight lines, usually the initial step in the evolution of more general civilian aviation capabilities, always attracted the Oklahoman's comment and approval. He manifested this attitude in 1935 by enthusiastically relating that there were "seventy commercial planes operating every day" in Alaska.³⁸

If the growth of mail and freight lines pleased Rogers, increased public utilization of commercial passenger planes made him absolutely euphoric. He happily viewed his own inability to get a seat on a mail line (in the 1920s the only available air service to many areas was provided by mail planes) in 1928 as indicative of increasing public use of commercial flying. By the late 1920s, his newspaper articles gleefully referred to the fact that

³⁴ New York Times, August 24, 1928; November 15, 1931; December 8, 1931; April 18, 1933; and August 7, 1935.

³⁵ Clancy, "Aviation's Patron Saint," p. 285.

³⁶ New York Times, July 21, 1935; Interview with Will Rogers, Jr., 19 March 1971; Payne and Lyons, comps. and eds., *Folks Say*, pp. 88, 209.

³⁷ Interview with Will Rogers, n. d., cited in David Randolph Milsten, *An Appreciation of Will Rogers* (San Antonio, Tex.: Naylor Company, 1935), pp. 255-256; New York Times (Magazine Section) 21 July 1935.

³⁸ New York Times, August 13, 1935.

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all seats were taken on many of the passenger line flights. He elaborated on this trend in 1930 by describing how the Tulsa, Oklahoma, airport had processed "354 passengers" in one day, and again in 1933 by exclaiming: "At midnight when you are asleep there is eighty airplanes in the air in this country, forty of 'em carrying passengers."³⁹ The constantly increasing number of air line companies and new routes combined with the attendant expansion and development of new and old facilities like airports, hangers, and equipment also satisfied the humorist: "It's just getting," he concluded by 1931, "so there is nowhere in this country you want to go, between two real towns, where they haven't got a reliable air line."⁴⁰

Expansion in the areas of physical growth and extended service constituted only some of the constructive advances in commercial aviation which Will shared with his constituents. Others dealt with the increasing practicality and utility of passenger service per se. The popular commentator had perceived a need for this type improvement during 1928 when he wrote that the only remaining needs in the sphere of passenger service were "bigger planes, with more comfort and convenience for the passengers."⁴¹ He was obviously delighted when such progress began to take place during the early 1930s. Specifically, the satirist voiced extreme pleasure when the cost of flying on commercial passenger planes became competitive with railroad fares. "It was an ordinary, regular passenger line and on regular passenger ships," he told a radio audience in 1930 while describing a recent flight, "for about the same fare as you would pay, you know, on a train, including your Pullman fare."⁴² Will dramatized the fact that flying cost no more than rail transportation by continually telling his public how much specific flights cost him. For example, he informed the readers of his newspaper column that the fare for flying the 1,200 miles from El Paso, Texas, to Mexico City was only seventy-five dollars.⁴³

The increasing speed and comfort of air passenger service constituted additional improvements in the areas of practicality and utility which attracted Rogers' attention. During early 1933, he proudly told of a flight in which he had traveled from Los Angeles to Sacramento, California, a distance of "411 miles, in two hours flat."⁴⁴ A short time later he described another trip in a new large twin-engine Boeing plane which cruised at 180

³⁹ *Ibid.*, February 17, 1930; August 5, 1928; September 17, 1929; and May 27, 1933.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, April 29, 1931; March 21, 1928; June 3, 1929; August 18, 1929, April 20, 1931; May 12, 1933; and May 21, 1933.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, August 5, 1928.

⁴² Will Rogers, *Twelve Radio Talks*, June 8, 1930, p. 36.

⁴³ *New York Times*, April 6, 1921.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, January 22, 1933.



Rogers maintained close ties with commercial aviators. Here he is seen with Charles S. "Casey" Jones, President of the Curtiss Flying Service [left] (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

miles per hour. "You see," he concluded, "all our advancement in speed [up to this time] has been made with small single-motored ships. But now they are out to cut the flying time [of passenger service planes] at least a third."⁴⁵ The development of comfortable sleeping accommodations, whether with pullman-like berths or seats which folded out into a bed, also represented progress to Rogers. "There is your success of passenger aviation," he exclaimed. "Fix it so everybody can lie down and have a good sleep. . . ."⁴⁶ Will added an exclamation point to his views concerning the increasingly attractive aspects of flying for the commercial passenger when he invited Eugene L. Vidal, Director of the Bureau of Air Commerce, to appear on

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, April 28, 1933.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, October 22, 1933; and February 10, 1935.

one of his radio programs during late 1934. Vidal emphasized the growing practicality and utility of flying for the average citizen as follows: "Ten years ago he [Rogers] was asking for and using one air sickness receptacle for fifty miles. Five years ago, about one for five hundred miles. Lately—none. Thus, the picture of today's air travel in [a] modern airliner—fast, smooth, vibrationless, sound-proof, cooled or heated, comfortable, roomy, and untouched air sick containers."⁴⁷

The increasing number of persons flying private airplanes and the achievements of individual aviators during the 1920s and 1930s had no direct relationship with commercial aviation. Yet, by inference and association, progress in these areas suggested the possibility of further growth in the commercial sphere. Thus, Will Rogers' favorable consideration of such topics represented yet another facet of his effort to support commercial aviation by giving exposure to positive developments in that area. For example, he infrequently told his public about the growing number of people, especially friends like Fred Stone, Ken Maynard, Frank Borgage, and Wallace Beery, who flew their own planes. "I should say," he wrote as early as 1928, "that there is as many private planes in use now as there was private autos at the same stage of the automobile business."⁴⁸ Although the Oklahoman viewed the expansion of private aviation as constructive, his comments concerning such trends never rivaled the unrestrained accolades he continuously heaped upon the fliers who designed new equipment and established records in speed, distance, altitude, and endurance. Charles Lindbergh, Wiley Post, Harold Gatty, Kingsford Smith, Amelia Earhart, Frank Hawks, and Jimmy Doolittle received special and continual praise from Rogers. His comments concerning Lindbergh's epochal flight across the Atlantic Ocean in the "Spirit of St. Louis" were representative of this attitude: "The ones of us here now will never live to see a thing that will give us a bigger kick than his [Lindbergh's] flight did. It was the greatest wished-for, and prayed-for achievement that ever happened or ever will happen in our lifetime. Prayers was what he was sailing on."⁴⁹

Rogers used one additional type of aviation "development" to marshal support for commercial flying; projected future advances. By the late 1920s, he was employing the power of positive thinking to assure that "*travel by air is here to stay, and all the doubt in the world can't stop it.*" This being the case, the humorist thought plane accidents would eventually be taken

⁴⁷ Will Rogers, Gulf Oil Radio Broadcast, December 30, 1934, verbatim copy.

⁴⁸ New York Times, August 5, 1928; and December 20, 1931.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, June 5, 1927; July 21, 1933; April 28, 1935; and May 8, 1935; Will Rogers, Gulf Oil Radio Broadcast, November 4, 1934; January 20, 1935; and February 3, 1935, verbatim copy.

"as a matter of fact"—just like any other mishap.⁵⁰ A short time earlier he had reflected a similar stance when describing Captain Eddie Rickenbacker's belief that the immediate future's "demand for air travel: would 'far exceed the available planes.'" "It's [aviation] got past the boosting stage," the World War I ace concluded, "its in with the necessities now."⁵¹

Rogers quickly expanded his horizons from this rather modest view of possible future growth. By the early 1930s, he was not only predicting faster planes with sleeping berth facilities, but airships which could cruise from 150 miles per hour up to "the rate of a thousand miles an hour."⁵² This prognostication should not have surprised his public, however, since the satirist had previously and enthusiastically discussed Henry Ford's idea that "the future will see a plane that will have 10 or 20 engines and carry 100 people [and be] strong enough to buck all the winds and storms."⁵³ The culmination of these futuristic visions came on radio when Rogers gave his guest Vidal an opportunity to share his ideas concerning possible advances in the private plane category. Vidal responded:⁵⁴

Within a few months new advance types of pleasure craft for private owners now being constructed for our bureau will be completed and flown. If satisfactory, a great step forward will have been taken towards producing an airplane which will be easy to control and fly, safer in that it will not fall off or spin, one which can be flown with little practice and from small fields, and which when produced in volume will approximate the price of automobiles.

Another way Will Rogers supported commercial aviation during the 1920s and 1930s was by giving personal aid to specific projects like airport expansion and the development of improved ground guidance systems. The Oklahoman's interest in the latter crystallized on a lecture tour during 1928. While making a day flight in good weather, his pilot became disoriented and was forced to land as a means of determining which town he was flying over. This experience convinced Rogers that every hamlet should paint its name on the top of some prominent building so as to be easily identifiable from the air. Having made such a determination, he launched a campaign in support of that objective and even went so far as to offer to pay for the paint used in each town. He was forced to renege on this arrange-

⁵⁰ *New York Times*, September 8, 1929.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, August 18, 1929.

⁵² *Ibid.*, March 1, 1931; and May 21, 1933; Will Rogers, Gulf Oil Radio Broadcast, January 28, 1934, Will Rogers Memorial copy.

⁵³ *New York Times*, October 30, 1927.

⁵⁴ Will Rogers, Gulf Oil Radio Broadcast, December 30, 1934, verbatim copy.



Rogers promoted airmail contracts with privately owned airlines (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

ment when incoming bills for paint exceeded all expectations. Nevertheless, he campaigned to make all towns recognizable from the air.⁵⁵

Rogers assisted the development of airport facilities by encouraging every town to acquire "a flying field even if you have to trade your Chamber of Commerce for it."⁵⁶ He went so far as to permit use of one of the polo fields at his California home as a landing field. And he criticized cities which lacked airports and praised those which developed facilities. The difference between his reactions to New York City and Tulsa defines this clearly. Of New York, he wrote: "There is twenty Golf courses nearer New York than any flying field they have and it takes less ground to land on than to make a golf course on, yet the biggest City in the world has no regular place to land. You lose more time getting into the city than you save by flying there."⁵⁷ In sharp contrast, the essayist lauded Tulsa for being "the first town in America to become a city." This evaluation evidently rested upon his conviction that Tulsa's airport was "one of the best and busiest" in the country.⁵⁸ A few years earlier, the Oklahoman had emphasized how Tulsa's terminal could process "354 passengers" in one day and "16,500" during a single year.⁵⁹

Perhaps the most effective way in which Will Rogers supported commercial aviation was by example. He toured the entire globe, crossed the North American continent from coast to coast on numerous occasions, frequently visited other areas of the world, and took innumerable short trips inside the United States by air. He publicized these travels through the various media available to him. And always Rogers emphasized that he flew whenever possible and was periodically accompanied by his wife and some of his children. His niece, Paula McSpadden Love, defined how this publicized use of air travel helped create public support for commercial aviation: "Because he [Will] flew so much when the industry [aviation] was in its primary stages, he gave confidence and approval to this then new mode of transportation."⁶⁰ Carl Stearns Clancy suggested the same thing

⁵⁵ *New York Times*, May 27, 1928; and September 3, 1928; Clancy, "Aviation's Patron Saint," p. 286.

⁵⁶ *New York Times*, September 3, 1928; Clancy, "Aviation's Patron Saint," p. 286.

⁵⁷ Will Rogers, "Bucking a Head Wind," p. 36; Mayme Obet Peak, Will Rogers: America's Court Jester (unpublished article manuscript), p. 2, courtesy of the Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore, Oklahoma; Clancy, "Aviation's Patron Saint," p. 286.

⁵⁸ *New York Times*, May 12, 1933.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, February 17, 1930.

⁶⁰ Love, *Will Rogers Book*, p. 147; Trent, *My Cousin*, p. 190; *New York Times*, April 30, 1931; August 22, 1926; November 15, 1931; December 8, 1931; November 6, 1932; September 3, 1934; and August 18, 1935; Will Rogers, Gulf Oil Radio Broadcast, December 30, 1934, verbatim copy.

with the subtitle to his 1929 article describing Will as "Aviation's Patron Saint." "The Proof," the secondary title read, "of the Aviation Pudding is in the Flying. Will Rogers, Famous Unofficial Ambassador, is Furnishing That Proof in His Daily Business Life."⁶¹ Director of the Bureau of Air Commerce Vidal made a similar point when he appeared on the Rogers' radio program during 1934 and described his host as "aviation's star passenger and one of its greatest boosters and friends. . . ."⁶²

One final characteristic of Will Rogers' response to the airplane industry requires attention. It concerns the motivating factors which led him to support the development of commercial flying capabilities. Just as his reaction to specific facets of flying explained why he was attracted to air travel, the consistent intensity of his commitment to commercial aviation indicates that his advocacy rested upon strong convictions. Specifically, the Oklahoman thought that the military security of the United States depended on the existence of a strong commercial aviation industry. In order to understand this aspect of his outlook, it is necessary to examine Rogers' view of international relations.

Rogers projected a realism which reflected nationalistic, isolationist (opposition to United States' military intervention in other areas of the world), and pacifist leanings when he considered international affairs. For example, he opposed military conflict since the destruction inherent in war made it apparent that armed hostilities represented "the only game in the world where there is absolutely no winner—everybody loses."⁶³ At the same time, the entertainer realized the unlikely prospect of achieving peace and disarmament. "I am only an ignorant Cowpuncher," he wrote as early as 1923, "but there ain't nobody on earth, I don't care how smart they are, going to make me believe they will ever stop wars."⁶⁴ Because Will adopted a negative attitude toward war while recognizing the improbability of realizing peace and disarmament, he took the position that the United States should maintain a high degree of military preparedness. Rogers thought this might enable the United States to remain safely behind its natural geographic boundaries while avoiding needless involvement in foreign conflicts.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Clancy, "Aviation's Patron Saint," p. 283.

⁶² Will Rogers, Gulf Oil Radio Broadcast, December 30, 1934, verbatim copy.

⁶³ Will Rogers, "Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat to His President," *Saturday Evening Post*, October 2, 1926, p. 170.

⁶⁴ New York *Times*, July 22, 1923.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Will Rogers, Gulf Oil Radio Broadcast, June 10, 1934, verbatim copy; Will Rogers, "More Letters from a Self-Made Diplomat to His President," *Saturday Evening Post*, June 9, 1928, p. 42.

It was natural for Rogers, considering his belief that a strong military establishment provided the best chance of the United States' avoiding war, to become interested in the subject of military capability. He concluded quickly that air power would be a critical, and possibly the essential, factor in future wars. "But what any sane person absolutely knows," he wrote in 1927, "[is] that *the success of the next war* is in the air. . . ."⁶⁶ Rogers developed his ideas concerning the strategic nature of military aviation and the need for his country to build a large air force in a 1926 series of articles for the *Saturday Evening Post* entitled, "Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat to His President." The most pertinent of these pieces constituted the core of a book in 1927; *There's Not a Bathing Suit in Russia & Other Bare Facts*. In it, Will wrote: "Now that is what I am trying to get you to understand. The Guys over here in Europe, no matter how little or how big the country, they have left the ground and are in the air. Nobody is walking but us; everybody else is flying. So in a few years, when somebody starts dropping something on us, don't say I didn't tell you."⁶⁷

Rogers' belief in military preparedness and the importance of air power was a strong motivating factor in his support of commercial aviation because he saw that industry as something which could be of military value during wartime. He thought, for example, that both commercial pilots and planes could be pressed into service during national emergencies. Furthermore, he visualized commercial flying as a means of exploring the airplane's tactical capabilities while creating interest in and acceptance of flying among the public. A 1927 weekly newspaper column expressed these attitudes as follows:⁶⁸

For the government gives those that do try to do something for commercial aviation no subsidy like the governments in Europe. Over there they figure the more they can get people used to air travel and the more they become accustomed to its possibilities why the more it gets all of them interested

⁶⁶ New York Times, April 17, 1927.

⁶⁷ Will Rogers, *There's Not a Bathing Suit in Russia & Other Bare Facts* (New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1927), p. 63. It should be noted that Will's friendship with and support of General Billy Mitchell probably helped solidify the entertainer's attitudes toward air power and military preparedness. Yet, the relationship with Mitchell does not, as some suggest, seem to have been the origin of Will's interest in either commercial or military aviation. As previously stated in this presentation, the Oklahoman's fascination with commercial aviation stemmed from the flying he did in Europe during 1926. And his support of military air power antedates the satirist's initial contact with Billy Mitchell on May 9, 1925, by almost two years. See New York Times, July 22, 1923; Clancy, "Aviation's Patron Saint," p. 284; Croy, *Our Will Rogers*, p. 142; Donald Day, *Will Rogers: A Biography* (New York: David McKay Company, 1962), pp. 165-166; Betty Rogers, *Will Rogers*, p. 289; Ruth Mitchell, "The Saga of General Billy Mitchell," *Readers Digest*, May, 1934, p. 178.

⁶⁸ New York Times, April 17, 1927.

in it. If we were told tomorrow that the future and safety of our country depended on football and athletics, why everybody the whole country over would be out practicing and all excited about it. But what any sane person absolutely knows [is] that *the success of the next war* is in the air: why they just drag along and think somebody is kidding 'em.

Less lengthy references bring the humorist's thought on this topic into perspective. "Aviation will save this country some day," he bluntly told his newspaper readers in 1932.⁶⁹ Four years earlier a *Saturday Evening Post* article had contained the same sort of succinct statement: "Lets get all the planes we can, do all the commercial aviation we can to keep the boys in training. . . ."⁷⁰

Any examination of the support Will Rogers gave commercial aviation during the 1920s and 1930s can logically conclude on a reflective note. He and Wiley Post, one of the era's greatest aviators, were killed in a tragic plane crash near Point Barrow, Alaska, on August 15, 1935. This incident, with the possible exception of Amelia Earhart's disappearance and the *Shenandoah* and *Hindenburg* disasters, was probably the most publicized air tragedy of the age in the United States. One cannot help but wonder if Will Rogers' efforts to aid the development of commercial aviation, especially his emphasis on the safety of air travel, were neutralized by the circumstances of his death. It is impossible to determine such matters, but perhaps the nature of his demise did not undermine his contribution. And possibly most people adopted a positive attitude toward flying when they associated the Oklahoman with air travel because he enjoyed and believed in it so much.⁷¹

Will Rogers was able to get away with things that would have been impossible for other performers; perhaps it was his disarming style, bearing and demeanor. The legendary W. C. Fields, an old friend and associate from Will Rogers' days in the "Ziegfeld Follies," described this phenomenon when he commented: "The audience howled at those jokes [Will's chancy jokes dealing with famous people and the supposedly forbidden topics of domestic and international affairs]." "If I had delivered them," Fields continued, "the audience would have swarmed up over the footlights and murdered me. But Rogers can get away with anything."⁷²

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, November 6, 1932.

⁷⁰ Will Rogers, "More Letters," p. 42.

⁷¹ Marvin Hamlisch (music) and Alan and Marilyn Bergman (lyrics) "The Way We Were," Music (New York: Colgems Music Corp., 1973); *New York Times*, August 17-23, 1935.

⁷² W. C. Fields to Jerome Beatty, n. d., cited in Beatty, *Story of Will Rogers*, p. 75; E. Paul Alworth Interview with Will Rogers, Jr., April 12, 1957, cited in Alworth, "Humor of Will Rogers," pp. 93-95, 97.

WILL ROGERS AND THE LANGUAGE OF THE SOUTHWEST: A CENTENNIAL PERSPECTIVE

*By Bruce Southard**

In this centennial year of his birth, Will Rogers remains for many a symbol of the quintessential Southwesterner. Clad in cowboy clothes, twirling a rope, and speaking in his Oklahoman "twang," Rogers displayed the wry good humor and common sense which Americans tend to view as essential components of the national character. Rogers was different from other American homespun, cracker-barrel philosophers, however, in that he was the "poet lariat," the "cowboy philosopher"—the embodiment of the American West. It is not a matter of chance, after all, that Rogers' name was the first to be enshrined at the Cowboy Hall of Fame. As Rogers the man came to be a symbol of the cowboy, so his language came to typify for many the language of the Southwest. Even today, almost forty-five years after his death, Rogers' words daily appear before the public as newspapers continue to run excerpts from his past columns. Although his films are now primarily of historical interest, a large portion of his writings remain as pertinent as on the day the words were first pecked out on his portable typewriter, complete with their comic spellings and joined together with Rogers' idiosyncratic punctuation system. The written language of the cowboy remains with us, even though the cowboy has gone.

In this brief article, I propose to examine the language of Will Rogers as being a model of the language of the Southwest. In choosing Rogers' language as a model, I am motivated by two factors. First, as mentioned above, Rogers came to symbolize the cowboy—the man of the Southwest. Second, there is no complete scholarly study of the language of the Southwest. Though dialect atlases either have been published or are nearing publication for every state east of the Mississippi (save the Gulf Coast States), no comprehensive dialect atlas has been prepared for any of the states west of the Mississippi. Thus, in defining the language of the Southwest, one cannot readily consult a linguistic atlas for matters concerning vocabulary items, pronunciation features, and syntactic constructions. The dialect studies completed in the eastern United States can serve as a touchstone, though, which will enable us to identify some of the significant features of Rogers' language and by extension those of the Southwest. Were the information gathered for the Gulf Coast States available, the language of the Southwest could be even more clearly defined, at least so far as Oklahoma is concerned, since many of the original settlers of Oklahoma—including Will Rogers'

* This author is Assistant Professor of English at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater.



Through his voluminous writings, Rogers' language came to typify the language of the Southwest (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

grandparents—moved, or were forced to move, to Indian Territory from Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. In the absence of that material, Oklahoma and other Southwestern states remain a virtual blank spot in the linguistic geography of the United States.

This blankness is not total, however, in that during the 1950s E. Bagby Atwood conducted a vocabulary study of Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, and the southern portions of Arkansas and New Mexico. Published as *The Regional Vocabulary of Texas* (University of Texas Press, 1962), Atwood's work is limited to a study of vocabulary items. Moreover, since only fifty field records were made in Oklahoma as compared to 322 in Texas, the analyses are concerned primarily with the speech of Texas; comments concerning Oklahoma are quite limited. By way of illustration, Atwood's major discussion of Oklahoma notes merely that if one were arbitrarily to divide the state into southern and northern halves, he would find the frequency of southern expressions declining from 51.3 percent in southern Oklahoma to 31.6 percent in the northern portion. Atwood adds that a number of words which should be considered as representative of a southern dialect are quite common in Texas, but appear seldom in Oklahoma. Such a brief analysis does not inspire confidence in one who wishes to examine the language of a man whose place of birth, Oologah, falls within the northern half of Oklahoma, but whose father fought for the Confederacy and whose mother received at least some of her education in Alabama. Atwood's work has other limitations. He defines "Southwestern" speech as being that of Southwest Texas, "the cradle of the cattle industry." As instances of "Southwestern" English, Atwood provides such terms as *resaca* (standing or impounded water), *hacienda*, *reata*, *chaparral*, and similar words of Spanish origin, none of which have I been able to locate in the writings of Will Rogers.

In examining the language of Will Rogers, then, I will ignore Atwood's definition of "Southwestern" English and will assume that Rogers' language is an exemplar of "Southwestern" speech. Whenever possible, I will point out instances of language usage that may profitably be compared to usage characteristic of the three major dialect areas of the eastern United States as defined by Hans Kurath. Because my data for this analysis of Rogers' language come almost entirely from his written works, discussion of pronunciation characteristics will be rather limited.¹ Those who have

¹ Specific lexical items in the text are from: *Talks for Twelve Radio Talks* (E. R. Squibb, 1930); *Ether for Ether and Me, Or "Just Relax,"* ed. Joseph A. Stout, Jr. (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University Press, 1973); *Digest for The Illiterate Digest*, ed. Joseph A. Stout, Jr. (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University Press, 1974); *Prohibition for The Cowboy Philosopher on Prohibition*, ed. Joseph A. Stout, Jr. (Stillwater, Oklahoma State University Press, 1975); *Conference for The*

examined Rogers' writings are aware of the bizarre spellings, random capitalizations, and idiosyncratic punctuations which characterize his style. Rogers frequently boasted that he never made it beyond McGuffey's *Fourth Reader* (though in point of fact he had an average education for his times), and undoubtedly he used such claims to help justify the non-standard spellings and punctuation which appeared in his works. Another factor contributing to the unusual appearance of his newspaper and magazine articles is that although he typed every article, he was a poor typist who frequently made typographical errors that he neglected to correct. In her study of Will Rogers, Reba Collins is careful to point out that many of the original manuscripts housed in the Rogers Collection at Claremore show evidence of editing not only by Rogers but also by the McNaught editors. Even so, punctuation, spelling, and capitalization are never made completely uniform. Since many of Rogers' misspellings and typographical errors found their way into print, I will for the most part ignore his deviations from standard written English, as it is often impossible to tell which "errors" were intended—either to enhance his image as a rustic or to indulge his readers' penchant for misspelled words—and which were unintentional.² By way of illustration, the original manuscript of *Ether and Me*, with Rogers' own editorial marks, has the especially apropos form "indigestion" appearing in his account of his gall stone problems. The published version of the story contains the less imaginative "indigestion."

One of the most characteristic features of Rogers' language is his use of Americanisms, especially words that came into existence in the latter half of the nineteenth century or early years of the twentieth. Listed below is a representative sampling of twenty such words appearing in his works, with each word followed by the date of its first appearance in print, as given by the *Dictionary of Americanisms*:

barbed wire: 1881 (*Talks*, p. 6)

bean [head]: 1911 (*Ether*, p. 25)

bird [in reference to a person]: 1852 (*Talks*, p. 3).

give one a *boost* [critical praise]: 1825 (*Prohibition*, p. 1)

Cowboy Philosopher on the Peace Conference, ed. Joseph A. Stout, Jr. (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University Press, 1975); *Letters for Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat to His President*, ed. Joseph A. Stout, Jr. (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University Press, 1977). Reba Neighbors Collins' "Will Rogers, Writer and Journalist" Unpublished Ed.D. Dissertation (Oklahoma State University, 1967). *Voice* refers to the American Heritage 1973 phonograph *The Voice of Will Rogers* (p. 11794).

² See E. Paul Alworth's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "The Humor of Will Rogers" (University of Missouri, 1958), for a discussion of Rogers and cacography. Especially pertinent are pages 112-114.

bronc: 1893 (*Ether*, p. 15)
 cracklins: 1842 (*Ether*, p. 2)
 fourflushing: 1901 (*Digest*, p. 2)
 hackamore: 1850 (*Ether*, p. 16)
 head man: 1880 (*Talks*, p. 6)
 highbinders: 1806 (*Digest*, p. 19)
 highfaluting: 1848 (*Digest*, p. 83)
 a lot of *hooey*: 1889 (*Talks*, p. 37)
 don't *knock* [criticize]: 1896 (*Prohibition*, p. 7)
 lickety split: 1876 (*Voice*)
 ornery: 1830 (*Ether*, p. 15)
 outriders: 1890 (*Ether*, p. 20)
 keep an eye *peeled* for: 1853 (*Letters*, p. 15)
 savied: 1878 (*Digest*, p. 207)
 shimmying: 1919 (*Ether*, p. 4)
 wise crack: 1926 (*Ether*, p. 20)

Coupled with this use of Americanisms is Rogers' use of American slang. By its very nature, slang is usually a part of the language long before it finds its way into print, but Rogers' slang appears to have been current. Below is a list of some typical slang expressions, with each expression followed by two dates. The first date represents the year when Rogers' material appeared in print; the second represents the year of first publication of the slang term as provided by the *Dictionary of American Slang*. Though the editors of the *Dictionary of American Slang*, Harold Wentworth and Stuart Berg Flexner, state that their dictionary is not a "historical" dictionary, they do state that they made every effort to find the first printed occurrence of each term. In that regard, it is interesting that Rogers' use of several of the slang expressions predates the *Dictionary of American Slang* citation.

"take a shot at *the whole works*": 1916, 1939 (Collins, p. 99)
 "going to lay my *chips* a little different": 1916, 1889 (Collins, p. 99)
 "That shows you how *hard up* they are for entertainment": 1930, 1955 (*Talks*, p. 3)
 "they have to *horn in* to everything": 1930, 1912 (*Talks*, p. 4)
 "I studied on the introduction Chapter till I thought I had it *down pat*": 1924, n.d. (*Digest*, p. 25)
 "I want it distinctly understood I don't *knock* Prohibition through any personal grudge": 1919, 1896 (*Prohibition*, p. 7)
 "... was about to *crab* [cancel/spoil] the show": 1919, 1929 (*Prohibition*, p. 21)
 "... pretty tough when the Pres *cops* your act": 1919, 1949 (*Conference*, p. 16)
 "... I had this last aspiring *wise crack*": 1929, 1926 (*Ether*, p. 20)

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Paul Alworth's study provides the following samples of Rogers' use of slang. I am unable to provide a date for the first appearance of these items in Rogers' writings, but have given the date cited by the *Dictionary of American Slang*; all but one of the items first appeared in print near the end of Rogers' career or after his death.

"a knockout" [in reference to a woman]: 1926

"hot dog" [as interjection]: 1924

"snooty": 1936

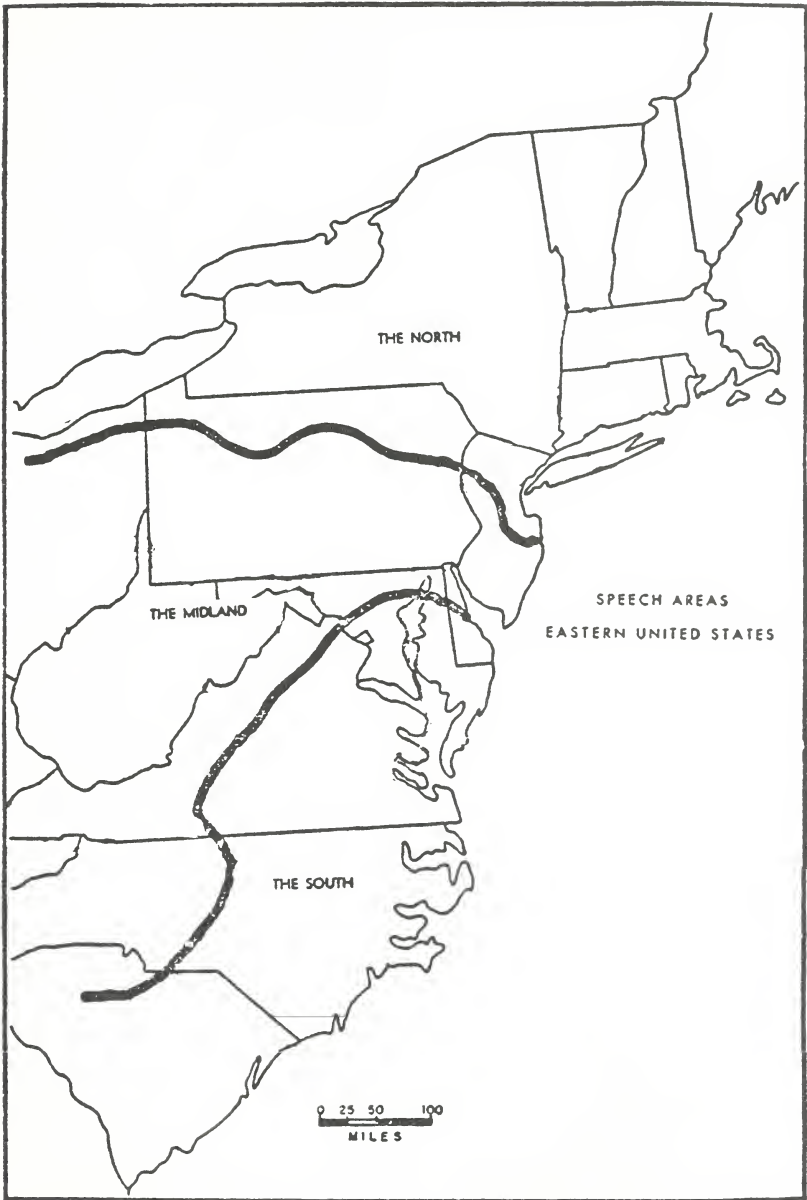
"hokum": 1917

"cockeyed": 1929

"sitting pretty": 1926

A third characteristic of Rogers' use of language was his penchant for puns. This trait is apparent in Rogers' writing before he became published, for in a letter to his future wife in 1907 he wrote, "So you snared you a *promising* lawyer. What all did he promise you, and you him?" In discussing his plans to write a newspaper column, Rogers averred that he was "going to lay my chips a little different from what they say those birds [baseball players fronting for ghost-written columns] do." While *chips* may refer to poker chips, *chips* was also a slang term for items in a newspaper. In a discussion of the Peace Conference held upon the conclusion of the first World War, Rogers wrote that "they cant let the Russians in this league or they would make a Bush League out of it." The expression *bush league* refers not only to the slang term for a poorly-run baseball minor league, but also to the stereotyped view of Russians as having huge beards, or bushes—an image that Rogers frequently invoked. Quite often Rogers' puns hinge on the spelling of words. In discussing the steamship accommodations for members of the United States delegation to the Peace Conference—a delegation noticeably lacking in Republicans—Rogers wrote, "Some Republican Senators went so far as to engage a lower birth." Rogers wryly noted that a Disarmament Conference, at which the United States was represented primarily by the military, was "a great move to passify the passafists," even though the military could not be expected to make any significant concessions.

At times Rogers' spellings led him to the creation of new words which often involved the use of a verbal affix on a noun. Thus, to a newspaper critic he wrote, "Who gave you your first job of criticing?" Regarding the fates of the Kaiser and the Czar, Rogers suggested that King George tell them that "I haven't got much power but I am still Kinging aint I." Other affixes were also attached to existing forms, as when he noted that, even



This map indicates the three major dialect areas of the eastern United States as defined by Hans Kurath (Courtesy of Hans Kurath, *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1949).

though the United States was participating in a number of international conferences, we remain "mighty poor conferees." At times, his new word was a clipping of an already existing form. Thus, "I just felt that he [the President] needed a foreign Diplomat that could really go in and dip." Perhaps the most fitting description of Rogers' use of words is offered by Rogers himself. In the "boost" to his *Illiterate Digest*, Rogers remarked of his own writings that "his jugglery of correct words and perfect English sentences is magical, and his spelling is almost uncanny."

Still another feature of Rogers' writings was his tendency to use words which conjure images of the West, even though the words themselves may not historically be identified as "Western" in origin. He advised his future wife not to be "so bullheaded." After having chewed gum for Ziegfeld for twelve years, he "never dropped a cud or anything." The United States was "sort of the polecat of nations" while England tried "to horn into everything." He had studied Emily Post until he was "just mangy with Etiquette." In his *Illiterate Digest*, he wanted "to enumerate a few of my qualifications for the position of Ambassador to the Court of James (I dont know whether it's St. or Jesse). But, anyway, it's some of the James Family." In describing the jockey Earl Sande, Rogers noted that "a surcingle was strapped around over his legs and around the horse. He was taken to the starting line on a straightaway and was 'lapped and tapped' off. . . . They began to notice that this kid really saved a horse." A final instance of Rogers' use of language evocative of the West appears in his comic account of his gall bladder operation in *Ether and Me*. A nurse who is to take a blood sample treats him "the same way we do when we are going to ear down a bronc to get a hackamore on him. She just slit the lower end of the heavy-set part of my ear. I told her my earmarks used to be; To crop and split the right and underslope the left. I didn't tell her, though, that we also dew-lapped 'em." Finally, Rogers was wheeled to the operating room with his "retinue of nurses and doctors as outriders."

It is interesting to note that although the language brings forth images of cows, horses, and cowboys, many of the words have been part of the English language for centuries. The *Oxford English Dictionary* provides the earliest citation for the following words: *bullheaded* (1818), *cud* (pre-1000), *mangy* (1540), *surcingle* (1390), *ear-marks* (1523), and *dewlapped* (1889).

To conclude this examination of Will Rogers' language, I would like to turn to those items which can be related to the major dialect areas of the eastern half of the United States. First of all, his writings contain several lexical items, such as *shucking* corn, *cracklins* and *chitlins*, and *you all*, that have been identified as characteristic of the Southern dialect area.³ The first brand used by Rogers when he took over his father's ranch was the *dog*

*iron*⁴—the Southern and South Midland term corresponding to the Northern *andiron*. Perhaps the most informative data concerning his regional dialect, though, can be found in his use of the past tense form of verbs. His writings abound with such past tense or past participle forms as *come*, *become*, *drinked*, *had drank*, *eat*, *having eat*, *run*, *sit*, *be showed*, *am swelled up*, *throwed*, and *was woke up*. In his *A Survey of Verb Forms in the Eastern United States* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1953), E. Bagby Atwood discusses such forms. Though most of these preterites and participles appear throughout the United States in the speech of those with little or no education, they occur with high frequency even among the educated in the South. For example, *come* as a past tense is used by seven-eighths of the Type II informants (those of fair education) in North Carolina. *Drinked* is almost the only form used by Type I informants (those of less education) in North Carolina and South Carolina, though it does occur with great frequency in New England. More than ninety percent of the Type I informants and over fifty percent of the Type II informants use *eat* as the preterite in North and South Carolina, with the frequency of occurrence increasing as one moves south. *Run* appears in the speech of both Type I and Type II informants almost to the exclusion of the standard form in those states included in the survey—Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia—which represent the Southern dialect area. In contrast, *run* as the preterite was not at all common in the North and appeared in less than fifty percent of the speech of Type II informants in the Midland dialect area. *Sit* as a preterite occurs with approximately the same frequency throughout all dialect areas, as does *showed* and *throwed*. *Swelled* as a past participle, on the other hand, occurs among three-fourths of Type I informants and one-half of the Type II informants in North Carolina. *Woke* was recorded only as a preterite form for the linguistic atlas survey upon which Atwood based his study, but he reports that three-fourths of the younger informants in North Carolina used the term, replacing the previously preferred *waked*. Other characteristics of Rogers' writing, such as frequent use of *ain't*, double negation, and subject-verb discord (*I says, you was*, etc.), though common throughout the United States, approach universal usage in the Southern dialect area. In short, Rogers' written language suggests very strongly that his speech is more closely related to the Southern dialect area than to the dialects of either the Midland or Northern areas.

³ See Hans Kurath, *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1949) for a discussion of the regional distribution of these terms.

⁴ Ellsworth Collings, *The Old Home Ranch: The Will Rogers Range in the Indian Territory* (Stillwater, Oklahoma: Redlands Press, 1964), p. 107.

This evaluation is further strengthened by an analysis of Rogers' pronunciation.⁵ Recordings demonstrate that Rogers had a number of different speaking styles. When he read a prepared script under time pressure, for instance, his speech became very clipped, with vowels shortened and consonants fully articulated. In a more relaxed setting, such as those radio broadcasts for which Rogers had specific topics in mind though not a script, his speech seems much more natural. Vowels tend to be lengthened and vowel quality changed, and *r*'s begin to disappear when they follow vowels. Finally, in a totally *ad lib* performance, as in his appearance before the Democratic Convention in 1932, vowels become so long as to break into two successive vowel sounds, vowel quality is considerably different from what one might consider a Midland norm, and *r*'s are lost even before following consonants. In *The Pronunciation of English in the Atlantic States* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1961), Hans Kurath and Raven I. McDavid, Jr. characterize a number of these pronunciations as being indicative of the major dialect areas.

Perhaps the most characteristic feature of Southern speech is the loss of *r* after a vowel, especially at the end of a word. Thus *four* would be pronounced as *fo'* [fo], *here* as *hye'* [hjɜ̃]. In his appearance before the Democratic Convention, Rogers pronounced *for* as *fo'* [fo], *here* as *hye'* [hjɪ̃], *November* as *Novembe'* [novɪmbɜ̃], *sure enough* as *sho' nuf* [sɔ̃ nʌf], and even *platform* as *platfo'm* [plætfõm]. Kurath and McDavid identify the vowel of *bulge* or *brush* as being a marker of regional dialect. In the North and Midlands, the vowel is that found in the word *sun* [ʌ]. In the South and South Midlands, the vowel tends to be that in the word *foot* [U]. Rogers clearly articulates the vowel of *budget*, a form comparable to *bulge* or *brush*, as [U]. Another predominately Southern pronunciation is *library* [laɪbrɛrɪ] as *liebery* [laɪbɛrɪ]. Rogers uses an analogous form when he pronounces *secretary* [sekɹətɛrɪ] as *secetary* [sekɔtɛrɪ]. Still another index of regional pronunciation is the vowel of *dog*. This vowel is monophthongal in areas outside the South, with the typical pronunciation being that of *dawg* [dɔg]. In the South, though, the vowel is lengthened into a diphthong, with the pronunciation becoming similar to that of the vowel in *tow*. Rogers has this latter pronunciation [dɔog]. Still another Southern pronunciation feature concerns the vowel in a word such as *five*. Outside the South, the vowel sound is usually a diphthong [aɪ]. In the South, however, the first element is lengthened to such an extent that the second element is either totally lost or remains only as a slight off-glide. Thus *five* [faɪv] becomes *fahv* [fa•v] or [fãv]; *iron* [aɪrɪn] becomes *arn* [a•rn]. In Rogers' speech

⁵ Phonological data were obtained from *The Voice of Will Rogers* cited above.

this pronunciation trait finds expression in the word *dies* [daIz], which he pronounces as *daz* [da•z]. Still other examples could be given, but the evidence seems clear—Rogers' pronunciation shows many more features associated with the Southern dialect region than it does those of the Northern or Midland areas.

By way of summary, we have seen that Will Rogers was very much a man of his times, using relatively new Americanisms and the most up-to-date American slang; that he was fond of such language games as puns and cacography; that he created new words as demanded by the language games he played; that he sprinkled his language with terms invocative of the cowboy tradition; and that his speech had many of the characteristics of the Southern dialect. Though the modern Southwesterner is more likely to speak of his five iron ("fahv arn") than his branding iron ("brandin' arn"), his speech differs little from that of Will Rogers. Replete with *y'all*'s, lacking post-vocalic *r*'s but enhanced by the "drawl" which accompanies lengthened vowels, the language of the Southwest, while changing with the times, continues to reflect its cowboy heritage.

TOP HAND: WILL ROGERS AND THE COWBOY IMAGE IN AMERICA

By William W. Savage, Jr.*

There is something seemingly paradoxical about the show business career of Will Rogers. In the public eye, he was at once a cowboy, an Indian, a philosopher, and a humorist, roles and professions as suggestive of contrast and contradiction as any that one might name. Examine for a moment the imagerial dichotomies (an Indian cowboy, a humorous philosopher, an Indian humorist, a philosophical humorist, a philosophical cowboy, and so forth) and you perceive that nothing seems to square. The public tends to segregate the images and modes of popular culture, and hybrid images or formats usually fare badly in the entertainment marketplace.¹ Perhaps the most striking thing about Will Rogers was his remarkable success in gaining popular acceptance of his own hybrids—a situation altogether uncommon in American popular culture.

One should hasten to add that imagery is not often related to historical reality. While Rogers' public personality contained elements inconsistent with the usual imagerial categories of popular culture, those elements were not without a certain historical precedent. Humor was not a quality alien either to cowboys or to Indians, for example.² Indeed, some students of the subject have suggested that Rogers' southwestern antecedents explain his public personality.³ But the humorous cowboy is not an accepted imagerial category in American popular culture, save in the narrow sense that comical sidekicks like Gabby Hayes and Pat Buttram are also cowboys. Similarly, popular culture views the Indian less as a source of humor than as the butt of jokes.

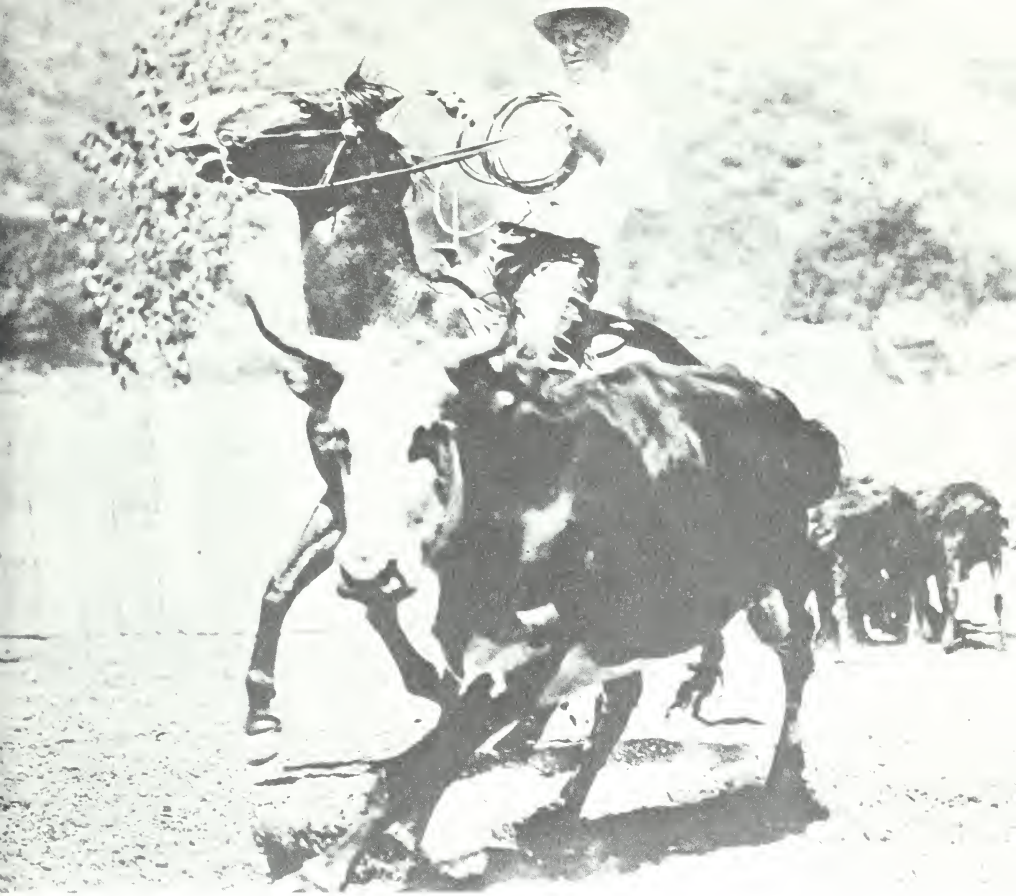
Again, if Will Rogers was not the only performer to overcome the obstacles of cultural segregation and categorization, he was certainly the most successful. The particular source of his appeal may never be fully understood—he pleased so many from widely different walks of life—but one suspects that much of his attraction had to do with the cowboy aspect

* The author is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Oklahoma, Norman.

¹ Which, to explain the obvious, is why *Mr. Terrific* and *Captain Nice*, two mid-1960s superhero television parodies, lasted less than a season and why there are no successful situation comedies about brain surgeons or Helen Keller or John F. Kennedy.

² See Ramon F. Adams, *The Old-Time Cowhand* (New York: Collier Books, 1971), Chapter 6; and R. David Edmunds, "Indian Humor: Can The Red Man Laugh?" in Daniel Tyler (ed.), *Red Men and Hat-Wearers: Viewpoints in Indian History* (Boulder, Colorado: Pruett Publishing Company, 1976), pp. 141-153.

³ Stan Hoig, *The Humor of the American Cowboy* (New York: Signet Books, 1960), p. 14.



Americans knew Rogers as a humorist, writer, and philosopher, but he made his early reputation as a roper (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore).

of his hybrid image and the way in which Rogers made the other aspects subordinate to it. He was indeed an Indian, a philosopher, and a humorist—and he was comfortable in those public roles—but he was first and foremost a cowboy, and audiences knew exactly what that meant.

Will Rogers was five years old when William Levi Taylor joined Buffalo Bill's Wild West as "Buck Taylor, King of Cowboys," and launched the cowboy hero as an image in American culture. When Rogers was nine, Theodore Roosevelt published *Ranch Life and Hunting Trail*, a book that told Americans of the excellent manly qualities of the cowboy and suggested that the general population could do worse than to copy his

sterling example. In 1899, when Rogers began managing the family ranch after a year of cowboying in Texas, Roosevelt published *The Rough Riders*, a book that furthered the cowboy's reputation by recounting cowboy performance in the Spanish-American War. In 1902, while Rogers traveled in South America, Australia, and South Africa, the American reading public perused a new novel, Owen Wister's *The Virginian*. By 1904, when Rogers began his vaudeville career, audiences were well-versed in cowboy lore.

And the cowboy image was what Rogers had to sell. Billed early and variously as "The Cowboy Lasso Expert," the "Droll Cowboy," "The Oklahoma Cowboy," and "Champion Lariat Thrower," Rogers left no doubt as to what he was. But he elaborated upon the image. By demonstrating skills usually associated with cowboying, Rogers held audience attention for the monologues that prompted the labels "humorist" and "philosopher." He was a cowboy, but a cowboy of a different stripe.

The cowboy hero in American popular culture has always been a quiet and competent figure. Rogers was competent—his adroit rope tricks were as startling and satisfying to vaudeville audiences as W. C. Fields' juggling routines, though both acts have been largely forgotten—but he was not quiet. He talked and he wrote, and he maintained himself as a cowboy philosopher while demonstrating simultaneously a markedly anti-cowboy bias. Although he was self-effacing, in the best cowboy tradition, he was also self-denigrating, which contributed to the general air of buffoonery that surrounded his performances. He argued that his skills meant nothing. Indeed, he frequently claimed not to have any. "I do know this," he once observed on the subject of roping, "that statistics have never shown where any trick roper, for the good of posterity has ever been fortunate enough to choke himself with his own rope."⁴ His advice to aspirants was to "get a rope and start missing, Thats about 80 per cent of all there is to roping. Its great exercise if you want to get tired, personally I dont care to get tired, if I am rested I would rather stay that way."⁵

The anti-cowboy bias is most apparent in Rogers' classic silent film, *The Ropin' Fool* (1922), wherein the cowboy protagonist exhibits a pathological fixation with his lariat by employing it on anything that moves. The film is offered as a facetious object lesson in the dangers of a life-long obsession with roping: Rogers ropes in his sleep and in one memorable scene snares a mouse with a lasso made of string. The cowboy is portrayed as a lazy character addicted to wasting time. Nevertheless, the film stands as a show-

⁴ Will Rogers, "Foreword" to Chester Byers, *Cowboy Roping and Rope Tricks* (New ed., New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1966), p. vi.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. xii.

case of Rogers' phenomenal talents. Repeatedly, he does the impossible, and then does it in slow-motion to prove its legitimacy. Here the cowboy makes a broad and elaborate joke of his ability, but the humor rests squarely on the fact that his ability is considerable.

And that is perhaps why Rogers had appeal as a humorous cowboy: he had earned the right to crack wise by learning the ropes, as it were. He was demonstrably a top hand. Thus, he could afford to make the cowboy image his theatrical vehicle. Had he been incompetent as a rider or roper, he could have survived on the stage only in another guise.

Rogers' intellectual image offered corroboration for his cowboy posturings. That is to say, Rogers had common sense, a mental commodity easily spotted even from the back row. There is nothing esoteric or elitist about common sense—it is, after all, *common*—and Rogers used it to establish identification with audiences on at least two levels. First, he could imply that it was something he shared with his spectators, an implication that they would readily accept. He read the papers, as they did, and they knew whereof they spoke, as they observed that he did. In a lesser man, it all might have smacked of demagoguery, but in Rogers it was merely cowboy wisdom surfacing.

The second application of common sense was less subtle and stemmed more from audience expectation than from Rogers' intent. It could not have escaped public notice that common sense was something the literary cowboy enjoyed in abundance. Common sense accounted for his triumph over the adversity of bandits, rustlers, and—as in the case of the Virginian's Trampas—old friends turned bad. It explained his survival. Moreover, common sense was (and is) an important asset for all American heroes, much valued by audiences who paid for the privilege of contemplating its effects. Today, private detectives have it; in Rogers' day, cowboys had it. With both skill and common sense, Rogers could be accepted as a cowboy, regardless of his anti-cowboy (again, in the sense of the continuity of popular culture) bias.

Analysis of Rogers' monologues should demonstrate also the presence of a certain conservatism—conservatism in the classical sense—consistent with cowboy imagery. Not all progress was progress, to Rogers' mind, and his zesty, good-natured attacks on Henry Ford's automobiles echoed the stereotypical protests of old cowboys everywhere over newfangled technologies and their disruptive incursions into bucolic cowboy environs. His discussions of politics and economics were also representative of the sort of witty skepticism one found on the open range in less effective oral presentations. Such connections were for audiences rather more intuited than perceived, perhaps, but the point is that his remarks (and his manner of making them)

reflected acceptable philosophies. They were both evidence of cowboy wisdom and extensions of it.

To audiences, Rogers appeared to be the genuine article, the cowboy transplanted in civilization but hardly in awe of it, a son of the frontier come to expose the follies and foibles of modernity. His manner was as characteristic as his commentary, and even years after his death it was possible—as James Whitmore demonstrated for television audiences in 1972—to evoke memories of Rogers by aping his style. All of it—the roping, the drawl, the head scratching—appeared to be pure cowboy.

It was, of course, but only in an imagerial sense. Will Rogers brought his mannerisms to the motion picture screen in 1919 and they accompanied him through the silent era and the sound era to his last films in 1935. The films of the 1930s—recalled by the Depression generation that made Rogers one of the most popular of all movie stars of his day, and renewed annually by programmers responsible for late show fare—best preserve his manner and refresh our cultural memory. Indeed, they provide the stereotype of the cowboy philosopher, if only because they are the most complete remaining source for the total Rogers image, the sights and the sounds of the man. They were not cowboy movies, but Rogers was still the cowboy (one knew because the mannerisms were there), but in a suit instead of chaps, and usually without a rope.⁶

The image Rogers affected was anticipated by—if not acquired outright from—another actor, however. He was an early-day screen cowboy named Harry Carey, best remembered now as a late-show character actor befriending the naive likes of Jimmy Stewart in such chestnuts as Frank Capra's *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington* (1939). Born in the Bronx, New York, and a year older than Rogers, Carey flirted with a law career, became a marginally successful playwright, and began acting in motion pictures in 1909, a decade before Will Rogers made his first film. Carey was no character actor in those days. Rather, he was a leading man whose rise to stardom in western films accelerated as a result of collaboration with a twenty-three-year-old director named John Ford at Universal Studios shortly before World War I. Some film historians see the characters (and the mannerisms—Carey was a bemused cowboy head-scratcher) developed by Carey (with some help from Ford) in those early years contributing directly to the screen image presented by Will Rogers.⁷

⁶ Andrew Bergman, *We're in the Money: Depression America and Its Films* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1972), p. 71, improperly views Rogers as the archetypal farmer.

⁷ Jon Tuska, *The Filming of the West* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1976), p. 73.



Even at his California home, Rogers indulged in his favorite pastime, roping (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Project, Stillwater).

If coincidence supports such speculation, one might add that Ford directed Rogers in *Judge Priest* (1934) and *Steamboat 'Round the Bend* (1935). In those films, according to Stuart M. Kaminsky, Rogers "is an extension of the Carey character."⁸ Ultimately, of course, Rogers surpassed Carey in popularity (though not in acting ability) and ranked higher in the public consciousness as a representative of the cowboy type.⁹

Will Rogers had as much to do with cowboys as he did with cowboy imagery—which is to say that he influenced the careers of several of them and so further shaped the cowboy's niche in American popular culture. Gene Autry launched his show business career on the advice of Rogers, delivered one summer night in 1927 in the Chelsea, Oklahoma, telegraph office. Rogers, visiting a sister who lived in Chelsea, had stopped by to wire a weekly column to the McNaught Syndicate, heard the telegraph operator singing, and told him to practice and go to New York to perform on radio. By 1929, Autry was making records; by 1934, he was making films; and by 1940, he had begun a sixteen-year stint on CBS radio. He always gave Will Rogers the credit for launching all that.¹⁰

Rogers boosted Joel McCrea's career, telling him (according to McCrea), "Joe, you ain't like these other actors, you're kinder like me. You ain't very good looking and you ain't a very good actor. You're just a cowboy and I'm going to help you."¹¹ Rogers nicknamed Guinn Williams "Big Boy," and the name stuck through dozens of cowboy epics (notably the Michael Curtiz-Errol Flynn westerns, wherein Williams and Alan Hale played Flynn's well-muscled sidekicks). And Will Rogers encouraged John Wayne, the archetypal screen cowboy hero, at a time when Wayne was depressed and disheartened by the film roles he was getting. Rogers suggested that Wayne take hope from the fact that he was still working. "It was an admirable philosophy and one to which John Wayne clung from that day forward," observes Wayne biographer George Carpozi, Jr.¹²

⁸ Stuart M. Kaminsky, *American Film Genres: Approaches to a Critical Theory of Popular Film* (New York: Dell, 1977), p. 258.

⁹ Carey, however, remains a major figure in the history of western films, while Rogers is relegated to bit parts. Film scholars should (but do not) note the remarkable physical resemblance between the two men.

¹⁰ Autry told the story of Rogers' visit to the telegraph office on the premier radio broadcast of "Gene Autry's Melody Ranch" in January, 1940.

¹¹ Bryan B. Sterling (ed.), *The Will Rogers Scrapbook* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1976), p. 117.

¹² George Carpozi, Jr., *The John Wayne Story* (New York: Dell, 1974), p. 51. A variant text of the conversation is offered in Maurice Zolotow, *Shooting Star: A Biography of John Wayne* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974), p. 97. Zolotow's emphasis on Wayne's admiration—no, his veneration—for Harry Carey makes for another coincidence worth noting. See pp. 31, 181.

Rogers knew Tom Mix as well, their acquaintance dating from the St. Louis World's Fair of 1904. Mix was there in his capacity as drum major in the Oklahoma Cavalry Band, and Rogers was performing with Zack Mulhall's wild West show. Rogers introduced Mix, who was then between wives, to Miss Olive Stokes, who, since she was only fourteen in 1904, was no immediate prospect; but Mix married her in 1909. She was his third wife. There would be two more after her, but history does not record that Rogers had a hand in further introductions.¹³

The relationship between Rogers and Mix was in a larger sense indicative of much concerning the place of the cowboy in history and culture. Historically, the cowboy was an individual seeking to become something else: a rancher, an owner of cattle, a man of affairs. The conditions of his employment—he was an unskilled laborer and subject to the same vagaries of management and market that affected all unskilled workers in nineteenth-century America—allowed betterment only infrequently, so that to be a cowboy was to accept social and economic stasis. Will Rogers was a cowboy who became something else. Tom Mix was a cowboy who did not. Rogers was thus an example, and the lesson was not lost on Mix, to judge by the comments of some observers.¹⁴ Nor, some suggest, was it lost on Americans living through the Depression, for whom Rogers personified the rags-to-riches theme that defines the American Dream.¹⁵

Cowboy imagery is the imagery of inspiration, regardless of the cultural level at which it appears; and if Rogers (as cowboy philosopher) encouraged the American people—and especially rural populations—during the straitened times of the 1920s and 1930s, he also remained as a commanding figure even after his death in 1935. The images he presented in vaudeville, in print, on the screen, and on radio were extended in new media and fresh personalities. Michael Curtiz, who directed *Jim Thorpe—All American* for Warner Brothers in 1951, made *The Story of Will Rogers* for the same studio a year later, casting Will Rogers, Jr., in the title role. The son went on to minor films like *The Boy from Oklahoma* (directed by Curtiz for Warner Brothers in 1954), in which he created the character of Tom Brewster, a peaceable cowpoke in a violent West. Warner's produced *Sugarfoot* for ABC-TV from 1957 to 1961, with Will Hutchins as Tom Brewster; and Hutchins became something of a celebrity by affecting the old Carey-Rogers

¹³ Paul E. Mix. *The Life and Legend of Tom Mix* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1972), pp. 43–45.

¹⁴ Sterling (ed.), *The Will Rogers Scrapbook*, p. 121.

¹⁵ See William R. Brown, *Imagemaker: Will Rogers and the American Dream* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1970).

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mannerisms for a new generation of cowboy watchers. Currently, Will Rogers, Jr., plugs Grape Nuts cereal by evoking the image of his father and repeating what surely is prime Rogers-brand cowboy wisdom: "Know what's in it before you eat it." That he wears a cowboy hat while pitching the product is probably not coincidental.

Were Will Rogers remembered for nothing else, he would be recalled as a cowboy—because that is what he was, historically and imagerially, and because the figure of the cowboy is such an integral part of American culture. And Rogers' contribution to that integration was generous indeed. Gene Autry has made the point succinctly: "He brought to the Western tradition the idea of the friendly cowboy. As much as any man, he helped establish the lore and humor of the West as part of the American heritage."¹⁶

¹⁶ Gene Autry (with Mickey Herskowitz), *Back in the Saddle Again* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1978), p. 49.

THE LITERARY WILL ROGERS

By Blue Clark*

Will Rogers became one of the most loved Americans in part through the words he put together that amused, delighted, and enlivened his audiences. In addition to his stage and motion picture appearances, Rogers was a prolific writer. His weekly newspaper column for the McNaught Syndicate continued for nearly thirteen years. His daily telegrams from around the world poked amiable fun at sacred cows for some nine years. His typewriter produced six books, over seven hundred weekly articles, over three thousand daily telegrams, and many short pieces.¹

With the signing of the Armistice in 1918, which to Will "read like a second mortgage" on future peace, he collected many of his popular jokes on the international scene, added some to them, and published his first book, *Roger-isms: The Cowboy Philosopher of the Peace Conference* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1919). Rogers reflected widespread displeasure with the postwar settlement with a comment on the dustjacket: "I made this book short so you could finish it before the next war." As part of an excellent reprint series of the Cowboy Virgil's writings, the Will Rogers Memorial Commission and the Oklahoma State University Press² republished this book in 1975 as Volume IV, edited by Joseph A. Stout, Jr., who has edited six of Rogers' books. Also in 1919, Rogers collected comments from his Ziegfeld Follies and Frolic acts and published another book, this time on

* The author is Associate Professor in the Native American Studies Program at California State University at Long Beach.

¹ Joseph A. Stout, Jr., "Introduction" in Will Rogers, *Ether and Me or "Just Relax,"* ed. by Stout (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University Press, 1973), pp. xiii-xviii.

² The above work and Stout, "The Will Rogers Project," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, LI (Fall, 1973), pp. 356-358, discuss the conception of the publication project.

The "Writings of Will Rogers Series" will consist of the following Series and Volumes:

Series 1: Books of Will Rogers

Vol. I: *Ether and Me or "Just Relax"*

Vol. II: *There's Not a Bathing Suit in Russia, and Other Bare Facts*

Vol. III: *The Illiterate Digest*

Vol. IV: *The Cowboy Philosopher on the Peace Conference*

Vol. V: *The Cowboy Philosopher on Prohibition*

Vol. VI: *Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat to His President*

Series 2: *Convention Articles of Will Rogers*

Series 3: *Daily Telegrams of Will Rogers*

Vol. I: *The Coolidge Years, 1926-1929*

Vol. II: *The Hoover Years, 1929-1931*

Vol. III: *The Hoover Years, 1931-1933*

Vol. IV: *The Roosevelt Years, 1933-1935*

Series 4: *Weekly Articles of Will Rogers*

Series 5: *The Worst Story I've Heard Today*

one of his favorite subjects—Prohibition. The Volstead Act and the shenanigans that flowed from it he teased in *Rogerisms: The Cowboy Philosopher on Prohibition* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1919). It has also been reprinted by the Oklahoma State University Press as Volume V of the Will Rogers Series.

Rogers went on a tour of Europe and visited Russia during the summer of 1926. He told of his travels in a series of articles for the *Saturday Evening Post* and Albert and Charles Boni Publishers of New York printed them as a book in 1927 under the title *There's Not a Bathing Suit in Russia and Other Bare Facts*. In 1973 the original text was reprinted, with explanatory footnotes, by the Oklahoma State University Press. Rogers used his daily telegrams, columns, and special cablegrams to the President as a forum for his views of events in Europe in 1926. Not since the 1879 publication of Mark Twain's *Innocents Abroad*—in the year of Will's birth—had Americans been exposed to similar philosophy, humor, and homespun insights into Old World happenings. Serialized in the *Post* magazine, these articles were published in yet another book by Boni in 1926 under the title of *Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat to His President*. Oklahoma State University Press reprinted it in 1977.

Rogers' ability to turn adversity into entertainment and profit is illustrated by his experiences with a gallstones operation in 1927. He recorded that experience into several articles for the *Post*. He gave readers a step-by-step account of the operation—the finale sprinkled with satire from his columns and his speeches on national and international politics. The series was published in a book under the articles' title, *Ether and Me Or "Just Relax"* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1929). It went through twelve printings before the Oklahoma State University Press used the original manuscript and illustrations to reissue *Ether and Me* in 1973.

Capitol Hill politicians, as well as political conventions and contests, were favorite targets of Will's humor. Donald Day edited *How We Elect Our Presidents* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1952), which reprints comments from the *Post*, *Life*, his newspaper column, and the Gulf Oil Company's radio broadcasts. In 1930 there appeared *Wit and Philosophy from the Radio Talks of America's Humorist* (New York: E. R. Squibb and Sons). His major articles and a few daily telegrams on the political conventions from 1920 through 1932 are reprinted in *Convention Articles of Will Rogers* (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University Press, 1976), edited by Stout.

Thirty-one weekly articles were collected with their Nate Collier cartoons and published as *The Illiterate Digest* (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1924). Its reprinting by the Oklahoma State University Press in 1974 includes the correspondence Will had with the editors of the *Literary*

Digest. The editors did not care for Will's satirical title for his articles. Will's comments about one state at a dinner speech, "It's Time Somebody Said a Word for California," published in the *Digest* book, are republished in *An Encyclopedia of Modern American Humor*, edited by Bennett Cerf (Garden City: Doubleday, 1954), pp. 419-422. Another selection, "Taking the Cure, By the Shores of Cat Creek," appears again in the same volume on pages 362-365.

Beginning in July, 1926, Will Rogers began his daily telegrams, which were also distributed by the McNaught Syndicate under the byline "Will Rogers Says." These shorts were carried in over five hundred newspapers throughout the United States to forty million readers. James M. Smallwood has edited the two volumes to come from the Oklahoma State University Press in the reprint series. *The Hoover Years, 1929-1931* was published in 1978; *The Coolidge Years, 1926-1929* followed the next year.

Rogers wrote introductions for several books by friends. They were folksy and home-spun, similar in tone to either introductory remarks spoken at a dinner banquet or written in the form of one of his letters to readers. A reprinted Toastmaster's speech following the return of two earthgirdling pilots is Will's "Introduction" in Wiley Post and Harold Gatty, *Around the World in Eight Days: The Flight of the Winnie Mae* (New York: Rand McNally, 1931).

A thesis by Maurice McSpadden, "The Public Speaking of Will Rogers," University of Arizona, 1972, examines Rogers' elocution style and content. A friend of almost every well-known personality, Will Rogers also contributed introductory observations to the books of friends. His "Introduction" to Charles M. Russell's *Trails Ploughed Under* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1927) is in the form of a letter from Rogers in 1926. Will contributed another "Introduction" to Russell's *Good Medicine* (Garden City: Garden City Publishing Co., 1930). With friends Fred Stone and Elsie Janis, Rogers composed an introduction to Chester Byers, *Roping: Trick and Fancy Spinning* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1928).

Many of Rogers' newspaper columns have been reprinted. One is "Ah, Them Was the Days, Lad!" in W. D. Grisso, ed., *From Where the Sun Now Stands* (Santa Fe: Stagecoach Press, 1963), pp. 59-61. It is a Christmas nostalgia piece reprinted from his January 4, 1930, syndicated column. Donald Day edited Rogers' columns dealing with the United States during the 1920s and 1930s as *Sanity Is Where You Find It* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955). The chronologically arranged collection displays Will's talent for humorous and pithy comment.

Day also arranged columns and comments chronologically for his *Autobiography of Will Rogers* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1949). Bill and Jim

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Rogers provided a "Foreword." Margaret S. Axtell made a chronological arrangement of Rogers' comments, quotes, sketches, poems, pictures, and reminiscences in her *Will Rogers Rode the Range* (Phoenix: Allied Printing, 1972). Paula McSpadden Love, a niece of Will Rogers, and for over thirty years the curator of the Will Rogers Memorial in Claremore, compiled *The Will Rogers Book* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1961). Leland Wilson includes selected comments of Rogers, arranged topically, in *The Will Rogers Touch* (Elgin, Illinois: Brethren Press, 1978). Jim Rogers provided a "Foreword" to *The Will Rogers Scrapbook*, edited by Bryan B. Sterling (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1976). The work provides an introduction to the humorist's columns and comments.

There are any number of excerpts from Will's works which have been published topically in magazines and journals. Reba Collins, "A Will Rogers Eye View of Oklahoma," *Oklahoma Today*, Autumn, 1972, pp. 17-19, emphasizes his boosterism for the state. Arnold Marquis, "Will Rogers, World Traveler," *ibid.*, Summer, 1964, pp. 6-9, uses Will's observations to illustrate that to the man from Oologah there was no place like home. Another example of Rogers' timeless wit is resurrected in Paula McSpadden Love, "The Best of Will Rogers," *ibid.*, Fall, 1959, pp. 26-27. There is even an imaginary conversation with Rogers called "An Interview with Will Rogers" by Bryan Sterling, *ibid.*, Spring, 1971, pp. 12-16. He authored the award-winning stage and television production "Will Rogers' U. S. A.," which starred James Whitmore. Newspapers have served as vehicles for reprinting many of Will's short pieces. One example is Reba Collins, "Will Rogers Writes about Lindbergh," *Orbit Magazine, Sunday Oklahoman*, October 9, 1977, pp. 24-26.

The Cowboy humorist touched the lives of many Americans who offer insights into his life. His sister gave information to a man who knew Rogers for forty years in David Randolph Milsten, *An Appreciation of Will Rogers* (San Antonio: Naylor, 1935). Will's sister, Sallie Rogers McSpadden, provided a "Foreword" to a collection of friendly reminiscences, compiled by William Howard Payne and Jake G. Lyons, *Folks Say of Will Rogers: A Memorial Anecdotalage* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1936). His wife's account of their life together and insights into Rogers' home life, when he was home, is Betty Rogers, *Will Rogers: His Wife's Story* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1941). A brief description of what it was like to be a child of the peripatetic Rogers is Will Rogers, Jr., "I Remember Dad," *Oklahoma Today*, July-August, 1956, pp. 1-2. A good-natured narrative of Will's life with insights into his youth is Spi Trent, *My Cousin Will Rogers* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1938). A nostalgic look back at what it was like in 1931 to cross the Pacific Ocean with and

to listen one evening in the ship's lounge to Rogers and radio correspondent Floyd Gibbons is "Reminiscence of Will Rogers" by Francis Poole in *Oklahoma Today*, Autumn, 1969, pp. 20-21.

Will Rogers on the movie lot is the subject of an affectionate recollection by Samuel Goldwyn, "Good Old Will Rogers" in Goldwyn, *Behind the Screen* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1923). Goldwyn and Rex Beach brought Rogers into the movies and nurtured his cinematic style which transferred elements of the Wild West Show into the motion pictures. Homer Croy's "Will Rogers of the Movies," *Oklahoma Today*, Winter, 1960-1961, pp. 4-5, 32-33, gives us a quick glimpse of Will's humor and antics as a movie maker. Homer Croy authored the novel, *West of the Water Tower*, which was made into Rogers' first movie. Verbatim interviews with entertainers who worked with Rogers are included in *The Will Rogers Scrapbook*. The story of Rogers and the pig Blue Boy on the set of the picture *State Fair* is in the short treatment of Rogers—the actor—"Will Rogers, Oklahoma's Own" by Lerna Rosamond Morris, *Oklahoma, Land of Opportunity* (Guthrie: Cooperative Publishing Co., 1934), pp. 34-45. Three authors, Ward Churchill, and Norbert and Mary Ann Hill, discuss Will's phenomenal screen success as a lone example among American Indians in "Media Stereotyping and Native Response: An Historical Overview" in the *Indian Historian*, XI (December, 1978), pp. 45-56.

Full length biographical treatments of Rogers are P. J. O'Brien, *Will Rogers, Ambassador of Good Will, Prince of Wit and Wisdom* (Chicago: John C. Winston Co., 1935); David Milsten, *An Appreciation of Will Rogers*; Spi Trent, *My Cousin Will Rogers*; Betty Rogers, *Will Rogers: His Wife's Story*; Homer Croy, *Our Will Rogers* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1953); Donald Day, *Will Rogers: A Biography* (New York: David McKay Co., 1962); Richard M. Ketchum, *Will Rogers, His Life and Times* (New York: American Heritage/Simon and Schuster, 1973); and E. Paul Alworth, *Will Rogers*, U. S. Authors Series, No. 236 (Boston: Twayne, 1974). Ketchum's is now the standard biography of Claremore's most notable resident. The best and most readable biography is flawed by the lack of citations for the quotations and information in the book. All of the works are enlivened by a generally judicious use of Will's humor and wisdom. The Croy biography has a handy discussion of the "Sources" that can be used for an analysis of Rogers' life. The O'Brien treatment has a "Foreword" by Lowell Thomas with more insights from one who knew Rogers. O'Brien's book is a narrative with dialogue supposedly derived from Will's conversations.

Henry Thomas [Schnittkind] and Dana Lee Thomas [pseud. for Dana Arnold Schnittkind], 50 *Great Americans: Their Inspiring Lives and*



Seen here with Wiley Post, Rogers and his passion for airplanes has been the topic of many books and articles (Courtesy of the Will Rogers Memorial, Claremore).

Achievements (Garden City: Doubleday, 1948), pp. 406–413, is a succinct summary of Rogers' life. Biographical material is also in the thesis by Mary Nell Stafford, "Will Rogers: Cowboy Commentator," University of Georgia, 1975. Juvenile literature has many treatments of his life, but that category is excluded here.

In addition to the biographies, there are several discussions of Will's background that illuminate different aspects of his heritage. The amalgam of his Cherokee blood, love of the region around Claremore, and constant awareness of the natural beauty of eastern Oklahoma permeating the minds of the residents of that area of the state is brought out in a touristy view by Maggie Culver Fry, "Will Rogers Country," *Oklahoma Today*, Spring, 1964, pp. 30–33. Reinforcing the feel for the region and its impact upon the young Rogers is Noel Kaho's short history, *The Will Rogers Country* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1941). A scholarly but well-written narrative of the Clem Vann Rogers ranch, which is now the Will Rogers State Park, is Ellsworth Collings, *The Old Home Ranch: The Will Rogers*

Range in the Indian Territory (Stillwater: Redlands, 1964). The dissolution of Indian tribal governments and the extinguishment of Indian title to the Indian Territory is too often viewed as a clearcut issue of white versus Indian. H. Craig Miner's *The Corporation and the Indian: Tribal Sovereignty and Industrial Civilization in Indian Territory, 1865-1907* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1976) reveals the complexity of the many issues on both sides of the question of the vanishing Indian in his territory.

There are a number of references to Rogers and his family in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. There are two treatments of his father: the short "Necrology: Clem Vann Rogers," VIII (December, 1930), p. 461, and the longer article by Paula McSpadden Love, "Clement Vann Rogers," LIII (Winter, 1970-1971), pp. 389-399. The story of the naming of the infant Will Rogers by the noted Clerk of the Supreme Court of the Creek Nation, Mrs. William Penn Adair, who happened to be a guest in the Rogers' home during Will's birth is told by Carolyn Thomas Foreman in "A Creek Pioneer," XXI (September, 1943), pp. 271-279. Further details about the Cherokee leader after whom Will was named is in Cherrie Adair Moore, "William Penn Adair," XXIX (Spring, 1951), pp. 32-41. Geneological details on distant relatives on one side are contained in Don L. Shadburn, "Cherokee Statesman: The John Rogers Family of Chattahoochee," L (Spring, 1972), pp. 12-40.

Readers today tend to overlook the fact that Rogers was always, at heart, a working cowboy. Specifics in print of Will Rogers' expertise with a rope, with many stills from his now famous short film, *The Ropin' Fool*, where he performs fifty-three tricks, are in Frank Dean's *Will Rogers Rope Tricks* (Colorado Springs: Western Horseman, 1969). This book has a "Foreword" by Will Rogers, Jr. Will's rope routine enabled him to obtain his job with Texas Jack's Wild West Circus. In time he turned to vaudeville and still later joined the ranks of a host of Western performers who rose to stardom in the movies. Jim Tully, "Tom Mix and Will Rogers: Oklahoma's Most Famous Cowboys," a chatty presentation of their careers, is in Lerona Rosamond Morris, ed., *Oklahoma, Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* (Guthrie: Cooperative Publishing Co., 1932), I, pp. 709-713. A fictionalized biography of a great silent screen star is told in *Tom Mix Died for Your Sins* by Darryl Ponicsan (New York: Delacorte, 1975). Mix's career was exactly opposite that of Rogers, whose keen timing in vaudeville needed the wider audience of the "Talkies" to reach its full appeal. In the summer of 1927 Rogers stepped into the telegraph station in Chelsea, Oklahoma, to mail his daily telegram and conversed with the attendant who was singing and strumming his guitar. Rogers encouraged this young cowboy-telegrapher to strike out on his own as an entertainer. In that sense, Rogers "discovered" Gene Autry,

who made a total of ninety-three movies as a singing cowboy and became the top Western star at the box office immediately after Will Rogers. That story is related in Autry and Mickey Herskowitz, *Back in the Saddle Again* (New York: Doubleday, 1978). Autry met Rogers again in 1935, after the former had become a star, and to Will's query of how he was getting along, Autry answered, "Oh, we're throwin' a little meat in with the beans now." It was a telling commentary on stardom and on the depths of the Depression.

Even though biographers focus on the popular entertainer aspects of Will Rogers, there is information on his political interests and concern for the downtrodden. His satire on political mores and his comments on foibles of politicians hid a keen insight into the nation's problems as well as an understanding of its ills. The collected works of Will's newspaper columns, speeches, and broadcast commentaries have already been mentioned. In "Beyond Humor: Will Rogers and Calvin Coolidge," *Vermont History*, XL (Summer, 1972), pp. 178-184, H. L. Meredith points out that historians have misrepresented the views Will held of the President. The humorist's comments were sometimes caustic, but more often they were even-handed and displayed a deep comprehension of the President and his problems. The wit and common sense of Rogers are also shown in his treatment of the two major nominating conventions in Carl Tyson, "I'm Off to Coolidge's Follies: Will Rogers and the Presidential Nominations, 1924-1932," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, LIV (Summer, 1976), pp. 192-198. "The Year Will Rogers Ran for President," *ibid.*, L (Spring, 1972), pp. 2-11, Alfred Haworth Jones examines the 1928 election campaign and the national voter shifts that presaged the Democratic landslide in 1932. In 1928 Editor Robert Sherwood and Will Rogers wrote a series for *Life* magazine in which Rogers pretended to run for the nation's highest elective office with the tongue-in-cheek slogan of "He chews to run," mimicking the quotable reply of Coolidge who did not wish to run for office again.

Several articles show Rogers on levels as diverse as state politics and United States foreign policy. One by I. E. Cadenhead, Jr., examines viewpoints on Latin America, the policy of intervention there, and isolationism of the United States in "Will Rogers, Good Neighbor," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXXVIII (Spring, 1960), pp. 2-7.

While immediate tributes to Rogers appeared right after his 1935 death, more lasting memorials were proposed on the national level. As part of the nation's homage to him, his statue was placed in Statuary Hall in the Rotunda of the Capitol in Washington, D. C. That story is told by Paula McSpadden Love in "The Statue of Will Rogers," *ibid.*, XVII (September, 1939), pp. 336-340. The actual ceremonies of installation are printed in U. S.,

House of Representatives, *Acceptance of the Statue of Will Rogers by the State of Oklahoma*, House Document No. 471, 76th Congress, 1st Session, Serial Set No. 10347 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939), a response to House Concurrent Resolution No. 29. In 1948 there was a further national tribute. George Shirk tells about "Oklahoma's Two Commemorative Stamps" in *ibid.*, XXVII (Spring, 1949), pp. 89-94. There was no discussion of Rogers during the time set aside for hearings on a commemorative coin honoring him, as an examination of the hearing record will show: U. S., House of Representatives, Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures, *Commemorative Coins, Hearings on H. R. 93 and H. R. 1281, Bills to Authorize the Coinage of 50-Cent Pieces to Perpetuate the Memory of Will Rogers*, 79th Congress, 2nd Session, July 10 and 12, 1946. Reed C. Hildreth provides details on the nuclear guided missile submarine named in honor of Rogers in his "U. S. S. Will Rogers," *Oklahoma Today*, Autumn, 1968, pp. 14-16. The Oklahoma legislature commissioned a noted artist, Charles Banks Wilson, to paint a portrait of Rogers in 1963. The fascinating account of reconstructing Will's life-size portrait from documents is told by Wilson, "Hold Before the Young," *ibid.*, Winter, 1968-1969, pp. 14-15.

Along with the fond memories of the man, his legacy of humor in print, and the permanent place the man has in the hearts of Oklahomans today, is the brick and mortar memorial erected on the site of Will's retirement home in Claremore. The congressional history of the Will Rogers Memorial is told in the hearings held as a forum for legislators' hyperbole and tributes, as well as in congressional reports. The hopes for a national Indian museum centering around the Memorial were expressed in hearings by Oklahoma Cherokee and State Senator Dennis Bushyhead. The testimony is in U. S., House of Representatives, *Construction of Permanent Memorial to Will Rogers, to accompany H. R. 6482*, House Report No. 1018, 75th Congress, 1st Session, Serial Set No. 10084 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1973).³ The donation of land from the family, the ground swell of support, and the founding of the Memorial are the subject of two brief presentations: Paula McSpadden Love, "The Will Rogers Memorial," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XX (December, 1942), pp. 404-406, and Lois Carter Clark, "The

³ The Senate Report (on S. Bill 239) is U. S., Senate, *Will Rogers Memorial, Report to accompany H. R. 6482*, Senate Report No. 1144, 75th Congress, 1st Session, Serial Set No. 10077 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937). The President vetoed the federal expenditure of monies in a petulant fit, citing the need for a living memorial to children. *Veto Message on H. R. 6482, A Bill Providing for Cooperation with the State of Oklahoma on Constructing a Permanent Memorial to Will Rogers*, House Document N., 366, 75th Congress, 1st Session, Serial Set No. 10126 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937).

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Will Rogers Memorial at Claremore, Oklahoma," *Antique Trader Weekly*, March 29, 1979, pp. 78-79.

All of the works of a biographical nature on Will Rogers attempt to place him into his time and to delineate his importance in history. Only William R. Brown has attempted to analyze the humorist-philosopher's place in the national psyche. In the *Imagemaker: Will Rogers and the American Dream* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1970), Brown presents Rogers as the American, the American Prometheus, the Self-Made Man, and as the American democrat. Brown points out Rogers' contribution to the collective self-image of the American public during the 1920s and the 1930s. In a similar vein, Frosty Troy in, "The Real Will Rogers," *The Oklahoma Observer*, July 10, 1979, pp. 1-15, uses quotations of Rogers' writings to demonstrate that he was a populist champion for the common man, "a mighty fortress for the common people" and not merely a rope-twirling hayseed clown. A clever satirical revisionist glance at Rogers' image is H. Allen Smith, "Will Rogers Was No Damned Good," *Esquire*, May, 1974, pp. 122 and 158.

Will's observations and comic antics spiced up down-to-earth irreverence for the great and the mighty; he captivated audiences with an irresistible candor about problems ranging from international politics to day-to-day existence. No one ever had such a hold on the American public as Rogers, the nation's greatest folk humorist. He incorporated as no other individual has done the lore and humor of the American West into national literature and heritage.

Words were his best weapon and popular entertainment his most notable medium—on the stage, on a movie lot, or in his newspaper column. Because of his popularity, scholars have tended to view his work as too common in content to contain significant insights. However, they pass over his work at their own risk. Rogers' remarks on human nature stand the test of time. He was a penetrating observer of American official life.

HARVE MILT PHILLIPS 1898–1978

Eulogy delivered by Q. B. Boydstun,
Vice-President and Member
Board of Directors—Oklahoma Historical Society
April 26, 1979

Mr. President, Fellow Members of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Distinguished Guests and Friends:

It is a distinct honor for me to be asked to express the admiration and respect we have for the memory of our associate and friend, Milt Phillips. It has been my privilege to know and be associated with him for more than 60 years; he was my good and loyal friend.

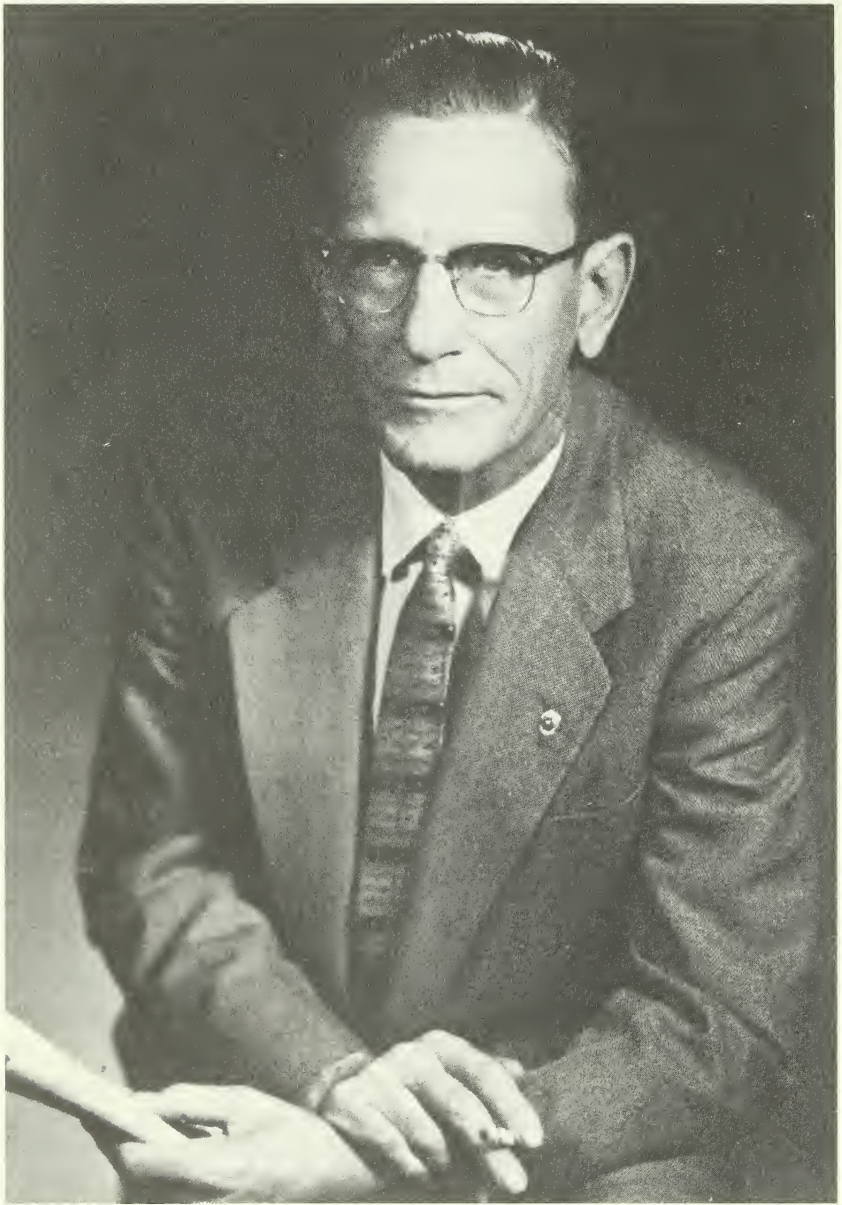
Milt was a life member of the Oklahoma Historical Society. He was elected to the Board of Directors on January 26, 1950 and served until he retired because of poor health in January, 1978. Upon his retirement, he was elected by the Board of Directors as "Director Emeritus." He served many years as Vice-President and was a member of the Executive Committee of the Society. Milt seldom missed a meeting of the Board of Directors or a meeting of the Executive Committee. He was always promoting programs to conserve and preserve historical records and places, and the heritage and history of Oklahoma.

Harve Milt Phillips was born November 21, 1898 on a farm in Cleveland County, Oklahoma. The son of John Bunyan and Beryl Hess Phillips. Milt married his childhood sweetheart, Ruby Helms, daughter of pioneer Oklahomans—Mr. and Mrs. J. J. Helms of Norman, Oklahoma in 1924. Mrs. Phillips preceded him in death in 1975. He died February 27, 1979 at the Seminole Municipal Hospital, after a lengthy battle with lung cancer. He left surviving, a son, Ted Phillips; a daughter, Mrs. Joanne Baxter, and three grandchildren.

He attended elementary schools at Altus, Oklahoma City and Norman, and Norman High School. He attended the University of Oklahoma, where he studied engineering for two years before leaving in 1922 to enter the Electrical Contracting business in Norman.

Milt served in the U.S. Army Signal Corp during World War I and in the U.S. Navy in World War II.

In 1929, he accepted the position of Department Adjutant of the Oklahoma American Legion and became the editor of the Oklahoma Legion-



H. Milt Phillips.

aire. He served in this capacity until 1943, when he entered the U.S. Navy in World War II. Upon his return from service, he organized the Oklahoma War Veteran's Service. Because of his leadership as director of Oklahoma Veteran Affairs, the Okmulgee Technical Branch of Oklahoma State University was established as a training facility for veterans. It was through his efforts, that the Will Rogers Veteran's Administration Hospital was established in Oklahoma City.

Milt's dedication in life placed his family first, and his profession usually next, a journalist. He began his long newspaper career in 1911 at the age of 13 as a newsboy for the Daily Oklahoman; two years later, he was employed as "Printer's Devil" on the Democrat Topic in Norman, and served as agent for the Oklahoma News in Norman.

He began a career of newspaper publishing in April, 1946. He, along with his late brother, Tom, purchased and he became General Manager of the Seminole Producer. In 1950, he and his brother purchased two newspapers in Wewoka along with the Holdenville Daily News. The brothers edited and published the Seminole Producer, Seminole County News, Wewoka Times, and the Wewoka Capital Democrat, all newspapers in the Seminole area. Milt was active in the Oklahoma Press Association, holding several offices including the office of President in 1954. In 1975 he was honored by the Oklahoma Chapter of Sigma Delta Chi, a journalistic fraternity, as a "Friend of Journalism" and was inducted into the Oklahoma Journalism Hall of Fame in 1977.

He rendered services to numerous governmental, public, educational and civic agencies and organizations in the State of Oklahoma. He served on the Oklahoma Turnpike Authority from 1955 to 1959, the Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, the Oklahoma Development Council, the Oklahoma State Chamber of Commerce, the Oklahoma Safety Council, the Oklahoma Memorial Association, the Board of State Regents for Higher Education, and President of the OU Alumni Association.

Milt was an active leader and industrial booster in Seminole and testimonials to his work include Milt Phillips Avenue, the city's busiest four-lane street named for him by Seminole officials several years ago, and the Milt Phillips Music and Art building on the campus of Seminole Junior College. He was an active Rotarian and a member of the First Christian Church of Seminole.

He was a booster for good roads in Oklahoma. He organized and served as president of the U.S. Highway 270 Association and State Highway 99 Association. He served as president of the Oklahoma Good Roads and Streets Association, and in 1966 received the Association's Distinguished Services Award for service to the Oklahoma Highway Department. He pro-

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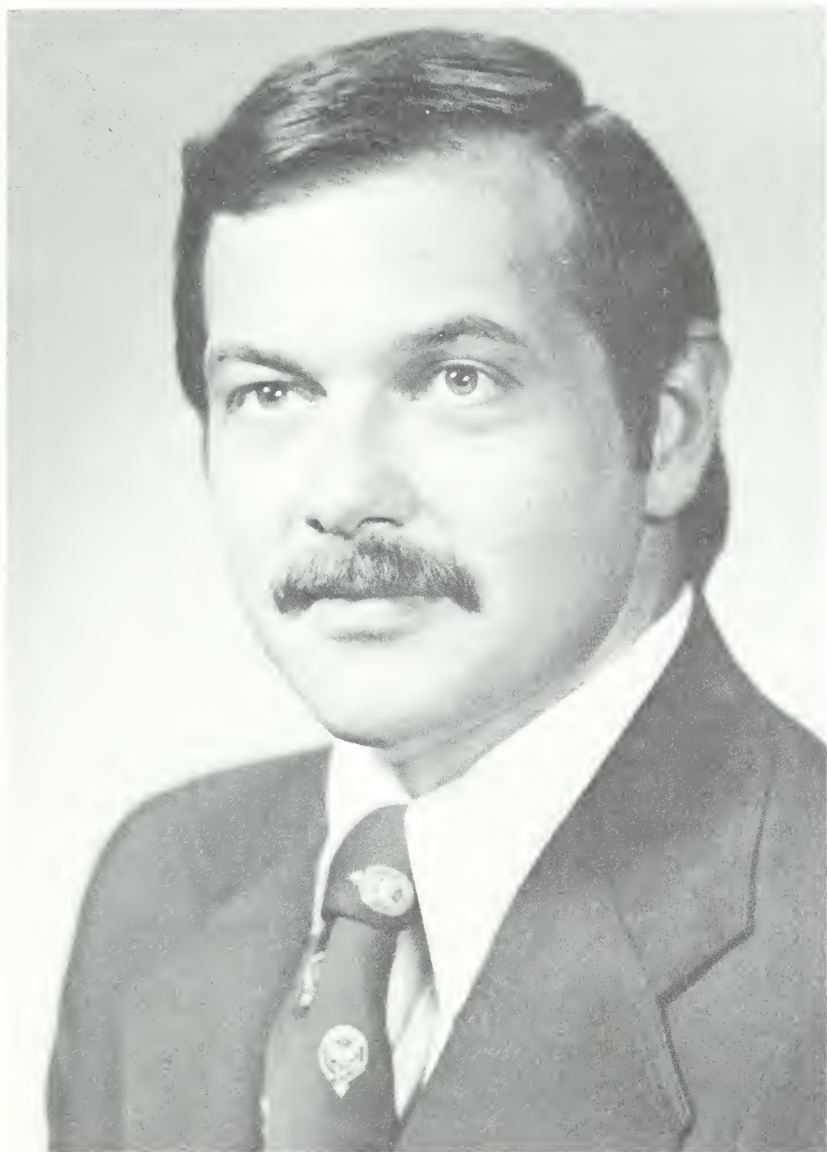
posed the first toll road in Oklahoma, which proposal resulted in the construction of the present Turner Turnpike, which links Oklahoma City and Tulsa.

Milt was proud of his heritage and loved his native state—Oklahoma. Milt was inducted into the Oklahoma Hall of Fame in 1968.

No one has a complete record of all the groups in which Milt was a mover, a leader, and a worker. He was an organization man; he believed great things could be done, if enough people would steadily work at it. He was a leader of every imaginable kind of group. Milt was loved by many and hated by a few.

His monuments are to be found in many places. Each of us has learned something from Milt by his example; all of us are his beneficiaries. He will be missed, but not forgotten.

NEW EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR



H. Glenn Jordan, Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society.

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H. Glenn Jordan, Historic Preservation, Interpretation and Utilization Specialist from Norman, Oklahoma, was named Executive Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society by unanimous vote of the society's Board of Directors on June 28, 1979. W. D. Finney of Fort Cobb, President of the society, announced Jordan's selection from a field of nineteen applicants and asked the new director to assume his duties July 1.

A native of Jonesboro and the son of Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Jordan, the new director brings a broad background of historical expertise to the society. He earned the bachelors and masters degrees in American History from Louisiana Tech University where he also served as Instructor of American History for three years. His masters degree in Library Science from the University of Oklahoma reflects concentration in special collections, a major thrust of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Jordan holds archival certification from the Ohio Historical Society and the National Archives and Records Service. In addition, he is completing his dissertation for a doctorate in Western American history from the University of Oklahoma.

For the past year, Jordan worked as Program Consultant to Oklahoma Image, a statewide project designed to attract people to public libraries by offering programs focusing on Oklahoma's historical and cultural past. Before that, he was Chief, Archives Unit, Archives and Records Division, Oklahoma Department of Libraries and Western History Library Specialist, Western History Collections, University of Oklahoma.

He is the author of numerous articles and reviews on both the content and sources of state and local history. His latest publications include *A Guide to Oklahoma State Archives, Vol. I*; *A Guide to Special Collections of the Oklahoma State Archives*; and *Indian Leaders: Oklahoma's First Statesmen*. Two other books are scheduled for publication next year.

Asked why he is taking the post, Jordan replied that he is excited about the challenge. He observed "with the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of statehood and the one hundredth anniversary of the 'Run of '89,' the state is entering an exciting period that will intensify as Oklahoma nears its centennial celebration. With such an environment and the rich historical and cultural legacy of Oklahoma, the possibilities of growth, expansion and development for the society are limitless." Moreover, "Oklahoma's relative youthfulness offers unique opportunities to preserve, interpret and utilize our history." Jordan predicted that, in doing this, "Oklahoma could develop one of the finest historical societies in the nation."

Jordan is married to Martha Tatum, daughter of Rev. and Mrs. E. L. Tatum. Martha is librarian for Science and Public Policy Programs at the University of Oklahoma. They have two children, Troy, age twelve, and Sharon, age eleven.

☆ BOOK REVIEWS

THE DUST BOWL: MEN, DIRT, AND DEPRESSION. By Paul Bonnifield (Albuquerque, New Mexico: The University of New Mexico Press. 1979. Pp. xi, 272. Maps. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$12.50 cloth).

The dust bowl is one of the most infamous periods in the history of the Great Plains and one of the least understood. Early scholars have set a standard pattern followed by subsequent studies without new interpretation. This work is an exception. The significance of the "Great Plow Up" is de-emphasized although not completely disregarded. Rather than focusing on dust storms and poverty of the times, the author has attempted to dispel some common myths. He notes that poverty was not widespread in the dust bowl area; rather, during much of the period poverty was not as serious as in much of the rest of the nation. This was due primarily to the emerging petroleum industry which is given considerable emphasis. Chapter ten is devoted to the many cultural accomplishments of the people from the area.

Most of the narrative, however, is devoted to government policies, especially the Land Utilization Program, of which the author is most critical, comparing the resettlement effort to the Indian removals. A conspiracy by the New Deal administration which made a concerted effort to force land sales and resettlement is strongly suggested though not as strongly documented. Even Hardy W. Campbell and his system of dry-land cultivation is taken to task.

The work is well researched, as is evident from the impressive bibliography, but some of the interpretations are debatable. The frequent references to, and documentation of the rich soils of the area are not incorrect for the region as a whole, but it must be recognized that among the rich soils are also numerous soil types that are unsuited for crops. The low price paid for the land is also lamented, but only average prices are used as examples. Prices paid by the government actually varied by nearly one thousand percent per acre in the area. Also the economics of the time must be remembered and the condition of the land considered. Most of the land purchased by the government was apparently submarginal, for most of the land purchased included soils not suitable for cultivation. The fact that the poorest farmers received the lowest prices might well be that they had the least valuable farms. The reference that the region could have produced wheat cheaper than anywhere else in the United States disregards those years when nothing was produced.

The book has no significant publishing errors, although the tables could be improved. Any shortcomings in the book are far exceeded by the wealth

of new information, and the author is commended for his new and refreshing approach which should stimulate new research on the dust bowl.

James Rogers
Central State University



MEXICO'S MIGUEL CALDERA: THE TAMING OF AMERICA'S FIRST FRONTIER, (1548-1597). By Philip Wayne Powell (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1977. Pp. xi, 322. Drawings. Maps. Appendix. Bibliography. Index. \$14.95 cloth, \$7.95 paper).

The sub-title is perhaps a more appropriate title for this work, for the author uses his central figure as a conduit through which the reader is treated to any number of important historical topics. With the great Zacatecas silver discoveries in mid-sixteenth century, a rush of early "49ers" displaced the native Chichimeca Indians. This gave rise to a long bitter war with the Indian nation that finally ended with Miguel Caldera's humane rice/corn diplomacy. This was an event crucial to Mexico's development, for it created a race of mix-bloods, de-tribalized Indians (Tlaxacalans), as well as Chichimecas, forming the beginning of a people who would go on to settle other frontiers such as Texas and New Mexico while creating a sense of national Mexican pride.

Through Caldera and his times, the author is able to demonstrate colonial Spanish Indian policy, the beginnings of frontier settlement, frontier society, early mining, and, of necessity, Spanish bureaucracy. As such, this book pales ever so slightly as a biography; through no fault of the author, a true feel for the man is not achieved. Indeed, given the available sources and a fine writing technique, an amazingly coherent life narrative is fashioned. Traditional biographies have dealt with great figures solely to glorify or debunk. In this instance, however, the author reaches below the traditional surface to feature an individual who made it possible for others to receive historical accolades. The net result is an informative, as well as entertaining, look at New Spain's mining frontier during the second half of the sixteenth century.

The author is a much respected historian of Mexico's northern frontier who makes good use of the available primary sources. He has an obvious bias against early church chroniclers and at one point manages to compare Caldera to Hernán Cortés. Nevertheless, such things are "up front" and the reader is not led.

Periodic comparisons to the United States' frontier, as well as reference to early Mexican events as bits of "American frontier history," put things in

a proper perspective. Again, writing from the relative minuscule, the author fashions a big picture. Every such tome should include the northern expansion of the Latin tradition from the central valley of Mexico. This book therefore helps fill a void long neglected yet quickly being filled and, as such, should be read.

Thomas E. Chávez

Museum of New Mexico



THE CART THAT CHANGED THE WORLD: THE CAREER OF SYLVAN N. GOLDMAN. By Terry P. Wilson (Norman: Oklahoma Heritage Association by the University of Oklahoma Press, 1978. Pp. xvi, 255. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$9.75).

This is volume number six in the Oklahoma Trackmaker Series sponsored by the Oklahoma Heritage Association. Written by Terry P. Wilson, it is a readable book about one man who has influenced the retail marketing system around the world.

Sylvan's father, Michael Goldman, immigrated from Europe and settled in Oklahoma during the "run" of 1889. Traveling through Oklahoma City, he moved on to Ardmore where he purchased land. He met his future wife in Texas, but returned to Ardmore where Sylvan was born in 1898.

Goldman was first exposed to retail business through his father's involvement in dry goods. He and his brother, upon returning from France after World War I, went into business for themselves. In Tulsa Sylvan discovered his talent. The Goldmans opened a chain of fifty-five "Sun" grocery stores in three years, before he and his brother sold out. After moving to Oklahoma City, they began the Standard food store chain which soon included the Humpty Dumpty stores.

During the difficult years of the depression, Sylvan conceived the idea of the shopping cart. The narrative contains a fascinating account of this innovation. This led to many other inventions through the years. As Goldman began to prosper, so did his interest in civil activities, philanthropy, and his involvement with international organizations such as the Super Market Institute where he was able to spread his innovative ideas.

Goldman has not "retired" from active work. Since selling his chain of food stores, he has been involved with many different investments and building programs. Not one to give himself all the credit, Goldman described his life best when he said "I am a great believer in luck. The harder I work the more luck I seem to have." The author does not omit Goldman's ability as a family man. His two sons have followed in their father's footsteps, involving themselves in numerous business enterprises.

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Wilson's book is excellent reading, and one who reads it will invariably think of Sylvan N. Goldman when they next grab a shopping cart and start down the aisle of their neighborhood grocery store.

Roger W. Cummins
Central State University



CORONADO'S CHILDREN: TALES OF LOST MINES AND BURIED TREASURES OF THE SOUTHWEST. By J. Frank Dobie. Foreword by Frank H. Wardlaw. Illustrations by Charles Shaw (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978. Pp. xxii, 329. Maps. Illustrations. Notes. Glossary. Paper \$4.95).

Although the book was written by Dobie in 1930, it has lost none of its flavor in the intervening years. One of his first works, *Coronado's Children* recounts the tales and legends of lost mines and buried treasures that he collected from throughout the Southwest. It is Dobie at his best.

The tales spun by this master of Western folklore preserve for all who are interested the stories of "Coronado's children . . . [who] follow Spanish trails, buffalo trails, cow trails; they dig where there are no trails; but oftener than they dig or prospect they just sit and tell stories of lost mines, of buried bullion by the jack load, of ghostly *patrones* that guard treasure, and of a thousand other impediments . . . that have kept them away from the wealth they are so sure of." As Dobie clearly stated, the narratives "are not creations of mine," but "belong to the soil and to the people of the soil." "Like all things that *belong*, they have their roots deep in the place of their being, deep too in the past," he continued. To acquire the tales, he roamed the Southwest hunting for those who actually sought the hidden treasure, and the stories he tells "embody the geniuses of divergent races and peoples who even while fiercely opposing each other blend their traditions."

Placed in perspective by Frank Wardlaw's introduction and graphically illustrated by Charles Shaw, *Coronado's Children* is the third volume of the Barker Texas History Center Series. The book touches on a subject that takes the reader back in time to an era when the West's wealth lay waiting for those lucky enough to find it. It is this legacy of Southwestern lore that gives Dobie's work a sense of timelessness and makes it a valuable addition to any library.

Kenny A. Franks
Union City, Oklahoma



THE BLACK TOWNS. By Norman L. Crockett (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1979. Pp. xv, 224. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$14.00).

"To the sensitive, the black town offered a social paradise with freedom to walk the streets without encountering the thousand subtle reminders of membership in a subordinate class. Also one need not fear that a look or gesture might be misinterpreted and bring down the physical wrath of whites" (p. 185). This excerpt from *The Black Towns* answers the question of why an all-black town? In an extremely well-documented account of a slice of black American life, Norman Crockett tells from formation to failure, the stories of five black towns in Oklahoma, Kansas, and Mississippi. For history scholars and students alike, this book will eliminate any doubt that black towns played a significant part in their respective state's history as well as our nation's history. At long last, black towns can be included in our study of history.

This study of black towns, while providing significant insights and thorough accounts relative to historical occurrences, nevertheless is plagued with two defects, (1) organization of material, and (2) presentation of material. Both are closely related, and both tend to confuse the reader. The organization of the book makes it extremely difficult to discern specific aspects of any one of the five all-black towns. The author has attempted to synthesize five towns into one. For example, instead of developing fully a specific incident, the author elects to lump several general ones together: "During its early years Boley residents were sometimes aroused from bed to fight late-night clashes with the ex-slaves of the Indian. . . . Citizens of Nicodemus faced a similar problem. . . . Benjamin T. Green, a Mound Bayou merchant and one of its founders, was shot and killed in his store. . . . And at the 1909 Clearview Christmas celebration the town constable shot and killed two blacks" (pp. 55-56). All this information appears in one paragraph.

From the first chapter, the author goes from an account of Nicodemus, Kansas, to Mound Bayou, Mississippi, to Langston, Clearview, and Boley, Oklahoma, without so much as a heading to signal the reader of a shift in subject. Although the reader finally comes to expect the subject to shift from one town to the next, he is never quite prepared for it. The result is frustration for the reader who wants to concentrate on a particular town.

The second short-coming of the book, presentation of material, is equally as frustrating as the first. For example, in one paragraph the author comments on the 1909 editor of the *Boley Progress*, Ernest D. Lynwood, then he comments on the editor at Clearview, Oklahoma, in 1904, one Ernest

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Lynwood. Now, the reader is at a loss to know if Lynwood is the same or two different people. The author never tells the reader (p. 75). In a number of instances, the same or similar information is presented as in the example of Alfred Charles Sam who we are told at least two times, was "an Akim chief from the Gold Coast" (pp. 136, 170). The information serves no purpose the second time around.

For the reader interested in Oklahoma history (three of the towns are in Oklahoma), this book is a must. For the scholar and student of history, the Notes and Bibliography are excellent for further study in this area. Regardless of the two defects, I recommend *The Black Towns* as not only a good source book, but one that should be included as a requirement for Oklahoma history.

Paul Robert Lehman
Central State University



THE HORSE SOLDIER, 1776-1943: THE UNITED STATES CAVALRYMAN: HIS UNIFORMS, ARMS, ACCOUTREMENTS, AND EQUIPMENTS. By Randy Steffen, with illustrations by Randy Steffen (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977-1979. Illustrations. Appendices. Maps. \$25.00).

Vol. I. THE REVOLUTION, THE WAR OF 1812, THE EARLY FRONTIER, 1776-1850, \$25.00.

Vol. II. THE FRONTIER, THE MEXICAN WAR, THE CIVIL WAR, THE INDIAN WARS, 1851-1880, \$25.00.

Vol. III. THE LAST OF THE INDIAN WARS, THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR, THE BRINK OF THE GREAT WAR, 1881-1916, \$25.00.

Vol. IV. WORLD WAR I, THE PEACETIME ARMY, WORLD WAR II, 1917-1943, \$25.00.

Magnificent . . . definitive . . . overwhelming . . . a monument to scholarship and artistic ability—none of these words is adequate to describe what Randy Steffen accomplished in this four-volume effort. For more than twenty years he researched to produce these volumes in which he traces every item of uniforms, arms, equipment, and accoutrements associated with the United States Cavalry from the time the first Continental Light Dragoons were mustered into service until the Cavalry was mechanized during World War II.

In more than a thousand pages of text and more than five hundred illustrations—rendered in absolute detail, many of them in full color—Steffen

shows what the cavalryman looked like, what he wore, carried, and used. Steffen during his lifetime was recognized as the final authority on this subject, and the present volumes have been endorsed by the Company of Military Historians, a tribute to their authenticity. Appendices include "Cavalry Calls," the sheet music for Cavalry Drill Signals, and "Bugle Calls."

The present four volumes, together with some of the excellent works on frontier forts and books detailing the daily life of soldiers (such as Don Rickey's *Forty Miles a Day on Beans and Hay*), should enable anyone, professional or amateur historian, to form an accurate picture of cavalrymen, their daily life, and their hard lot. However, the user of these volumes should remember that Steffen's plates represent the ideal, not reality; usually the ordinary cavalryman was not so freshly laundered and pressed as depicted here, for theirs was a hard, dirty life. These volumes are a "must" for every research library and every serious collector.

Odie B. Faulk
Edmond, Oklahoma



IN SEARCH OF CANAAN: BLACK MIGRATION TO KANSAS, 1879-80. By Robert G. Athearn (Lawrence, Kansas: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1978. Pp. xii, 313. Bibliography. Index. \$14.00).

In Search of Canaan is the second recent book on the Exodus, a movement of thousands of Southern blacks to Kansas that constituted the first major migration to the North of ex-slaves. Unfortunately, Athearn's book has serious flaws and is in many ways inferior to Nell Painter's work, *Exodusters* (NY, 1976).

Athearn puts the Exodus in the perspective of Western history, calling it "a phenomenon in the frontier movement." The causes of the Exodus "differ little from the incentives that attracted millions of immigrants to the American West." Southern white political oppression of blacks, he argues, was clearly subordinate to economic factors in stimulating the Exodus. Athearn, however, ignores considerable evidence that the black and white experiences differed sharply. Much higher proportions of Southern blacks than whites were trapped in the post-Civil War land and credit system. Especially around the time of the Exodus, Southern blacks were frequent victims of white threats and violence ("bulldozing") aimed at depriving them of the right to vote. Once in Kansas, Exodusters were segregated from whites in Topeka and other towns. Athearn implies separation was due to black clannishness. But his book shows evidence of the role

of white prejudice: whites called an epidemic among Emporia Exodusters, "niggereasles." There is no evidence that white settlers faced such prejudice and violence. Nell Painter shows that blacks left for Kansas because Southern white hostility blocked black attempts to improve their economic and political status. She also shows that Kansas Exodus Fever was only part of a larger black desire to leave the South. Thousands signed a petition favoring migration to Liberia. Certainly there was no comparable "back-to-Europe" sentiment among whites moving West.

Athearn correctly identifies a religious, millenaral strain in the Exodus. He does not, however, analyze its origins, merely stating that it was due to the "emotional nature of the people involved," since they were "impressionable souls" who "found an outlet in religious exhilaration." Here and elsewhere, his description of blacks comes dangerously close to racist stereotypes.

The author feels Exodusters made a mistake when they left the South. This "unreasoned, almost mindless exodus" led to intense black suffering on the road and in Kansas. Painter shows that despite the suffering, the Exodus was a qualified success. By 1900 blacks in Kansas were generally better off economically and politically than their Southern counterparts. In support of this point, she quotes a dissertation on blacks in Topeka, 1865-1900, which traces the Exodusters with data from manuscript schedules of state censuses of 1880 and 1885. Athearn should have been aware of this source.

In Search of Canaan is not without strong points. It is a highly readable narrative of the Exodusters' journey to Kansas by mule, steamboat, and train, from Tennessee, Texas, Mississippi, and Louisiana. It documents the reactions of the white and black press, politicians, and relief groups to the movement. Such subjects receive only small space in Painter's book, which stresses the Southern background of the movement. On balance, however, Athearn's book is inferior to Painter's. Black migration to Kansas after Reconstruction is a vital part of Southern and Afro-American history. The context of Western history, at least as Athearn defines the topic, is an inadequate framework for the Exodus.

Carl Graves
Harvard University



By Vickie Sullivan and Mac R. Harris

INDIAN VALUES: PAST AND PRESENT. By Lu Celia Wise. (Oklahoma City: State Department of Education, 1978. Pp. xvi, 176. No price given).

JOHN COLLIER'S CRUSADE FOR INDIAN REFORM, 1920-1954. By Kenneth R. Philp. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977. Pp. 320. \$12.50).

LIFE AND MANNERS IN THE FRONTIER ARMY. By Oliver Knight. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978. Pp. 288. \$12.95).

MANY SMOKE, MANY MOONS. By Jamake Highwater. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1978. \$8.95).

NATIVE AMERICAN TESTIMONY: AN ANTHOLOGY OF INDIAN AND WHITE RELATIONS, FIRST ENCOUNTER TO DISPOSSESSION. Edited by Peter Nabokov. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1978. Pp. 254. \$8.95).

OKLAHOMA: RECORDS AND ARCHIVES. By Patrick J. Blessing. (Tulsa: University of Tulsa Publications in American Social History, No. 1, 1978. Pp. x, 515. \$16.50).

THE OKLAHOMA STORY. By Arrell M. Gibson. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978. Pp. xv, 262. \$9.95).

PIONEER COOKERY AROUND OKLAHOMA. Compiled and edited by Linda Kennedy Rosser. (Oklahoma City, 1978. Pp. 256. \$7.95. Available from Omniplex, 2100 Northeast 52. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73111).

PIONEERING IN KIOWA COUNTY, VOLUME III. By Kiowa County Historical Society. (Hobart, Oklahoma: Schoonmaker Publisher, 1978. Pp. 352. \$21. Available from Kiowa County Historical Society, Box 182, Hobart, Oklahoma 73651).

THE PLAINS ACROSS: THE OVERLAND EMIGRANTS AND THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST, 1840-1860. By John D. Unruh, Jr. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978. Pp. 568. \$22.50).

THE POTAWATOMIS: KEEPERS OF THE FIRE. By R. David Edmunds. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978. \$19.95).

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SLAVERY AND THE EVOLUTION OF CHEROKEE SOCIETY, 1540-1866. By Theda Perdue. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1979, Pp. 217. \$12.50).

TAHLEQUAH AND THE CHEROKEE NATION. By W. W. "Dub" West. (Privately published by author. 1979. \$10.85. Available from author, 4409 Fondulac, Muskogee, Oklahoma).

WILL ROGERS' DAILY TELEGRAMS, VOLUME I THE COOLIDGE YEARS: 1926-1927. Edited by James M. Smallwood. (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University. 1978. Pp. xi, 453. \$14.95).

WILL ROGERS' DAILY TELEGRAMS, VOLUME II THE HOOVER YEARS: 1929-1931. Edited by James M. Smallwood. (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University. 1978. Pp. xi, 390. \$14.95).

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 26, 1979

President W. D. Finney opened the eighty-seventh annual meeting of the members of the Oklahoma Historical Society by asking the Reverend Frank W. Sprague to give the invocation. President Finney said that the meeting would be dedicated to one of the Board members who had passed on during the year, H. Milt Phillips. He said Mr. Joe W. Curtis had been invited to deliver a tribute to Mr. Phillips, but that Mr. Curtis had been ill. Mr. Q. B. Boydston, a long-time friend of both Mr. Phillips and Mr. Curtis, had consented to give the tribute. Mr. Boydston said that he had known Mr. Phillips for more than sixty years, eighteen of them as a fellow member of the Board of Directors of the Society. Mr. Earl Boyd Pierce moved, seconded by Mr. O. B. Campbell, that the eulogy by Mr. Boydston be entered in the minutes and mailed to the Board members. Motion carried unanimously.

Mr. Finney introduced the Board members and members of the staff present at the meeting.

President Finney called on Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer to present the fifth annual Muriel H. Wright Endowment Award to Donovan L. Hofsommer. The plaque and \$300 stipend award for excellence in writing an article appearing in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* during 1978 was given to Professor Hofsommer for his entry entitled, "What is the Future of the Railroad Branch Lines in Rural Oklahoma?," Volume LVI, Number 4. Dr. Hofsommer is Professor of History at Wayland College, Plainview, Texas.

The Board of Directors' Certificate of Commendation was then presented by Mr. Finney to Reverend Sprague in recognition of his many years of volunteer service to the Society and for serving as chaplain at the annual and luncheon meetings for the past eight years.

Mrs. Campbell moved that all the proceedings of the Board of Directors of the past year be approved. Mr. Pierce seconded and all members voted approval unanimously.

Executive Director Jack Wettengel invited members of the Oklahoma Historical Society to attend an audio-visual presentation in the auditorium of Oklahoma's favorite son, Will Rogers, prepared by Pendleton Woods, director of the Society's oral history program. He called attention to a panel display, prepared by John Hill and Jack Pohucsacutt of the Museums staff, of photographs of Will Rogers taken throughout his career, and to a Will Rogers scrapbook brought for display at the meeting by Mrs. Theodocia Fleet.

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Mr. Wettengel announced that after the scheduled committee meetings, luncheon would be served at the Lincoln Plaza Forum Theater. Governor George Nigh, Ex Officio member of the Board of Directors, was to be the speaker.

President Finney declared the meeting adjourned.

W.D. FINNEY,
PRESIDENT

JACK WETTENGEL, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 26, 1979

The quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order by President W. D. Finney at 10:30 a.m., Thursday, April 26, 1979. He asked Executive Director Jack Wettengel to call the roll and those answering were: Mrs. George L. Bowman; Q. B. Boydston; O. B. Campbell; Harry L. Deupree, M.D.; Mrs. Mark R. Everett; Dr. Odie B. Faulk; W. D. Finney; Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer; E. Moses Frye; Denzil D. Garrison; Dr. Donald E. Green; C. Forest Himes; Mrs. L. E. Hodge, Jr.; Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt; Earl Boyd Pierce; Jordan B. Reaves; Miss Genevieve Seger; Britton D. Tabor; and H. Merle Woods. Those who had asked to be excused were: Jack T. Conn, Joe W. Curtis, Bob Foresman, Nolen J. Fuqua, Dr. A. M. Gibson, and John E. Kirkpatrick. Mr. Boydston moved that those requesting be excused; Mr. Tabor seconded and the motion passed unanimously.

Dr. Fischer introduced Professor Donovan L. Hofsommer, 1978 winner of the Muriel H. Wright Award for his article, "What is the Future of the Railroad Branch Lines in Rural Oklahoma," appearing in Volume LVI, No. 4 issue of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. He also introduced John Reid of the Governor's staff who serves as liaison person to the Oklahoma Historical Society; Carl Clark, the Governor's press secretary; Mrs. Edgar Copley, Society member; Bert Galloway, Guthrie; and David McCollum of *The Guthrie Daily Leader*.

Mr. Finney welcomed Dr. Deupree, who had had open heart surgery, and presented the Board of Directors' Certificate of Commendation in recognition of his work for the Oklahoma Historical Society and his service to Oklahoma as the State Historic Preservation Officer.

Mr. Wettengel reported that thirty-three persons had applied for annual membership during the quarter and two had requested life membership. They were Streeter B. Flynn, Jr., and Neil W. McElderry, III. Colonel Himes moved and General Frye seconded that the applications be accepted and the motion carried unanimously. Mr. Wettengel presented the list of gifts received in the Library and the Museum during the quarter. Miss Seger moved to accept the gifts with appreciation, and Mrs. Bowman seconded. The motion passed unanimously.

Miss Seger moved that the Board approve the minutes of the February 8, 1979, meeting as mailed; Mrs. Bowman seconded and the motion passed unanimously.

Mr. Wettengel read the minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee of April 18 and Dr. Fischer moved that the minutes of the February 21, March 21, and April 18 Executive Committee meetings be approved as circulated and read. Mr. Campbell and Mr. Pierce seconded and the motion was passed unanimously.

President Finney read Mr. Wettengel's letter of resignation, citing ill health as his reason for resigning. Mr. Finney asked the Board to join him in expressing the appreciation of the Board to Mr. Wettengel for his five years' service as Executive Director and stated that the Board owed him a debt of gratitude for the Society's progress during that time. General Frye moved, seconded by Mrs. Bowman, that the Board accept Mr. Wettengel's resignation and that he be placed in another position within the Society, to be selected by the Board after a new Executive Director is chosen.

Mr. Finney named an Executive Director Search Committee comprised of himself and the members of the Executive Committee: Mr. Conn, Mr. Boydstun, Mrs. Bowman, Dr. Fischer, and Mr. Reaves; and in addition, Mr. Campbell, Dr. Deupree, Mrs. Everett, Senator Garrison, Dr. Gibson, and Mr. Reid of the Governor's staff. The first meeting of the committee was set for Thursday, May 3, in the Board Room, at 1:30 p.m. The committee will write a job description, then conduct a search and screening procedure. Dr. Fischer moved that Mr. Wettengel be given a rising vote of thanks and appreciation for his years of dedicated service. Mr. Boydstun seconded, and motion passed unanimously.

Mrs. Bowman introduced the Society's new accountant, W. D. "Will" Wilkinson, before giving the treasurer's report. She reviewed the third quarter report of the Cash Revolving Fund 200 and then announced that a number of checks had been given to the Society in memory of H. Milt Phillips. She requested the Board to consider before the July meeting how to spend the funds as a tribute to Mr. Phillips. Mr. Boydstun moved that

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the treasurer's report be approved as read; General Frye seconded and the motion carried unanimously.

Mrs. Everett reported that she had prepared a chart for a new Department of Library Resources and had written a job description for a new director of the department. Mrs. Everett said Mr. Wettengel had helped in bringing Joseph W. Snell, Executive Director of the Kansas State Historical Society, to the Oklahoma Historical Society to act as a consultant for developing the library. She said Mr. Snell had been most helpful in providing copies of reports and job descriptions used in the Kansas State Historical Society library as guidelines for reorganizing the Oklahoma Historical Society library. Mrs. Everett moved that the Board send Mr. Snell a note of thanks for his assistance; Mrs. Nesbitt seconded and the motion passed unanimously.

Mrs. Everett presented a report from Martha R. Blaine, Indian Archivist, stating that no progress had been made on the installation of humidity controls in the Archives; although Mr. Campbell said bids on such controls were being considered. Wiring problems in the area were still unsolved, according to Mrs. Everett.

Air conditioning was installed in the Newspaper/Microfilm Department's vault during the quarter, reported Mrs. Everett.

In her report of the Black Heritage Committee, which had met Tuesday, April 24, Mrs. Everett presented a chronological history of the committee. She also called attention to two books written by Zella J. Black Patterson, member of the committee and retired Langston University faculty member. These were a book of poetry, "A Garden of Poems," and "Langston University—A History."

Mr. Pierce led a discussion between Mr. Galloway and the Board members on recent published comments by Mr. Galloway concerning the abolishment of the Board and the misunderstandings surrounding the preservation of the State Capital Printing Company building in Guthrie. Museum and Sites Director C. E. Metcalf and Historic Preservation Director Howard L. Meredith were invited to the meeting to give their views of the problems. Answering a question from Mr. Galloway, Mr. Wettengel stated that the Oklahoma Historical Society had been audited by the State Auditor in June of 1976 and received the report in 1977. A federal audit was made in 1977, and though an exit conference was held, the formal written report had not yet been received. Both audits reported that the Society records were in proper shape, although there were discrepancies from the first federal audit conducted in 1974 in the manner in which in-kind matching property was reported. Mr. Reaves observed that there was no basis for criticism of the Society on audits.

After a review of past transactions involving the State Capital Printing Company building project, Mrs. Nesbitt suggested that the best solution for solving difficulties surrounding the project would be to look at the project as it now stands and determine the course to follow. Dr. Faulk moved that Mr. Metcalf be instructed to proceed with all due caution but with all deliberate speed to weatherproof the State Capital Printing Company building and report at the next meeting of the Executive Committee, May 16, what progress had been made or if \$50,000 available for such restoration had been expended. Mr. Pierce and Colonel Himes seconded and a roll call vote followed: Voting to approve the motion were Mrs. Bowman, Mr. Boydston, Mr. Campbell, Dr. Deupree, Mrs. Everett, Dr. Faulk, Mr. Finney, Dr. Fischer, General Frye, Senator Garrison, Dr. Green, Colonel Himes, Mrs. Hodge, Mrs. Nesbitt, Mr. Pierce, Mr. Reaves, Miss Seger, Mr. Tabor, and Mr. Woods. There were no dissenting votes.

Mr. Pierce suggested that a commission of five—three members of the Board and two citizens of the City of Guthrie—be empowered to select three other citizens to form a City of Guthrie Historic Preservation Commission, along the lines of the Board's Honey Springs Commission and the Old Fort Gibson Commission, which commission would address itself to the long range development of the Guthrie Historic District. Dr. Faulk recommended that this matter be placed on the agenda for the Executive Committee meeting May 16.

Mr. Boydston reported on the present condition of the Barracks, Old Powder House, and the Bake Oven at Fort Gibson and the lot in which the grave of Chief Justice John Martin is located. Mr. Boydston said that the Old Fort Gibson Commission had met April 10 in the office of Bob Foreman in Tulsa, and offered short and long range recommendations. The commission recommended that the Society adopt the following as a program for the development of the Society-owned buildings:

1. The original remaining half of the barracks be restored to its original state by removing the inside stairway and wooden partitions, and restoring the interior of both floors—lower and upper, to their original state;
2. Restore veranda, construct outside stairway in conformity with the original;
3. Furnish lower floor, the kitchen and mess rooms with furnishings comparable with the 1850s. Furnish upper floor.

The commission recommended for the Powder Magazine that:

1. A new roof and door be placed on this powder magazine building, and masonry re-pointed;

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2. It be furnished and stocked with imitation powder barrels, kegs, cannon balls and other ammunition containers, replicas of the kind used at the time this building was used for said purposes; correctly labeling all of the contents.

For the Bake Oven that:

1. The oven be completely restored as it was originally and that the oven be repaired to full operating condition;
2. A new cover house be built over the same to the same specifications as the original;
3. Furnish the bake house with baking utensils, resembling the utensils used originally.

The commission further recommended that when these properties are fully restored, a curator be employed by the Oklahoma Historical Society to manage the properties.

For the future plans for all of Fort Gibson covered in the historical landmark territory, the commission recommended that:

1. Supervision, control, development and management of all the Fort Gibson Historical Landmark Territory be placed in the Oklahoma Historical Society.
2. Title to all of the remaining original buildings, which are now owned privately, be acquired.
3. Request the Corps of Engineers, U.S.A., to convey title to the Oklahoma Historical Society, subject to a flowage easement, returning that part of the landmark property that it took for the Webbers Falls Lock and Dam.
4. Request that the markers and structures that were in place at the old stockade and park, that have been destroyed, removed, or not preserved by the Oklahoma Tourism and Recreation Department, be replaced and restored immediately. A list of these items is hereto attached.

The commission requested that the Board of Directors approve these recommendations and adopt the same as a program and goal of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. Boydston, as chairman of the Old Fort Gibson Commission, moved that the recommendations as read be approved; Mr. Pierce seconded and approval was unanimous. Mr. Finney said the recommendations would be given due consideration by the Board and expressed the need for an implement to search for funds to extend the Society's ability to develop such programs.

Mr. Pierce asked that the Board members give Mr. Boydston a vote of

thanks for the effort he had put forth in preparing the Old Fort Gibson Commission report, as well as his work on the revision of the constitution and by-laws.

Mr. Boydston reported that an aerial survey had been made of the Honey Springs grave site and that the company making the survey would also make an infra-red site survey.

Mr. Boydston reported on land acquisition at Honey Springs and said that Mrs. Aplis Jones, with life estate of nine acres within the battlefield park area, had passed away. He said the Board should make a decision as to whether or not someone should be hired to be in the home, which could be used as headquarters for the development of the Honey Springs Battlefield Park. Efforts are being made to obtain an adjoining one acre tract presently owned by Mr. and Mrs. Harrell Martin residing in a trailer house on the tract.

Mr. Boydston requested Mr. Wettengel to report on the condemnation suit of the Lane property. Mr. Wettengel said John Akins, Assistant Attorney General, was still working on papers left by the former Assistant Attorney General and believed he should be in position to file a condemnation shortly.

Dr. Deupree asked Mr. Reaves to give the Museum and Sites Committee report. Mr. Reaves commended Mr. Metcalf for serving as director of both the Museum and Historic Sites Departments in the absence of a museum director. Mr. Reaves reported that an appraisal had been made by Dean Krakel, Managing Director of the National Cowboy Hall of Fame and Western Heritage Center, of the Alfred Jacob Miller painting, "Cavalcade." The appraisal, \$250,000, was made for insurance purposes in sending the painting to Fort Worth for restoration. Mr. Krakel said he believed it is the most valuable Miller painting in existence.

The Museum and Sites Committee had learned that the U.S.S. Oklahoma City was being deactivated and the committee recommended contacting Admiral John Kirkpatrick for possible acquisition of artifacts, said Mr. Reaves.

Mr. Reaves revealed that Fred Olds, of the Oklahoma Territorial Museum, Guthrie, was planning to assist in the development of a temperature-controlled portrait storage area. The committee also recommended that anything in the museum collections pertaining to Will Rogers should be brought out of storage for display during the Will Rogers Memorial Celebration year.

The deterioration of the U.S.S. Oklahoma Punch Bowl was described by Mr. Reaves and the committee recommended that it be restored and placed on permanent display.

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A proposed gift shop, which was to have been operated by the Oklahoma City Junior League volunteers, was cancelled by the League, Mr. Reaves said.

Dr. Deupree expressed concern about the length of time to settle the matter of the Burkhart estate, which had been referred back to trial. His particular concern was for the safety of the contents of the house on the property.

Colonel Himes outlined the Property Resources Committee's organization chart, which had been requested by the Executive Committee after the Board meeting February 8. President Finney, however, said that Governor George Nigh had told him and Mr. Conn that any reorganization plans would have to be delayed until such time as he could review the programs of the Oklahoma Historical Society, the Department of Tourism, and the Department of Libraries to determine where duplication of programs could be eliminated. The Governor's representatives, Mr. Reid and Mr. Clark, expressed the Governor's great interest in the Society and his ambition to coordinate the efforts of the three agencies, which will require major changes over the next few years in order to serve the State of Oklahoma more efficiently. The Governor had said that he would need a lot of support to bring about such changes.

Dr. Fischer reported that the publication of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* was moving along in the interim period during which a Director of Publications, Research and Education was being requested. He said a pattern had been set to publish four volumes of the Oklahoma Series each year. The Publications, Research and Education Committee had reaffirmed their stand that they wished to work toward the creation of a position of Director of Publications, Research and Education for the department and that they wished to upgrade the position in terms of salary and qualifications. Dr. Fischer moved that an active search be made for grant money from the National Endowment for the Humanities to provide funds for media materials for the education office and other areas of the Publications, Research, and Education Department. Dr. Faulk seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

Dr. Fischer distributed inscribed editions of the latest issue of the Oklahoma Series, "Early Military Forts and Posts in Oklahoma," and presented a clothbound edition to Mr. Reid for Governor Nigh.

Meeting adjourned approximately 4:45 p.m.

W. D. FINNEY,
PRESIDENT

JACK WETTENGEL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

The following is a list of the markers and structures that were in place at the Old Fort Gibson Stockade and Military Park at the time the Old Fort Gibson Stockade Commission transferred to the Oklahoma Parks Department for maintenance and operation in 1947 which have been removed or destroyed:

(1)

Fourteen (14) log mess rooms have been destroyed.

(2)

The Old Bakery, consisting of one (1) log room, has been torn down.

(3)

Approximately two and one half (2½) miles of the Old Military roads and drives have been obliterated, and the markers removed.

(4)

The site of the first Sutler's Store and first Post Office has not been maintained, and the marker removed.

(5)

The marker of the first Boat Landing, 1824, where Colonel Arbuckle landed to build the Fort, and was used by steamboats until about 1842, has been removed.

(6)

The restored ruins of a part of the Old Fortifications and Breast Works, known as Fort Blunt, have not been maintained and have been partially destroyed and the marker removed.

(7)

The marker at the site of the Government Saw Mill has been removed.

(8)

The marker and a part of the foundation at the site of the Quartermaster Store House, the Southeast corner of which was the starting point of the survey of the Old Military Reservation, have been removed.

(9)

The Commanding Officers' Quarters outside of the Stockade have been allowed to deteriorate.

(10)

The marker and part of the foundation at the site of the Old Military

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Chapel, and where first Church services were held at Fort Gibson, have been removed.

(11)

Approximately thirty-five (35) biographical markers have been removed from the Stockade. These markers were short biographical sketches of officers that served at the post, among them—Matthew Arbuckle, Jefferson Davis, Zachary Taylor, Nathaniel Boone, son of Daniel Boone, and many others.

(12)

Most of the area outside the Old Stockade has, and is being used by others as a livestock pasture and rodeo arena.

(13)

The original survey monument has been destroyed or removed. Dated February 11, 1977

Q. B. Boydston

GIFT LIST

The Oklahoma Historical Society wishes to acknowledge the following people who donated gifts during the first quarter of 1979.

MUSEUMS AND HISTORIC SITES:

Miss Betty L. Arnold
 Ms. Martha J. Jeffries
 Lewis King
 Ray F. Nelson
 Miss Virginia A. Hardy
 Mrs. Robert Ludtke
 Mrs. Jimmy Hays (Dorothy J.)
 Ted E. Olmstead, in memory of Charles
 Hasbrook & Eugene Olmstead
 Colonel Robert W. Vincent
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INDIAN ARCHIVES:

McLean County Historical Society,
Bloomington, Illinois
McCurtain Scott

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NEW ANNUAL MEMBERS

January 26, 1979 to April 26, 1979

Barbre, Mrs. Gaye L.	Farmington, New Mexico
Beeby, George M.	Marshall
Benge, Mrs. Thomas L. (Eloise M.)	Fort Gibson
Bovee, Orra Lee	Traverse City, Michigan
Brewer, Thomas Calvin	Tulsa
Carnes, Gary D.	Tulsa
Carpenter, Ted W.	Phoenix, Arizona
Chiles, Fred H.	Washington, D.C.
Dennis, Naomi E.	Palm Desert, California
Dorroh, Thelma L.	Louisville, Kentucky
Downing, Jim	Bixby
Dudman, Paul W.	Oklahoma City
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Haines, Betty Jo	Hydro
Harris, Gloria	Downey, California
Hatter, David N.	Midwest City
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Householder, Jean	Oklahoma City
Kaufman, Lois P.	Norman
Kempf, L.S.	Lindsay
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Marshall, Sue	Claremore
McCann, Gordon	Springfield, Missouri
Pearson, Mrs. Lloyd	Wewoka
Querry, Jack	Oklahoma City
Sanders, Mrs. M. L., Jr.	Ralls, Texas
Sawyer, Arey L.	Choctaw
Silverling, Art	Westlake, Ohio
Stone, Charles F.	Enid
Stubbs, Billy E.	Guthrie
Verble, Dr. Margaret S.	Lexington, Kentucky
Wares, Richard N.	Bartlesville
Williams, H. Paul	Oklahoma City

NEW LIFE MEMBERS

January 26, 1979 to April 26, 1979

Flynn, Streeter B., Jr.	Oklahoma City
McElderry, Neil W., III	Purcell

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are \$5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Life membership is \$100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is \$6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine \$1.50 unless otherwise stipulated by the Historical Society office. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Executive Director, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

EDITORIAL POLICY—"The Chronicles of Oklahoma shall . . . pursue an editorial policy of publication of worthy and scholarly manuscripts dealing with all aspects of Oklahoma or regional history. It shall not interest itself in the publication of manuscripts of a political or controversial nature." (Constitution Oklahoma Historical Society) Manuscripts submitted for consideration for publication should be typed on bond paper and double spaced. Footnotes should conform to *A Manual of Style* (The University of Chicago Press, 1975), be double spaced and be placed at the end of the manuscript. Appropriate photographs should be supplied with submitted manuscripts and will be returned upon author's request. The Publication Department reserves the right to make any editorial changes it deems necessary for the sake of clarity and conformity to its adopted style. No responsibility is assumed for unsolicited manuscripts, and such material will be returned to the author only if accompanied by postpaid envelope. All inquiries should be addressed to: Publication Department, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 73105. Telephone 405-521-2491.



CONSTITUTION OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Article I, Section 2—The purposes for which the Oklahoma Historical Society is organized and conducted are to preserve and to perpetuate the history of Oklahoma and its people; to stimulate popular interest in historical study and research; and to promote and to disseminate historical knowledge. To further these ends and, as the trustee of the State of Oklahoma, it shall maintain a library and museum in which it shall collect, arrange, catalog, index and preserve books, pamphlets, newspapers, magazines, manuscripts, letters, diaries, journals, records, maps, charts, documents, photographs, engravings, etchings, pictures, portraits, busts, statuary and other objects of art and all other appropriate museum material with special regard to the history of Oklahoma. It shall perpetuate knowledge of the lives and deeds of the explorers and pioneers of this region; it shall collect and preserve the arts and crafts of the pioneering period, the legends, traditions, histories and cultural standards of the Indian tribes; it shall maintain a collection of the handiwork of the same, and an archaeological collection illustrating the life, customs and culture of the prehistoric peoples. It shall disseminate the knowledge thus gained by investigation and research through the medium of printed reports, bulletins, lectures, exhibits or other suitable means or methods. It shall discharge all other duties and responsibilities placed upon it by the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma.

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OF OKLAHOMA



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Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be sent to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.

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THE COVER Members of Company B, 179th Infantry Regiment, 45th Infantry Division near Hat'o-Dong, Korea in March of 1952.

OKLAHOMA'S MILITARY TRADITION

*By Fred A. Daugherty and Pendleton Woods**

Most people relate the beginning of Oklahoma's military tradition to statehood. However, the military history in Oklahoma began soon after the arrival of the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory in the 1830s. Each of these tribes formed a police force to keep order in their territories. These police units operated as the militia for their respective tribes until statehood on November 16, 1907.

Indian Territory in 1870 was a land where outlaws took refuge from the law. It was a land where the only protection was a handful of United States marshals and federal troops—where the nearest judge was in Fort Smith, Arkansas. It was a land where the prudent man took steps to protect his own home. Indian citizens formed light cavalry units and rode against criminals who made their way into Indian Territory. White settlers in the western sector of what is now Oklahoma formed their own protective societies such as the Hennessey Rifles, their home guard against outlaw raids.

The Oklahoma Territorial Militia was organized in 1890, being created by the First Territorial Legislature. However, no money was appropriated for the troops. The governor would appoint a full staff of officers but there were few enlisted men and virtually no equipment. For those who served there was no pay. Actually, it cost its members money because the officers paid the armory rent out of their own pockets, and cavalrymen bought and kept their own horses. All these militia men asked was the opportunity of being of service when needed.

In 1895 the Oklahoma Territorial Militia was officially reorganized as the Oklahoma Territorial National Guard. The first national guard consisted of infantry companies, cavalry troops, and artillery batteries. Its total strength in peace time was limited to 500 men. The adjutant general was Frank Canton.

It was in 1898 that the Oklahoma Territorial National Guard got its first taste of combat. On February 15, 1898, the battleship *Maine* was sunk. Soon war was declared between the United States and Spain and the Spanish-

* Fred A. Daugherty, formerly Commander of the 45th Infantry Division, currently is a United States District Judge in Oklahoma City. Pendleton Woods is Director of the Oklahoma Living Legends Library at Oklahoma Christian College, Oklahoma City.



Oklahoma officers serving in the Spanish-American War, 1898 (Courtesy of the 45th Infantry Division Museum).

American War was for real. The cry went up, "Remember the Maine" and some who remembered it best were Oklahoma farm boys who had never seen the ocean or a ship. But they were horsemen and they were rugged and that was what the army was looking for. Congress passed a volunteer bill allowing National Guard units to serve in the regular army as state units with the approval of their governors. The First United States Volunteer Cavalry was commanded by Colonel Leonard Wood, with Lieutenant Colonel Theodore Roosevelt as his assistant. Members were mustered into service from New Mexico, Arizona, Oklahoma Territory, and Indian Territory. The public promptly named them the Rough Riders because of their cowboy backgrounds. They trained briefly in San Antonio, Texas, then embarked from Tampa, Florida for Cuba on June 13, 1898. Three cavalry troops from the First Oklahoma Territory Regiment were part of the Rough Riders. One was Troop D from Oklahoma Territory and two troops were from Indian Territory, Troops L and M. Of all the actions the

Rough Riders engaged in during the three months war, the most famous was the charge of San Juan Hill. Victory was sweet but the losses were severe. Among the dead was Roy Cashion of Hennessey, the first Oklahoman to give his life for his country. Four rifle companies from the First Oklahoma Territorial Regiment were called to duty, but they were merged into a regular infantry brigade and lost their unit identity. After the Spanish-American war Theodore Roosevelt visited Oklahoma for a reunion with his beloved Rough Riders who came from Oklahoma and who charged up San Juan Hill with him.

The Oklahoma Territorial Guard grew in the years following the Spanish-American War. Federal funds to support the troops were made available, and the territorial legislature voted support in money and men. The territorial status of the National Guard in Oklahoma ended with statehood when it then became known as the Oklahoma National Guard.

Armory training, annual field training camps in the summer, and minor disturbances occupied the Oklahoma Guard until March of 1909 when Governor Charles N. Haskell sent Colonel Roy Hoffman with five rifle companies of the guard to Henryetta to put down the uprising of a group of Creek Indians. This was called the Crazy Snake Rebellion for the Creeks were sometimes called Snake Indians. About 600 Creek and Seminole Indians were encamped about twenty miles from Henryetta. They engaged in war dances and vowed to enforce their treaty, opposed the allotment of land to whites, and threatened to kill any white person they encountered. But when faced with the military forces they dispersed, and the rebellion quickly ended to the disappointment of the national press.

It was 1916 before the country needed its National Guard again. Pancho Villa and his Mexican rebels were raiding the border between our country and Mexico. The First Oklahoma Regiment was called to active duty. Twelve thousand regulars were also sent to the border and went on a frustrating chase deep into Mexico. The Oklahoma soldiers spent their time in service guarding the border between Mexico and Texas, looking for guerrillas that never appeared, and eating an endless supply of gritty sand. Their commander was another veteran of the Spanish-American War, Brigadier General John J. Pershing, but he was deep in Mexico with the regulars most of the time. The First Oklahoma Infantry Regiment was on the border near San Benito and Captain W. S. Key, later to command the division, was in charge of the company from Wewoka, Oklahoma. Roy Hoffman, Raymond S. McLain, Charles E. McPherren, and Ellis Stephenson, to name a few, saw service on the border. The Oklahoma guardsmen spent about a year on the Mexican border but without combat. They returned to Oklahoma to be discharged just in time to be called up again for World War I.



Members of Company K, 120th Engineers of the Oklahoma Territorial Guard drilling, ca. 1900 (Courtesy of the 45th Infantry Division Museum).

By the time the Oklahomans got back from Mexico, World War I was in its third year; however, the Americans were just getting into it. Casualties overseas were already in the millions. Two unbroken lines of trenches faced each other over a scarred no man's land with the opposing armies charging each other in futile and fatal offensives. The weapon which would break trench defenses was already invented—the armored tank—but generals on both sides refused to use it. So the war ground on, chewing up divisions and creating ever-longer lists of casualties. With the fighting stymied in the trenches the war increased at sea by reason of another new weapon—the German submarine. And the sea war was carried right to the coast of the United States. The order went out from the German high command: “Sink everything that floats.”

The Oklahoma Guard came back from the Mexican border and was mustered out on March 2, 1917. They got to stay at home exactly thirty days. While the rest of the needed military manpower was being drawn from a fishbowl, the men of the National Guard were already on the way. In this war the Oklahoma National Guardsmen were split up, but most of the units and men were combined with the Texas National Guard to form the

36th Infantry Division. The background of the insignia of this division is a blue arrowhead representing Oklahoma on which is superimposed a capital T which represents the Texas contribution to the division. Some of the small units of the Oklahoma guard became part of the 42nd Infantry Division, known as the Rainbow Division, and some individuals were sent to the 90th Infantry Division known as the T-O or Texas-Oklahoma Division. All three of these divisions saw combat in France. At the time of the call-up for World War I, one of the machine gun companies of the Oklahoma National Guard was commanded by Captain Raymond S. McLain, who in later years would attain the highest combat position ever reached by a National Guard officer. Another great Oklahoma soldier was General Roy Hoffman, who returned from World War I as a brigadier general, believed to be the highest rank achieved by an Oklahoman in World War I.

The first stop for the Oklahomans was at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, then a place called Camp Bowie just outside of Fort Worth, Texas, where most of the Oklahoma guardsmen went into the 36th Infantry Division. In the not-so-gentle Texas sun, it seemed like the Mexican border all over again. But this was no chase after bandits on mules. This was a war, already the most destructive in history. But at least it was a war to end wars and that made anything worthwhile to the Oklahomans—even being in Texas.

Then there was the trip overseas. The smallest ships were put out on the edge of the convoy—in case of successful submarine attack the losses would be held down. However, there were no attacks and no casualties at sea for the 36th Infantry Division. The Oklahoma and Texas guardsmen of the 36th Infantry Division landed in France in June and July of 1918. Their French railroad trains took them not to the battlefield, but to another training camp established to train the green American troops in the highly developed science of trench warfare. Camp life even in France was routine. Along with vigorous training were such events as band concerts and sports. Many distinguished European visitors stopped by to have a look at the new arrivals from America. One of them was the Queen of Belgium escorted by General Pershing himself. Another army might have provided the queen with a spit-and-polish review. The Texans and Oklahomans, however, gave her a football game. The 36th Division team was loaded with stars from Oklahoma A & M College and was runner-up for the American Expedition Force championship. They might have been the champions but the game was played in Paris and someone got the star player somewhat intoxicated before game time. However, before the football season was over the 36th was moving on to a more deadly game. The first week of October it was moved forward to take position on the Champagne front in the Meuse-Argonne operation. Fighting as a part of the Fourth French Army,



Oklahomans operating a "French 75" in World War I (Courtesy of the 45th Infantry Division Museum).

the Oklahomans and Texans were ready for the final blow to end the war. On October 10 the 36th Division met the enemy in battle for the first time. Charging across a field swept with machine gun fire, they attacked the little town of St. Etienne. The division advanced 21 kilometers and took 549 prisoners. One Oklahoma guardsman fighting in this battle was Lee Gilstrap, who had falsified his age to enlist. He was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross in this engagement and received the same on his sixteenth birthday. St. Etienne, with its ruined church steeple, was a landmark for the 36th Division, and a symbol of the 600 who were killed and the 1,900 wounded in the battle. The long and terrible summer of 1918 drew to a close and with it the war. The allies were on the offensive all along the front.

Twenty-one thousand of the enemy surrendered in one body. The German commander reported: "This has put a decline in our fighting power beyond all doubt. The war must be ended."

An effort was made to hold out for a negotiated peace. But offensive after offensive broke the German lines. Now there were 42 American divisions in France—600 tanks were poised for attack. Planes were ready for bombing Berlin. Revolution broke out in Germany. As the armies faced each other across the same fields where the war had begun four years before, the cease-fire came. It came on the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month in 1918.

When the Oklahoma troops came home from World War I in May of 1919, the national guardsmen had distinguished company. Among them was John J. Pershing, General of the Armies—the first soldier since George Washington to hold that rank. To greet him and to ride in a parade with him down Broadway and onto Main Street in Oklahoma City was Jack Walton, Mayor of Oklahoma City, who would soon be Governor Jack Walton and who was destined as governor to make quite an unusual use of the National Guard.

In the years following World War I, the National Guard returned to its former ways—once a week night drills in local armories, and two weeks of annual summer field training at Fort Sill using whatever equipment was handed down from the regular army. The period between the World Wars included many calls to temporary active duty for units of the Oklahoma guard. Sometimes it was to end a disturbance. Sometimes it was to prevent one. Sometimes it was for what was termed as political reasons. There were also many calls during disasters.

In September, 1919, units of the guard were called to halt rioting in Drumright. Later in the same year, units were called to protect lives and property in the large-scale coal strike in eastern Oklahoma. The most serious disturbance which called for service of the guard was the Tulsa race riot of 1921. They were also called up in the Ku Klux Klan confrontation. In 1924 Governor Walton put the entire state under martial law when he was fighting the impeachment charges made against him by the Oklahoma House of Representatives. Four years later, Governor Henry S. Johnston called guard units to active duty during his impeachment proceedings which resulted in his removal from office. A familiar figure during these days was Major General Charles F. Barrett, the State Adjutant General. Barrett had first enlisted in the territorial guard in 1896 less than one year after its designation was changed from the Oklahoma Territorial Militia to the Territorial National Guard.



Members of the 179th Infantry of the Oklahoma National Guard during the coal strike of 1919 (Courtesy of the 45th Infantry Division Museum).

It was on August 27, 1923—some five years after the close of World War I—that the 45th Infantry Division was formed with National Guard units from Oklahoma, Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico. An infantry regiment was located in Colorado, another in Arizona, an engineer regiment in New Mexico, with two infantry regiments, the artillery, and the balance of the division units being located in Oklahoma. The division camped together for the first time at Fort Sill in the summer of 1924. Division headquarters was in Oklahoma City and most of its top officers came from Oklahoma.

Its first commanding general was Major General Baird H. Markham of Oklahoma City. The first building north of the Oklahoma Publishing Company at Fourth and Broadway has a carving in stone which says, "Markham Motor Company." This was his Buick motor company in the 1920s. Later he moved to New York City where he became Executive Vice President of American Airlines, from which position he moved to become the Director of the American Petroleum Institute, which he served until retirement. The second commander of the 45th Division was Major General Roy Hoffman, who had played a leading role in all of Oklahoma's military activities including the Mexican border and World War I. Charles E. McPherrren, an attorney from Durant, Oklahoma, served briefly as division



Members of the 179th Infantry Regiment, Oklahoma National Guard, passing in review in the 1920s (Courtesy of the 45th Infantry Division Museum).

commander. An important role was also played by Major General William S. Key, who served as division commander from 1936 until shortly before the division moved overseas in World War II.

One governor made much use of the National Guard. This was William H. "Alfalfa Bill" Murray who called the guard out at least thirty times during his four years in office. Three memorable occasions were for closing the banks to prevent a panic at the height of the depression, pro-rating production in the oil field to drive up the price of oil, and to guard the Red River bridge in the border dispute with Texas.

In Oklahoma in the 1920s and 1930s, soldiers were frequently seen on parade. But during the same period other parades were going on in a place called Munich, Germany, and these parades were always followed by a speech by Adolph Hitler. These parades would play an important part in the lives of members of the 45th Infantry Division. Since its organization in 1923 the emblem of the 45th Infantry Division had been an Indian symbol, which the men proudly wore on their sleeves. However, by ironic circumstance this symbol closely resembled the Swastika which Hitler had chosen as the symbol for the Nazi party in Germany. The 45th Emblem had to go, and in its place another Indian symbol with the same colors, the Thunder-



45th Infantry Division camp at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in December of 1940
(Courtesy of the 45th Infantry Division Museum).

bird, was chosen in 1939. The Thunderbird is a symbol of a bird of good luck who brought rain whenever he flapped his wings. Later it became an emblem of ironic comment whenever the division faced an overabundance of moisture like the fall of 1943 in Salerno, Italy, and the spring of 1952 in Korea.

By 1939 the entire world was concerned about the rise of Nazi Germany and about an island in the Pacific which had gobbled up Manchuria and was threatening China. Italy had launched war against defenseless Ethiopia and was threatening other countries. Its ruler, Benito Mussolini, between speeches would go swimming at a resort thirty-three miles to the south of Rome at a place called Anzio—another site which would affect the lives of members of the 45th Infantry Division. No one wanted war and as usually is the case only the aggressors were ready. British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain wanted peace and signed a document declaring that Germany was entitled to take over a country over which it had no rightful jurisdiction.

No one wanted war but it came anyway. As soon as Hitler was convinced that no more territory would be given to him by a piece of paper, he started grabbing nations by force. First France, Belgium, Holland, Luxemburg, Denmark, and Norway were occupied, and England underwent intense bombing to soften that country for an invasion. The National Guard was mobilized for one year. The 45th Division was one of the first National Guard divisions to be called to active duty. The men had neither the clothing nor the equipment for proper active duty training. It was destined to be the longest year they had ever known. As the Thunderbirds converged on Fort Sill to begin their year's service, the nation was beginning to muster its industrial power. Draftees soon began filling the ranks of the 45th Division.

The division trained at Fort Sill, Oklahoma; at Camp Barkley, Texas; in Louisiana on maneuvers; at Fort Devens and Camp Edwards in Massachusetts; Pine Camp, New York; and Camp Pickett, Virginia before moving overseas in June of 1943, destination unknown.

The first landing was in Oran, Algeria in North Africa. It was their last peaceful landing. There the soldiers of the division underwent final amphibious training before they boarded invasion vessels for their first combat amphibious landing. This time the men knew their destination. Each was issued a little booklet entitled, *Soldier's Guide to Sicily*. And each man was issued something else—live ammunition. Thus began seventy continuous days of combat, and a Sicilian victory which initiated the eventual removal of Italy from the war. When the Sicilian Campaign was finally over, there would be no question about this national guard division from the Southwest. The citizen soldiers of the 45th demonstrated their fighting qualities. In the true test of an infantry division, which is combat, the Thunderbirds were as good as the best. General George S. Patton, then commanding the Seventh Army, said as much in addressing the division after the Sicilian victory. "Born at sea, baptized in blood, your fame shall never die. Your division is one of the best, if not the best division in the history of American arms," he declared.

But it wasn't long until ships were loading again, and this time the soldiers guidebook said, *Soldier's Guide to Rome*. It was on their way across the channel that the news broke. Italy had just surrendered. Now it would be Germans, not Italians, waiting for them on the beaches of Salerno.

The Thunderbird Division landed and then broke out of Salerno into an unbelievable world. In late September the rains began and then the troops encountered the German Winter Line which was heavily fortified and occupied positions of advantage. Roads turned to mud, creeks turned to rivers, and bridges disappeared. In the mud and then the ice of the Italian mountains, mule trains were organized to replace vehicles which could not



Members of the 45th Infantry Division boarding a train which would carry them from Camp Barkley, Texas, to Fort Devens, Massachusetts, in 1942 (Courtesy of the 45th Infantry Division Museum).

traverse this terrain. John Wirtz, an Oklahoma City veterinarian who knew mules, was called upon to muster and handle the animals. Some of the mules were promoted to corporal and sergeant by the Thunderbirds who fully appreciated the job they were doing.

The fighting stopped in November. Winter clothing arrived in December. By this time word had come that the troops were moving again. This time the destination was Anzio—the resort beach where Mussolini used to go swimming and where a much earlier emperor—Nero—was born and later fiddled when Rome burned. When the men left for this landing some said “Anyplace will be better than Salerno.” But they were wrong. It was on the beachhead of Anzio that the 45th faced its bloodiest fighting. The landing was in January of 1944, and it was in this campaign that the Thunderbirds faced elements of seven German divisions of tough and experienced Nazi troops including the fanatical elite of the German army. By the end of the first round of fighting on the beachhead, one company had only two survivors. One battalion had 162 men out of 713. The Germans sat on Anzio’s high hills and dropped artillery shells into every part of Mussolini’s old resort. There was no safe place in Anzio—not even on the ships. For four



Anti-aircraft troops of the 45th Infantry Division on the beach in Sicily guarding against strafing Axis aircraft (Courtesy of 45th Infantry Division Museum).

long months the 45th occupied the Anzio beachhead, turning back German attacks and taking, but giving, severe casualties. However, there was only one way out of Anzio for the living. That way led up the hills, through the mine fields, through the artillery barrages, and through the German army. From the cold winter through the spring and into the summer the men fought upwards into Italy from Anzio, a drive which German Field Marshal von Kesselring called "an epic of American arms." The men finally reached the outskirts of Rome, when the division was pulled back and made ready for yet another invasion. Perhaps the greatest compliment made to the 45th Division came from the commanding general of a German SS organization, the elite of the German army, when he declared that the 45th Division is America's SS Division.

On August 15, 1944, in the early morning hours, the division landed in southern France under overcast weather, with bombers blasting the beaches and navy guns and rockets firing at inland targets. The initial resistance was light with the Nazi troops retreating to the north. To the newcomers with the 45th, war suddenly appeared an easy venture but the veterans knew better. "Just a wait a few days, if you're still alive," they said. The men



Troops of the 3rd Battalion, 179 Infantry Regiment, 45th Infantry Division, crossing the Moselle River in France in September of 1944 (Courtesy of the 45th Infantry Division Museum).

moved through numerous towns in southern France. In October the weather turned bad and cold rains began, flooding the roads and soaking everything. They were facing winter and the difficult Vosges mountains at the same time. Fox holes filled with water. The men slept at the edges of their fox holes, plunging into the icy water only when the shells came too close. The fog, rain, mud, snow, and ice increased as the tired infantrymen plodded ahead to Germany. In mid-December the 180th Infantry Regiment put the first troops across the German border, but higher headquarters directed a withdrawal after the Germans had broken through the lines to the north in the Battle of the Bulge. The winter finally ended, and on

March 25 the Thunderbirds crossed the Rhine River in a surprise assault. Two infantry regiments got across before the Germans could organize strong resistance. By then it was too late. The Thunderbird soldiers were on their way.

The German army was beginning to crumble. The Thunderbirds were taking prisoners by the hundreds. In mid-April the division came to the gates of Nuremburg, a beautiful city which had been a shrine city of Nazism. Here was where Hitler had marched before a quarter million people. Here you could almost hear the echoes of "*Sieg Heil, Sieg Heil*" through the rattle of gun fire. The defenders of Nuremburg had been skilled professional soldiers when the Thunderbirds were spending one evening a week at the local National Guard armory. Now it was the Thunderbirds moving across the rubble of Nuremburg. German snipers were firing at the Thunderbirds from apartment houses and office buildings, and the 45th was answering with direct fire from tanks. The fighting in Nuremburg finally ceased on April 20, 1945.

The conflict in Europe had virtually ended, but the 45th Division soldiers were totally unprepared for what they would see next. The place was Dachau. This was the most notorious concentration camp of the Nazis. Outside the furnaces were forty carloads of bodies. The dead awaiting boxcars were stacked up twenty feet high. If any Thunderbird wondered why he was fighting, Dachau ended his doubt. In ten days the war was over. On December 7, 1945 the division was returned to the National Guard of Oklahoma—over five years and 22,000 casualties after the start of the war.

During the next five years the 45th Infantry Division was again a National Guard organization, but this time it was an all Oklahoma division. No longer were there division units in other states. It was commanded by James C. Styron, a cotton broker from Hobart and a West Point graduate who had distinguished himself as an artilleryman in World War II. During the war, the Oklahoma Highway Patrol had taken over the division headquarters armory on Northeast Twenty-third Street in Oklahoma City, and division headquarters had to be located on Northeast Thirty-sixth Street in what is currently the 45th Infantry Division Museum. Though quite crowded, the division headquarters remained there until Governor Raymond Gary provided other space for the Highway Patrol Headquarters.

But unfortunately the new Oklahoma 45th was not to enjoy much peacetime duty. In the summer of 1950, after the United States had removed its forces from South Korea, communist North Korea attacked across the line which had been established between the two governments. The United Nations declared aggression and United States troops from Japanese bases were sent in to stop the assault. Only four National Guard divisions were



Members of the 45th Infantry Division disembarking in Japan in 1951 (Courtesy of the 45th Infantry Division Museum).

called to active duty for the Korean Conflict. One was the 45th Infantry Division.

The Division moved to Camp Polk, Louisiana in September of 1950, and trained there through the winter of that year. In March of 1951, the division sailed through the Panama Canal to the northern Japanese island of Hokkaido, where its mission was to provide security for the island and to further train for Korean combat. In December of 1951, the division shipped from Japan landing at Inchon to replace the 1st Cavalry Division on the western front in Korea.



Members of the 45th Infantry Division manning an observation post in Korea
(Courtesy of the 45th Infantry Division Museum).

The Korean War had become a stalemate according to news reports. But people got killed just the same. T-Bone Hill, Old Baldy, and Pork Chop Hill were very familiar ground to the Thunderbirds. When the division arrived in Korea everything was frozen solid. The troops had left an island in which snow was beginning to pile up as high as ten feet, but had gone to a much colder country with sheets of sleet and ice covering the terrain. Climbing some of the hills required ropes to traverse the ice, and the supply of food and ammunition was most difficult. But despite the weather, clashes with the Chinese forces were frequent. In the spring it all changed.



The 45th Infantry Division on parade in New York City after returning from Korea (Courtesy of the 45th Infantry Division Museum).

The layers of ice became layers of mud as the moisture in the frozen ground melted. Driving vehicles on the muddy roads became difficult and driving tanks almost impossible. But combat missions intensified and casualties on both sides increased.

In the late spring and summer of 1952, the national guardsmen were gradually rotated out of the 45th Division and back to the United States. Those who returned formed a new 45th Infantry Division of the Oklahoma National Guard. Major General Hal Muldrow of Norman was its first commander. Thus, for a period of time there were two 45th Infantry Divisions. One in Korea, and one in Oklahoma. When the division in Korea was returned to the United States, it paraded in New York City on April 5, 1954, and later its battle colors were officially returned to the Oklahoma National Guard during a special ceremony called "Color Back" held in September of 1974 at the State Fairgrounds in Oklahoma City.

In 1968 the 45th Division was disbanded and the division structure was replaced by an infantry brigade, a support brigade, an artillery group, and several smaller units. Although the allotted troop strength for the Oklahoma

National Guard remained approximately the same, the change in structure from a division to smaller units was ordered by Washington in an action contrary to the recommendation of most military leaders. The division is the basic self supporting unit of the Army. It is a difficult matter to put together a functioning division, whereas, it is a simple matter if smaller units are needed to take them from a functioning division.

Nonetheless the men and women of the Oklahoma National Guard continue to honor and observe the high standards set by those who preceded them. Oklahomans have served for more than half a century and during two wars, and we should not overlook the fact that thousands upon thousands of our sons and daughters saw duty in all the services in both world wars, Korea, and the Vietnam conflict. They have distinguished themselves in the same tradition and with the same bravery as did the soldiers of the 45th Division. Ernie Pyle wrote that he had never seen soldiers so determined in war as those from the great southwestern part of the United States. He made this remark after several visits with the Thunderbirds during World War II. General Patton was right when he said that the 45th Infantry Division was one of the best, if not the best division, in the history of American arms. This would exemplify Oklahoma's military tradition.

HISTORICAL PRESERVATION WHICH OCCURRED IN EL RENO AND ST. LOUIS 75 YEARS AGO

*By H. Merle Woods**

Historian Kent Ruth of Geary, Oklahoma propounds the following question: "What white-stucco building in Oklahoma looks vaguely like a Moorish castle, is nearly three-quarters of a century old and was brought to the state—by railroad—from Missouri?"

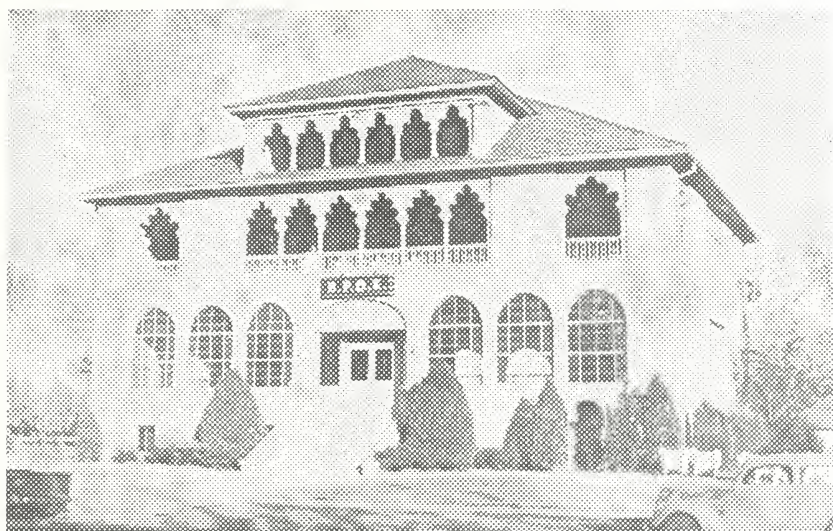
The answer: The Benevolent & Protective Order of Elks Home in El Reno. And what a history it has had!

The Moorish type structure was born in Forest Park, St. Louis, Missouri, as the Oklahoma Territorial building at the World's Fair (Louisiana Purchase Exposition) in 1904 as a two-story stucco structure for the display of Oklahoma agricultural, mineral, and industrial products and for advertising them to the throngs. In 1901 the territorial legislature appropriated \$20,000 and this was supplemented by \$40,000 more in 1903, and this fund financed the construction costs and furnishings as well as providing operating expenses for the duration of the fair. The interior of the building included a grand stairway, graceful supporting columns and ornate chandeliers. It was designed as a "home away from home" for Oklahomans visiting the fair, a hospitable display case for the young territory's advantages for hundreds of thousands of visitors from all over the world and a mecca for the tired fairgoers looking for a spot to rest their weary feet.

Hosts for the entire period of the fair were the three territorial commissioners and their families. The original three commissioners were Joseph Meibergen of Enid, chairman, Otto A. Shuttee, El Reno banker, treasurer, and Edgar B. Marchant, lawyer and newspaperman from Aline. Sometime during the fair period Marchant was replaced by Fred L. Wenner, newspaperman from Guthrie.

Mrs. Lucile Blair of El Reno, daughter of Commissioner Shuttee, is the only survivor of the host families, it is believed. And she has few recollections of the stirring events, although she was eight years of age at the time. Stricken with pneumonia immediately after the family moved into the upstairs quarters in the building, her illness blacked out her memories of participation she and her parents engaged in. Her main souvenir from the historical summer is a silver ladle which was used on special occasions when the official punchbowl was brought into service.

* The author is a long-time member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and a resident of El Reno, Oklahoma.



Oklahoma's Territorial building at the 1904 World's Fair shortly after it was moved to El Reno (Author's personal collection).

The story is told that when the commission from the territory reported to St. Louis to view the site set aside for Oklahoma Territory it was shown a very inferior location. The commission members refused to accept their "allotment" and, true to their Oklahoma heritage, "jumped" one of the best claims on the exposition grounds, proceeded at once to start construction and finished their building some four months ahead of the fair's opening—far in advance of the offerings of most of the other states. The "Soonered Site" happened to be between the buildings of the venerable states of New York and Maryland, which was a most fortuitous location for the upstart young territory.

An interesting sidelight is that Oklahoma's Indian Territory also participated in the exposition. Private groups raised \$25,000 to match funds provided by the federal government due to the heavier Indian population in eastern Oklahoma. No one seems to know what disposition was made of the building which represented the twin territory, and researchers have been unable to come up with pictures of the palace which represented the eastern half of the present state.

But historians have found considerable lore regarding the Oklahoma Territorial building and its eventual transfer to El Reno. Today it sits

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sedately by the side of Highways 66 and 270 on South Rock Island in El Reno, thanks to the vision of Commissioner Shuttee and the foresite of the officers and members of the brand new Elks Lodge No. 743 in El Reno. Under the terms of the Exposition contract, it was necessary to remove all buildings except those retained as permanent fixtures in Forest Park within six months. The Oklahoma commission was faced with the necessity of letting a contract for demolishing the attractive "little Alhambra" at considerable expense, but at that juncture Commissioner Shuttee came forward with a proposal that it be given to the El Reno Elks lodge to be moved to El Reno and restored there as a lodge hall. The fair's commission accepted with alacrity, although there was some skepticism that such a prodigious engineering feat could be accomplished and that the restoration attempts would be unsatisfactory as well as expensive in the extreme.

Minutes of the Elks lodge for November 3, 1904, contain the first mention of the possibility of attaining the St. Louis building. A committee was appointed to investigate. At the next meeting on November 10 the following minutes indicates how near to abandonment the project came: "Committee to investigate the possible purchase of the Oklahoma Building was discharged as it was generally thought to be impractical." However, there was apparently a quick change of sentiment at the November 23 meeting when it was "moved, seconded and carried to accept the proposition of World's Fair Commission to present this Lodge of Elks with Oklahoma World's Fair Building. Carried." The motion that Exalted Ruler appoint five brothers as Building Finance committee was agreed to.

Then at the meeting on December 8, 1904, "it was moved and seconded that present Oklahoma Building Executive Committee be empowered to tear down, move, acquire site and re-erect Oklahoma Building." It was agreed to purchase the furniture and fixtures of the Oklahoma Building for \$425. Then at the January 5, 1905 meeting it was "moved and seconded that action of Building Committee be sanctioned and that E. E. Blake go at once to St. Louis and enter into contract with Geo. T. Hill Construction Co. and that order of \$300 be made to cover first payment, and \$50 to cover expenses of Mr. Blake." A later minute mentioned refunding degree fee of H. C. Bradford for services rendered in procuring reduced freight rates on the Rock Island railroad for transporting the World's Fair Building.

Official dedication of the reconstructed building was held on November 20, 1905, with an impressive program of speeches, followed by the usual fancy ball. To finance the big project of moving and restoring the fair building, the lodge issued 500 bonds of \$100 denomination. Lodge minutes noted that the last of these was redeemed and burned in a ceremony at the lodge meeting on February 17, 1921.



Dance underway at the Elks Lodge in El Reno during World War II (Author's personal collection).

The historical significance of the famed building has been fully appreciated by the Elks members and it has been maintained in an exceptionally fine state of repair. When it was rebuilt at the site at 415 South Rock Island, it was elevated to provide a full basement. Later the commodious verandas were closed in to provide additional space on the main floor. A bandshell was added on the north end of the ballroom during the period when dancing was the major social pastime. Then in 1967–1968 the basement area was completely remodelled and this now contains the club-dining room, kitchen, lounge, office, recreation facilities and foyer.

The El Reno Elks lodge was organized on March 31, 1902, beginning with sixty-five members. The acquisition of the Oklahoma building was a project that immediately projected the organization into public notice, and it became one of the strongest Elks group in the state. Over the years the famed “home” has served as the social center of the city. It has been a favorite location for conventions, civic club dinners and receptions, youth entertainments, weddings, receptions and even funerals of prominent citizens.

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When the National Editorial Association held its 1924 convention in Oklahoma City, the members came by special train to El Reno and enjoyed a wild west party in the home with all kinds of gambling devices and games using fake money provided for the visitors. The Oklahoma City Trade Trippers utilize the building for their breakfast stop each time they visit the city. In 1938 the lodge organized a male chorus of thirty-five members which performed at numerous functions in El Reno and over the state, including radio performances. For many years the lodge sponsored minstrel shows, while carnivals were held each year to finance shoe and stocking purchases for needy children of the city. Another highly appreciated project has been the furnishing of steel flagpoles and flags for most of El Reno's schools and public buildings.

Veterans of World War II cherish many memories of the lodge's hospitality. A servicemen's center was located on the ballroom floor early in the war, equipped with jukebox, reading section, card tables, and writing room. In the basement were pool tables and shower bath facilities. Seventy-five El Reno girls were willing hostesses and dance partners for the more than 150,000 service men and women who passed through the center during the war period, and the lodge still receives letters from the veterans expressing their appreciation for the hospitality. Thousands of these passing through the city on troop trains availed themselves of the opportunity to enjoy a brief respite from the rigors of military life, while men stationed at Fort Reno and Mustang and Cimarron Field were frequent visitors. Because El Reno was a division point on the Rock Island, it was deluged with the men and women in uniform passing through, and El Reno's name strikes a fond chord of memory for those who had their interludes of fun at the lodge.

El Reno citizens, lodge members, and the Canadian County Historical Society have demonstrated great pride in the Elks building and two years ago applied for recognition by the National Register of Historical Sites. However, up to this time the application has been rejected due to the fact that it was moved from its original site. Countering this, the El Reno sponsors consider the fact of removal as a historical advantage because it presents a double desire to accomplish historical preservation of the venerable building. They hope for a reconsideration by the National Register officials. In the meantime the lodge continues to welcome interested citizen groups and out-of-town visitors and is determined to maintain the great old structure in top condition for years to come.

CONFEDERATE REFUGEES FROM INDIAN TERRITORY

By LeRoy H. Fischer and William L. McMurry*

In 1863, advancing Federal armies forced some 14,000 Confederate Indians to flee from their homes and seek refuge in the southern parts of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations and in northern Texas. Most of the refugees were of the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek tribes, but they also included members of the Chickasaw and Seminole tribes. In 1861, they had possessed an abundance of grain, hides, horses, oxen, salt, lead, and cattle. But as refugees, most of them became dependent on the Confederate government for subsistence.

At the beginning of the war, Confederate President Jefferson Davis had realized the economic and military importance of Indian Territory. He had commissioned Albert Pike, who earlier had acquired experience in Indian affairs while in the service of the Federal government, to negotiate treaties of alliance with the various tribes of Indian Territory. Pike enjoyed great success, and within three months he had concluded treaties with the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, Cherokees, Reserve Indians, and Prairie Comanches.¹

Most of the United States Indian agents in Indian Territory had been men of Southern birth or sympathies. At the outbreak of war, they resigned their posts under the United States to accept the same positions with the Confederate States. At the same time, Federal troops abandoned Fort Cobb, Fort Arbuckle, and Fort Washita, the only garrisoned posts in Indian Territory. The Confederate victory on August 10, 1861, at Wilson's Creek in southwest Missouri placed Indian Territory completely in Confederate hands. Confederate authorities raised regiments among the Indians for defense and gave assurances that the integrity of the soil of Indian Territory would be maintained against Federal incursion.²

* LeRoy H. Fischer is Oppenheim Regents Professor of History at Oklahoma State University; William L. McMurry, a resident of Bethany, Oklahoma, recently received the Master of Arts degree in philosophy and history from Oklahoma State University.

¹ United States Department of War, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (70 volumes, 128 books, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Ser. IV, Vol. I, p. 785, Ser. I, Vol. III, pp. 445-446, 513-527, 542-568, 574, 642.

² Dean Trickett, "The Civil War in the Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVII, No. 4 (December, 1939), pp. 401-410; *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. III, p. 589; Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), pp. 104, 106.

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In spite of these assurances, in 1863 a Federal invasion overran the northern two-thirds of Indian Territory and forced Confederate Indians to flee southward. Federal troops occupied all of the Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole nations and parts of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations. Scarcely a Confederate household remained in the occupied region. The Southern Indians were "only too glad to escape with their lives," wrote Stand Watie, principal chief of the Confederate Cherokees.³

As Union advances increased the number of refugees, their support became a persistent problem for Confederate authorities. Not only was this important for humanitarian reasons, but also to insure the continued loyalty of the Southern Indians to the Confederacy. "The people feel themselves rejected," warned Confederate Brigadier General William Steele.⁴ The Indians fancied their position more important than it really was, he thought, but it was "quite likely" that they had received insufficient attention. J. A. Scales warned of possible large-scale defections to the Union side. "The simple truth is," he commented, "we have been very badly neglected by the officers of the Confederate States."⁵

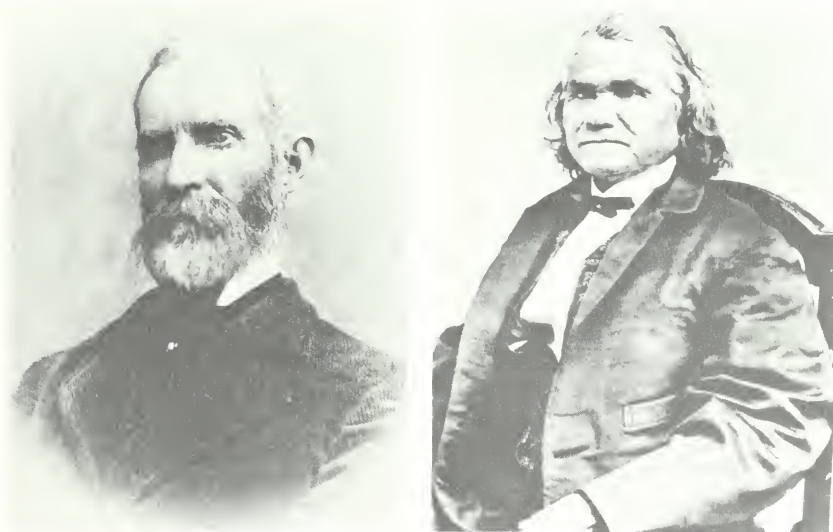
Confederate Major General Thomas Hindman, in command of the forces in Indian Territory, responded to the problem by distributing, on his own responsibility, supplies from his commissary to the indigent Indians. In December of 1863, Major General Samuel Bell Maxey took command of Confederate forces in Indian Territory, also assuming the position of Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Maxey found numerous destitute Indian refugees camped along the Red River. Although he believed that Hindman's system of relief distribution had been abused by certain Indians who were not really in need of rations, he thought it best to continue Hindman's policies and even expand upon them.

Without specific legal authority, Maxey erected a relief organization and appointed officers to manage it. A Superintendent of Issues, L. C. Eliason, was to visit the refugees of each nation or tribe and enroll the heads of families by name, noting with each name the number of women, children, and Negroes in the household. The rolls, compiled with the assistance of the agents and chiefs of each tribe, were to be amended monthly. They were to be deposited at the post commissary from which the tribe drew its rations. The Superintendent of Issues also was to supervise the procurement of relief supplies and their distribution among lesser officials. For each depot from

³ William J. Willey, "The Second Federal Invasion of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIV, No. 4 (Winter, 1966-67), pp. 420-430; *Official Records*, Ser. I. Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, pp. 1104-1105.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 820.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 821.



Israel G. Vore, Confederate States Agent to the Creek Nation and Stand Watie, Principal Chief of the Confederate Cherokees—while Vore reported that the frictions and difficulties caused by the presence of thousands of Confederate refugee Indians were minor, Watie worked vigorously to better the lot of his followers who had been forced from their homes.

which supplies were issued, Maxey appointed an Issuing Agent to operate subordinate to the Superintendent of Issues. Issuing Agents were to attend to local details of transportation and distribution of provisions. They issued provision tickets, with numbers that corresponded to numbers on the lists of indigents, to all heads of families. The tickets listed all provisions issued to date to the holders. Each ration consisted of one and one-eighth pounds of flour, which might be replaced with one and one-quarter pounds of cornmeal, and one and one-half pounds of beef. With each 100 rations were issued two quarts of salt. Issuing Agents were expected to render quarterly reports to the Superintendent of Issues. Finally, Maxey appointed an Inspector of Camps, J. S. Stewart. He was to visit the various refugee camps at least monthly and ascertain whether or not the Issuing Agents were meeting the needs of the Indians.⁶

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XLI, Pt. 4, pp. 1086–1087; Allan C. Ashcroft, ed., "Confederate Indian Department Conditions in August, 1864," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1963), p. 280; Special Order No. 25, January 31, 1864, Samuel Bell Maxey Papers, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Maxey's initiatives placed relief distribution in the hands of the army for the duration of the war, even though his system became the object of some criticism. R. W. Lee, who served as Assistant Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Indian Territory, after a tour of inspection in southern Indian Territory, recommended in August of 1864 that a new office called Supervisor of Rolls be created in order to relieve the Superintendent of Issues of some of his many responsibilities. He also called for the appointment of a Transportation Master to manage supply trains. He recommended that issues to the refugees be cut to half rations, but be delivered faithfully. Later in the year S. S. Scott, Confederate Commissioner of Indian Affairs, admitted the "urgent necessity" of Maxey's system at the time of its adoption, but believed that the system should be modified in order to temper its extralegality. Maxey, he said, should have required bonds from all the officials he appointed, and army commissary officers should have retained control of their issues.⁷

A large portion of the beneficiaries of these relief efforts were Southern Cherokees. Most of these were the families of Cherokee men who were serving in the Confederate armed forces. In August of 1863, Watie estimated the number of Cherokee refugees as 6,000, and suggested that they be settled at a place which could be supplied with grain from Texas. He called on the Confederate government to provide food, shelter, and funds for the relief of the destitute. "The Confederate States have promised us full protection against our enemies," he told Scott, but added: "Shall I continue to encourage . . . [the Confederate Cherokees] or shall I unveil to them the dread truth that our country is to be hopelessly abandoned?"⁸

No doubt Watie's feelings drew intensity from the fact that his wife, Sarah, was among the refugees. She had fled to Rusk County, Texas, to the home of his sister, Nancy Starr, who was ill and died before the war ended. Mrs. Watie spent the duration of the war in Rusk and Woods counties, Texas. There she endured inconveniences and shortage much the same as those of the rest of her people, but her greatest worries were for the safety of her husband and son, serving with the Confederate forces.⁹

The Confederate Cherokee tribal government acted to supplement the army's efforts to feed the indigent. In late May of 1863, the tribal leaders, all of whom were serving with Watie's brigade, met in convention on Coody's

⁷ Ashcroft, ed., "Confederate Indian Department Conditions in August, 1864," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI, pp. 280-281; *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 4, pp. 1086-1087.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2, pp. 1104-1105.

⁹ Dale and Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers*, pp. 124-126, 135-136, 146-147, 162-163, 172-173, 187-189, 200-201.

Creek. On May 30, they passed an ordinance designed to feed the destitute. Under the ordinance, J. L. Martin was appointed a commissioner of relief for the Cherokees. General Steele cooperated with the Cherokees' effort by also making Martin an Issuing Agent under the army's relief system.¹⁰

Martin quickly began his duties. First he searched for an appropriate site for a relocation camp for the displaced Cherokees. In September, he reported that he had chosen a location about ten miles above the mouth of the Blue River, which drained into the Red River, the Indian Territory-Texas boundary. The place had plenty of water and a healthful appearance. Brigadier General Steele aided the resettlement effort by promising furloughs for all Indian soldiers who needed to go to camp to build houses for their families. Already, however, Martin was encountering difficulties, for the refugees were receiving only half rations. "I have to keep the people reconciled [sic] by a great many promises," he confided to Watie.¹¹

Although Martin succeeded in relocating the Cherokee refugees, a controversy of vague origin led to his removal as relief commissioner and Issuing Agent in July of 1864. The Cherokee government then took further measures to aid the Cherokees. On July 20, the Southern Cherokee National Council passed a law providing for as many as five schools for refugee Cherokee children, to be located wherever twenty-five pupils were available. Next, the council passed a law providing for the election of an official to supervise the feeding of all refugee Cherokees. Watie, however, vetoed the act as being contrary to the earlier relief act of the tribal convention. Finally, on July 23, Watie signed an act appropriating \$40,000 to feed the indigent. The next relief commissioner was to submit to the Southern Cherokee National Treasurer quarterly reports on the expenditure of these funds.¹²

Funding for these Cherokee relief efforts came through the efforts of Elias C. Boudinot, the nephew of Watie, and the delegate of the Cherokee Nation to the Confederate Congress. By November of 1863, he had managed to secure a private loan of \$10,000 while he lobbied in the Congress for a formal appropriation for Cherokee relief. In January of 1864, Boudinot finally secured President Davis' signature on a bill appropriating \$100,000 in Confederate currency. The next month, Confederate Commissioner of Indian Affairs Scott left Richmond for Indian Territory with the money. He returned to Richmond, however, and did not arrive at Fort Towson, in the Choctaw Nation and near the camps of the Cherokee refugees, until July. He turned over \$45,000 to Martin, who still was relief commissioner,

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 127; *Official Records*, Ser. I. Vol. XLI, Pt. 2, p. 1047.

¹¹ Dale and Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers*, p. 139.

¹² Kenny Arthur Franks, "Stand Watie and the Agony of the Cherokee Nation," *Doctor of Philosophy*, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1973, pp. 230-232.



Elias C. Boudinot, delegate of the Cherokee Nation to the Confederate States Congress, secured an appropriation of \$100,000 in Southern currency for the relief of the refugee Cherokees.

and gave the balance of the appropriation to the Treasurer of the Cherokee Nation.¹³

By August of 1864, the Cherokee refugees were well settled in their camps. Lee, Assistant Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Indian Territory, found them encamped along the Blue River for forty miles of its length, from its mouth to Tishomingo. Some also were at Goodland, twenty miles west of Fort Towson. Thus the great bulk of the Cherokee refugees, 2,906 of them, were located within the Choctaw Nation. At several supply depots in the region the Cherokees received their rations from Issuing Agents Joseph L. Martin, W. Crump, G. W. Gunter, and J. M. Adair. Most of the provisions came from northern Texas, especially from a depot at Warren. The major problem in supplying the Cherokee refugees was a shortage of wagons to transport goods. Except for a brief outbreak of smallpox, however, the Cherokees were fairly comfortable in exile, and they even initiated some industry. Cherokee national authorities put the refugees to work manufacturing spinning wheels and looms, which in turn fostered home industries of spinning and weaving. They also operated wheelright and blacksmith shops.¹⁴

Great numbers of Confederate Creeks, also forced to leave their homes, fled into the Chickasaw Nation. There Confederate authorities provided food and clothing, and organized the refugees into camps. The Creek refugees, numbering 4,671, camped on either side of the Washita River from its mouth on the Red River twenty-five miles upstream, and on the Red River for twelve miles upstream from the mouth of the Washita River. Some of the Creeks brought considerable property, even slaves, into exile with them. Even the more needy soon erected adequate shelters. Methodist and Baptist missionaries ministered among them. The army set up supply depots on either side of the Washita River, but there were problems in securing rations. Because of a shortage of wagons and very slow deliveries by beef contractors, the Creek refugees received only half of the rations intended for them. Another problem was the presence of freeloaders, who drew rations when they really were not in need of them. Despite difficulties, Chief Samuel Checote was satisfied with the efforts of Issuing Agents O. L.

¹³ Dale and Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers*, pp. 143-144, 150, 153, 182; *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865* (7 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904-1905, reprinted in New York by Kraus Reprint Company, 1968), Vol. III, p. 620; *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 2, p. 1047.

¹⁴ Ashcroft, ed., "Confederate Indian Department Conditions in August, 1864," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI, pp. 277-278; 282; a general summary of Confederate Cherokee refugees is in Angie Debo, "Southern Refugees of the Cherokee Nation," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXV, No. 4 (April, 1932), pp. 255-266.

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Graham and F. R. Young. "We believe that all is being done that can be done conveniently," he said.¹⁵ The Creeks also began industries in their camps. The Inspector of Camps supervised the establishment of shops for the manufacture of looms and spinning wheels, as well as a wagon shop and a blacksmith shop. In their homes, the Creek Indians met many of their clothing needs by utilizing their spinning wheels and looms.¹⁶

Seminole refugees evicted from their homes numbered 574. With them were 441 Creeks who were associated with them by ties of marriage or friendship. They settled near Oil Springs some fifty miles west of Fort Washita. Their needs for provisions were supposed to have been supplied by the contracting firm of Johnson and Grimes, who also provided rations for the Reserve Indians. But the Seminoles and the Creeks with them suffered from occasional failures of the contractors to deliver, which may have caused most of the men were in the army. The principal point of relief distribution was Fort Towson. There some 1,400 Choctaws regularly received supplies, and occasionally other refugees from along Jacks Fork and the Kiamichi rivers came in. By the end of 1864, Confederate officials had not yet completed a census of the Choctaw refugees, but Lee estimated their

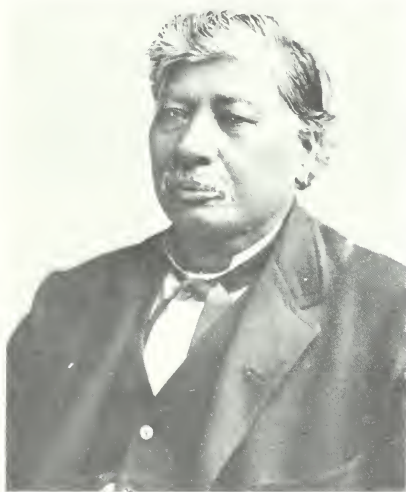
The situation of the Choctaws differed from that of the Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles in that the Choctaws never were driven completely from their country. The northern portions of the Choctaw Nation, however, came under actual or threatened occupation by Federal forces in 1863. Residents of the area fled into more southern counties. Rather than establishing definite camps, as did the other tribes, they scattered among their fellow tribesmen, often in rough and inaccessible country. They especially occupied the settled area around Boggy Depot, the region of the road from Boggy Depot to Gaines Creek, the banks of Gaines Creek, Jacks Fork and Kiamichi rivers in Sugar Loaf and Wade counties near Fort Smith, and in a locale stretching from Island Bayou to the eastern boundary of the Choctaw Nation. This was mountainous country. Moreover, little agriculture was attempted because most of the men were in the army. The principal point of relief distribution was Fort Towson. There some 1,400 Choctaws regularly received supplies, and occasionally other refugees from along Jacks Fork and the Kiamichi rivers came in. By the end of 1864, Confederate officials had not yet completed a census of the Choctaw refugees, but Lee estimated their

¹⁵ *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 4, p. 1089.

¹⁶ Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), pp. 156-158; Ashcroft, ed., "Confederate Indian Department Conditions in August, 1864," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI, pp. 275-276, 282.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 279-282; *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLI, Pt. 4, p. 1089.

CONFEDERATE REFUGEES FROM INDIAN TERRITORY



John Jumper, Chief of the Confederate Seminoles and Peter P. Pitchlynn, Chief of the Choctaws. While Jumper considered the Seminole refugees adequately fed, Pitchlynn reported that those Choctaws who had fled their homes were short of supplies.

number at 4,480. Issuing Agents for the Choctaws were Basil LeFlore, John P. Kingsbury, and Mitchell McCurtain.¹⁸

The situation of the Chickasaws was similar to that of the Choctaws. Residents of the northern counties, most of them in a destitute condition, took refuge in the southern counties. They received rations at a depot at Robinson's Academy, from Issuing Agent Reverend J. C. Robinson. Many of the Chickasaw refugees declined the aid proffered to them; although the relief rolls showed 785 Chickasaws eligible to receive rations, no more than 584 ever drew them. The refugees were usually satisfied with the relief efforts.¹⁹

The presence of thousands of refugees in the southern counties of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations and in northern Texas sometimes led to frictions and difficulties. In May of 1864, Governor Dougherty Colbert of

¹⁸ Ashcroft, ed., "Confederate Indian Department Conditions in August, 1864," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI, pp. 278-279, 282.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 278, 282.

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the Chickasaw Nation complained to Confederate officials that displaced Creeks had committed depredations on the property of Chickasaws. Confederate authorities relayed the complaint to Chief Checote of the Creeks and to Major Israel G. Vore, agent to the Creeks. Vore investigated and reported that the complaints had stemmed from an inequitable division of a herd of horses that had included horses belonging to members of both tribes. Thus the problem was minor.²⁰

By the end of 1864, the refugees had posed severe problems in the Choctaw Nation. Chief Peter P. Pitchlynn reported that crops had been poor and that the entire population looked to a few slaveholders along the Red River for sustenance. Food supplies were inadequate, he said, especially since Maxey's soldiers consumed great amounts of stores and even wantonly destroyed some private property. Pitchlynn reported that the citizenry was becoming increasingly dissatisfied, and recommended that stores of corn at Shawneetown and other places along the Red River be reserved for the use of refugees and the families of absent soldiers. Maxey issued orders to conserve corn supplies "in every possible way," including the sending of horses to the rear. Finally, in early 1865 citizens in northern Texas complained of depredations by some soldiers of Watie's brigade. Watie had to act quickly to end such unruliness among his men, for the Indians depended largely on northern Texas for grain and other supplies.²¹

The Indians in turn also had complaints against Texas. Authorities of that state tried to levy state taxes on Indian refugees south of the Red River. Watie brought the matter to the attention of Lee, who presented the issue to Maxey. Maxey endorsed papers calling for an end to the taxation, and Lee forwarded them to the Confederate Treasury Agent for the Trans-Mississippi West, P. W. Gray. Gray then informed officials of the state of Texas that the Indians were to be considered exempt from taxation.²²

Although efforts to provide relief for the refugee Indians were energetic, they fell short of supplying many wants. There were physicians for the refugees, but medicines were in short supply. A shortage of cotton cards made it difficult for many of the Indians to keep themselves in clothing. In order to meet these and other shortages, Lee recommended that responsibility for refugee relief be taken from the hands of the army commissary and that contracts be let to private suppliers to provide rations for the

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 273-274.

²¹ *Official Records*, Ser. I. Vol. LIII, pp. 1035-1036; Dale and Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers*, p. 211.

²² Ashcroft, ed., "Confederate Indian Department Conditions in August, 1864," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI, pp. 272, 284.

refugees. Lee recognized that honest contractors were difficult to find. He definitely thought, however, that a large wagon train independent of the army should be available for the use of the Issuing Agents, and that supplies should flow through Warren, Texas.²³

Cherokee tribal authorities also made independent efforts to procure supplies. Elder Compere, who had been the chaplain of a Cherokee regiment, operated as a purchasing agent east of the Mississippi River and attempted to send supplies to his people in the summer and fall of 1864. He met with little success. His first problem was to secure wagons and drivers to make the trip west. Moreover, the presence of Union troops along the Mississippi River made crossing hazardous.²⁴

A possible solution to these supply difficulties seemed to be to open trade with Mexico. Confederate authorities issued an exemption to laws prohibiting the export of cotton in order to facilitate trade between Indian Territory and Mexico. On July 6, 1864, Seminole Chief John Jumper applied for a permit under the exemption to export 200 bales of cotton to Mexico. His application apparently never was approved. But Chief Samuel Garland of the Choctaw Nation and Governor Dougherty Colbert of the Chickasaw Nation received permission to export 500 and 300 bales, respectively, shortly afterward. Fears by Lee that the export scheme might become "instead of a benefit and blessing . . . an instrument of wrong and oppression" soon came true. Governor Colbert appointed William Levy agent to conduct the cotton sales. Levy saw the project as a means of turning a neat profit at the expense of the Indians—"a good paying business for those engaged in it," he said, "as it cannot be expected that we should spend our time and money entirely for charity sake."²⁵ But when Levy tried to draw Brigadier General Watie into his plan, he met a cold response, for Watie had no wish to profit at the expense of his people. By January of 1865, however, Creek and Cherokee leaders had made arrangements with more respectable mercantile agents to allow them certain profits in order to obtain goods. The Creek tribal council appointed an agent to purchase 1,000 bales of their cotton and carry them to Mexico. The agent then was to spend half of the profits of the venture on goods for the Creeks. An entrepreneur named Charles Hamilton sought a similar arrangement from Watie and the Cherokees. Instead, William A. Musgrove got the appointment to transport 500 bales. Musgrove purchased the cotton quickly, and by the beginning of May, 1865, he had started a few wagons south. If any of the cotton shipped in these various

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

²⁴ Dale and Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers*, pp. 183, 196-197.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177.

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enterprises ever reached Mexico, it did so too late to benefit the Southern Indians prior to the collapse of the Confederacy.²⁶

At the end of the war, United States authorities had to assume the burden of feeding the refugees, increased in number because the men who had served in the Confederate Indian forces rejoined their families. Some 6,500 Confederate Cherokees, 6,500 Confederate Creeks, and 950 Confederate Seminoles appealed for aid. Federal officers realized that it was easier to feed the Indians than to control the depredations that would result from want among them. Therefore, the Federal Commissioner of Indian Affairs appointed a special agent to feed destitute Confederate Indians. By 1866, most of the refugees were able to return to their former homes.²⁷

Confederate authorities, especially Maxey, tried sincerely to meet the needs of the Confederate Indian refugees. In fact, their efforts were at first successful enough that they changed the attitude among the Indians from one of chagrin at being driven from their homes to one of satisfaction that the Confederate government was doing all that it could for them. Moreover, in the case of the Cherokees, Confederate army personnel were able to co-operate effectively with tribal authorities, while the Confederate government provided relief funds. All this was evidence that the Confederates did not forget their pledges to the Indians. However, the resources of the Confederacy were simply inadequate to meet the needs of the refugees. Problems of transportation were chronic and, as Federal troops occupied more of the Mississippi River valley, they became worse. Even so, the refugee experience was not disastrous for the Confederate Indians. They kept their tribal groups together in exile, and were provided with at least a minimum of sustenance. Their tragedy lay not so much in the temporary removal from their homes, but in the destruction of their homes during their absence from them, leaving them little to return to when the war ended.

²⁶ Ashcroft, ed., "Confederate Indian Department Conditions in August, 1864," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI, pp. 272-273; Dale and Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers*, pp. 207-208, 216-217, 221-222.

²⁷ *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1865* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1866), pp. 254-256, 283; *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. XLVIII, Pt. 2, p. 1096; Dale and Litton, eds., *Cherokee Cavaliers*, p. 239.

THE CREEK WAR OF 1836, A MILITARY HISTORY

By *Kenneth L. Valliere**

In the early months of 1832, Secretary of War Lewis Cass and a delegation of the Creek Indians led by their principal chief, Opothleyoholo, met in Washington to negotiate a treaty transferring the Creek lands in Alabama from communal ownership to individual reservations. The treaty, subsequently approved by the nation's council meeting at Cusseta the following September, was part of President Andrew Jackson's efforts to remove all Southern Indians west of the Mississippi River where they could supposedly progress along the path of civilization unencumbered by their proximity to the white man. Although it was not a removal treaty, the Treaty of Cusseta clearly looked forward to the time when Alabama would be free of its original inhabitants. Patterned on the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek of 1830 with the Choctaws, the Creek treaty outlined a plan whereby the Indians would receive individual land allotments from a locating agent, and then have the right to remain on their allotments and become citizens of Alabama or to sell them, subject to presidential approval, as a prelude to removal.¹

The Creek treaty of 1832 was the origin to the last major Indian conflagration fought within Alabama. Yet the military history of this war has never been told. Instead, Alabama historians have focused their attention primarily on the states rights struggle which erupted between Governor John Gayle and the Secretary of War Lewis Cass over how quickly the Creek lands would be transferred into white hands. These same historians have also been mesmerized by Francis Scott Key's brief and romantic visit to Tuscaloosa, as Cass' agent, to quiet the governor's nullification sentiments and rectify the misunderstandings which existed between Cass and Gayle.² Indian historians Grant Foreman and Mary Young have fared

* The author has conducted extensive research in the Creek-white conflict in the South.

¹ For background on Jackson's Indian policy, see Francis Paul Prucha, *American Indian Policy in the Formative Years: The Indian Trade and Intercourse Acts, 1790-1834* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962); Ronald Satz, *American Indian Policy in the Jackson Era* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975); Michael Paul Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indians* (New York: Alfred K. Knopf, 1975). The treaty may be found in Charles Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (4 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904-1941), Vol. II, pp. 247-249.

² Theodore Jack, *Sectionalism and Party Politics in Alabama, 1819-1842* (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company, 1919), pp. 37-54; Michael D. Green, "Federal-State Conflict in the Administration of Indian Policy: Georgia, Alabama, and the Creeks, 1824-

little better in their accounts of the Creek War. Foreman's classic *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* does devote six pages to the Creek War, but Foreman's discussion ends long before the fighting had even actually occurred. Young, on the other hand, is preoccupied with the fraudulent speculative practices which preceded the war and drove the Indians into fighting.³ By far the best secondary account can be found in John K. Mahon's *History of the Second Seminole War 1835-1842*, but Mahon considers the war as an adjunct to his major topic and leaves out vital information dealing with the preliminary activities of Governor C. C. Clay and the later fighting in the Georgia swamps. Finally, what little information that does exist in local county histories is generally inadequate or inaccurate.⁴

In the three years after the treaty was ratified, state officials, settlers, and speculators more intent on securing the Creek land than seeing justice done, undermined the efforts of federal officials trying to fulfill the treaty's obligations. By January 1835 scenes of unparalleled fraud occurred daily in the Creek country. Speculators operating out of Columbus, Georgia ignored regulations governing the sale and transfer of the Indian land to the whites and made "stealing . . . the order of the day."⁵ Using tactics adapted from the sale of Choctaw reservations, speculators paid a Creek a nominal price for his land in the presence of a certifying agent and later pressured the Indian into returning all the money "with the exception of a few dollars."⁶

As the frauds against the Indians became more flagrant through 1835, incidents between the Creeks and whites became so numerous that in May the citizens of Macon and Russell counties petitioned Governor Gayle for

1834" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1973), pp. 224-293; Thomas McCorvey, "The Mission of Francis Scott Key to Alabama in 1833," *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society, 1899-1903*, Thomas McAduy Owens, ed. (Montgomery: Printed for the Society, 1904), Vol. IV, pp. 141-165; Frank Owsley, Jr., "Francis Scott Key's Mission to Alabama in 1833," *The Alabama Review*, Vol. XXIII, No. 3 (July, 1970), pp. 181-192.

³ Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), pp. 129-139; Mary Elizabeth Young, *Redskins, Ruffleshirts, and Rednecks, Indian Allotments in Alabama and Mississippi* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), pp. 73-83; Mary Elizabeth Young, "The Creek Frauds: A Study in Conscience and Corruption," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XLII, No. 3 (December, 1955), pp. 411-437.

⁴ Appropriate citations to these works will be found in the footnotes of this article.

⁵ Eli Shorter to John Scott, Eli Corley, M. M. and N. H. Craven, March 1, 1835, United States House of Representatives, 24th Congress, 2nd. Session, *Executive Document 154* (Washington: Blair and Rives, 1837), p. 22.

⁶ J. H. Howard to John W. A. Sanford, February 1, 1834, John W. A. Sanford Papers, Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama. Hereinafter cited as ASDAH.

protection.⁷ Gayle considered calling out the militia but decided it would cause too great a hardship on farmers preparing to plant their summer crops. Consequently he decided to write Cass and ask that a detachment of mounted riflemen be sent to the Creek country. Gayle suggested the incidents could be stopped if the mounted troops also had the power to arrest any Indian who committed a depredation. "Whether their [the Creeks] present situation and the disturbances complained of, are to be ascribed to the improper treatment of whites, it is certain that order cannot be maintained, and the laws executed, unless a military force be at hand to afford prompt assistance to the civil authorities."⁸

Although the frauds occurred in all parts of the Creek country, the speculators concentrated much of their effort on securing the Lower Creek land south of the federal road running from Columbus to Montgomery. This was especially important since it was the Lower Creeks whose traditional hostility to the white men had forced them into a disastrous war in 1812 when they had been totally defeated at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. In May 1835, at Cass' request, former certifying agent John W. A. Sanford announced that he would meet with the Lower Creeks in Columbus to investigate the frauds which had occurred in his district. Sanford was a poor choice to protect the Indian's interests. Appointed certifying agent in 1833, he had resigned when he was elected to the House of Representatives. But Sanford never took his seat in Congress. Instead he became president of John W. A. Sanford and Company, the organization which had already received the contract to provide the emigrating Creeks with provisions and subsistence for the westward trek.⁹ While Sanford waited in Columbus for the Indians to appear, the frustrated Creeks of the lower towns, fearing they would be arrested for indebtedness and forced to emigrate to the Indian territory if they crossed the Chattahoochee River into Georgia, refused to visit the city. Sanford was aware of the Indians' fears, but he ignored them and sent Cass

⁷ George McElvey to Wilson Lumpkin, January 30, 1835, Mrs. J. E. Hays, comp., *Creek Indian Letters*, Georgia State Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, Georgia, p. 1182. Hereinafter cited as GSDAH. Horace Ward to Lumpkin, March 3, 1835, *ibid.*, pp. 1188-1189; *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. XLVII, No. 1, 221 (February 14, 1835), p. 410; *ibid.*, Vol. XLVII, No. 1,222 (February 21, 1835), p. 429.

⁸ John Gayle to Lewis Cass, May 27, 1835, John Gayle, *Executive Letter Book*, ASDAH, pp. 167-168.

⁹ Lewis Cass to Leonard Tarrant, Robert McHenry, and James Bright, April 28, 1835, United States House of Representatives, 24th Congress, 1st Session, *Executive Document 276* (Washington: Blair and Rives, 1836), pp. 29-31; Joel Boyd, "Creek Indian Agents, 1834-1874," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. LI, No. 1 (Spring, 1973), pp. 39-40; John W. A. Sanford and Co. to George Gibson, September 30, 1835, United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document 276*, p. 355.

a misleading report claiming that "no facts have been exhibited . . . to discredit the proceedings which have hitherto taken place before me."¹⁰

Sanford's failure to discredit the speculators provided the Lower Creeks with a reason for war, but it was the outbreak of the Second Seminole War in December, 1835 that provided them with the inspiration. The Seminoles were descendants of the Lower Creeks and the outbreak of violence in Florida sent a tremor of fear through the white residents of Alabama and Georgia living in the vicinity of the Lower Creek country. Superintendent of Creek Removal John Hogan reported that the whites were "very uneasy" about the possibility of the Creeks joining with the Seminoles in a war against the people of the two states. To alleviate this worry, General Daniel McDougald, one of the principal speculators in Columbus, and General Samuel Armstrong, commander of the 9th Division of the Georgia militia, traveled to Fort Mitchell, Alabama to meet with Neamathla and other chiefs of the Lower Creeks in January, 1836.¹¹

Neamathla had been one of the most vociferous critics of the United States since 1815. Following the defeat of the Lower Creeks at Horseshoe Bend, he and a group of his followers fled to Florida to escape American domination. After the United States took control of Florida, the Creek chief again emerged as a leader of an hostile faction. Neamathla's intractability provoked Florida's Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Governor William DuVal, to describe him as "uncommonly capable, bold, violent, [and] restless." Author-diplomat Washington Irving, a friend of DuVal's, echoed the governor's sentiments in a brief biographical sketch of Neamathla which he wrote. Irving claimed that Neamathla's hatred of the white man "appeared to be mixed with contempt; on the common people he looked down with infinite scorn. He seemed unwilling to acknowledge any superiority or rank or dignity in Governor DuVal, claiming to associate with him on terms of equality, as two great chieftans."¹²

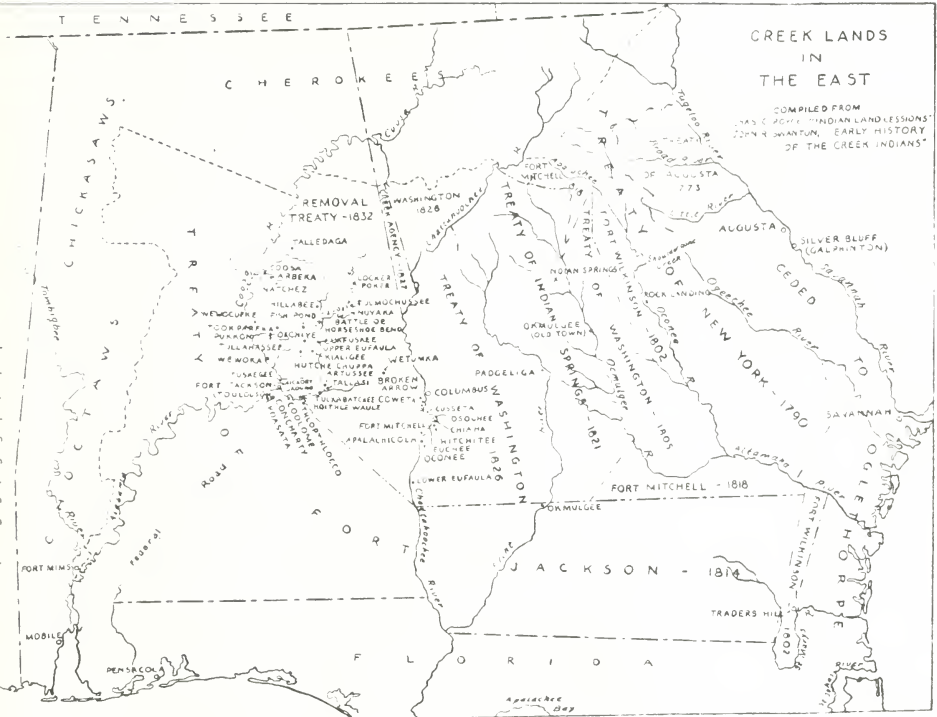
Neamathla remained in Florida until DuVal, infuriated by the chief's continuing obstinacy, unilaterally declared that the government would no

¹⁰ Sanford to Cass, June 22, 1835, United States Senate, 24th Congress, 1st Session, *Senate Document 425* (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1836), pp. 292-293; Sanford to Cass, August 18, 1835, *ibid.*, p. 308.

¹¹ John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1967), pp. 104-106; John Hogan to George Gibson, January 17, 1836, United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document 276*, p. 341; John Hogan to Cass, February 1, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 66; Huntsville *Southern Advocate*, February 23, 1836, p. 3.

¹² William DuVal to James Barbour, July 12, 1824, Clarence Carter, comp., *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (28 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1934-), Vol. XXIII: *The Territory of Florida, 1824-1828*, p. 15; DuVal to Barbour, January 12, 1824, *ibid.*, XXII: *The Territory of Florida, 1821-1824*, p. 832; Washington Irving, *Reviews and Miscellanies*, Knickerbocker Edition (40 vols., New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897), p. 330.

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Homeland of the Creeks east of the Mississippi River (From Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941, following page 377).

longer recognize him as a leader of the Florida Indians. Stripped of his influence, Neamathla secretly returned to Alabama in 1826 and resumed his position as a leader of the Lower Creeks.¹³ Ultimately Neamathla was to become "the principal and most determined of the hostile chiefs" of the Creek War of 1836, but when he met with McDougald and Bailey in January, the elderly chief was surprisingly and uncharacteristically docile. Neamathla and the other chiefs agreed to comply with McDougald and Bailey's demands to use their influence to prevent depredations, arrest of-

¹³ Robert Butler to George Graham, May 5, 1827, Carter, *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, Vol. XXIII, p. 842; DuVal to Barbour, March 2, 1826, *American State Papers, Indian Affairs* (2 vols., Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832-1834), Vol. II, pp. 689-691.

fenders, turn them over to the civil authorities, and return any stolen property they discovered to Fort Mitchell.¹⁴

Such promises of future tranquility did little to satisfy Alabama Governor C. C. Clay who had replaced Gayle in November 1835. Clay was determined to rid Alabama of its original inhabitants, and in his first annual message to the legislature he warned that "the present state of things—and it threatens to become worse—cannot long be borne." Clay wanted the legislature to adopt a "more summary mode of trial and punishment" for Creeks committing depredations against the white settlers, but the legislature refused to adopt his suggestions.¹⁵ Shortly afterwards, a skirmish near Hobdy's Bridge in Pike County between seventy-five "well-painted and armed" Creeks supposedly trying to join the Seminoles and a hundred and fifty whites under the command of Captain Jack Cooper, provided Clay with the opportunity he needed to intensify his efforts to pressure the Indians into a quick removal.¹⁶ Clay began to pepper Secretary of War Cass with requests asking the federal government to provide troops for use against the Creeks. On the advice of General Winfield Scott, Clay ordered the 1st, 3rd, and 7th divisions of the Alabama volunteers to assemble at the federal arsenal at Mount Vernon in Autauga County on March 10. Clay wanted the volunteers mustered into service and the commander of the arsenal, Captain Edward Harding, to provide them with arms. When the troops assembled and Harding refused to provide the arms saying he had no authority, Clay was furious. He dismissed the troops and wrote Cass demanding an investigation into Harding's conduct.¹⁷

Following a second clash near Hobdy's Bridge in March, 1836, the citizens of Barbour and Russell counties officially protested against the continued depredations. Again, Clay took steps to bring the troubles to a halt. The

¹⁴ Thomas Jesup to Lewis Cass, June 25, 1836, *American State Papers: Military Affairs* (7 vols., Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1832–1861), Vol. VII, p. 347; John Hogan to Cass, February 1, 1836, United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document* 276, p. 66; Huntsville *Southern Advocate*, February 23, 1836, p. 3.

¹⁵ C. C. Clay, Annual Message for 1835, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama, Begun and Held at the Town of Tuscaloosa on the Third Monday of November 1835* (Tuscaloosa: Meek and McGuire, 1836), p. 53.

¹⁶ Margaret Pace Farmer, *History of Pike County* (Troy, Alabama: n.p.; 1952), p. 11; Margaret Pace Farmer, *One Hundred Fifty Years in Pike County, Alabama, 1821–1971* (Anniston, Alabama: Higginbotham, Inc., 1973), pp. 30–31.

¹⁷ Winfield Scott to C. C. Clay, January 31, 1836, C. C. Clay, *Executive Letter Book*, ASDAH, pp. 173–174; Clay to Major Generals of the 1st, 3rd, and 7th Divisions, February 18, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 175; Clay to Edward Harding, February 20, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 176; Clay to Cass, March 19, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 189; C. C. Clay, Annual Message for 1836, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama, Begun and Held at the Town of Tuscaloosa on the Third Monday of November 1836* (Tuscaloosa: David Ferguson, 1837), pp. 8–10.

governor dispatched his aide Colonel Aaron Shannon to the Mount Vernon arsenal with orders to secure two thousand muskets and all the necessary buckshot and balls so that they could be transported to Montgomery "with the least possible delay."¹⁸ Clay also ordered Major Generals William Irwin and Gilbert Shearer, the commanders of the 5th and 6th divisions of the Alabama militia, to hold themselves in readiness for an expected outbreak of hostilities.¹⁹ Finally, on March 22, he wrote Cass urging the Secretary of War to recognize the "*expediency*, if not the *necessity*" of calling out a mounted force to quell the Creek disturbances. Less than a month later, Clay again wrote Cass insisting that an Indian war was imminent.²⁰

There is no doubt that the Jackson administration was committed to the removal of all the Southern Indians as quickly and expeditiously as possible, but the President and his advisors preferred to divert the moral outrage of the critics of his Indian policy by accomplishing Indian removal legally, quietly, and if at all possible, voluntarily.²¹ As a result, Cass was not about to be hurried into a war against the Creeks—especially since he was already deeply preoccupied by the problems of fighting an Indian war against the Seminoles. Appointed after the cabinet reorganization of 1831, Cass was an experienced Indian negotiator who proved a poor administrator with a penchant for granting his subordinates wide discretionary authority and ignoring their advice.²² In 1835 he helped to precipitate the Seminole War by ignoring the warnings of Seminole agent Wiley Thompson that the Florida Indians were deeply disturbed by the prospect of having to sell the black slaves who had settled among them and become prominent citizens of their nation.²³ Initially Cass adopted a course in the Creek imbroglio de-

¹⁸ Farmer, *History of Pike County, Alabama*, pp. 11–12; Farmer, *One Hundred Fifty Years in Pike County, 1821–1871*, pp. 31–32; Clay to Col. Aaron Shannon, April 17, 1836, C. C. Clay, *Executive Letter Book*, ASDAH, p. 195; Clay to Harding, April 17, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 194.

¹⁹ Clay to Gilbert Shearer, April 18, 1836, C. C. Clay, *Executive Letter Book*, ASDAH, p. 196.

²⁰ Clay to Cass, March 22, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 184; Clay to Cass, April 18, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 193; Clay, Annual Message for 1836, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama* . . . 1836, pp. 11–12.

²¹ The best general discussion of the most moral dilemma faced by the Jackson administration is to be found in Rogin's *Fathers and Children*, cited in footnote 1.

²² George Ticknor Curtis, *Life of James Buchanan, Fifteenth President of the United States* (2 vols., New York: Harper and Brothers, 1883), Vol. II, p. 399; Robert Miriani, "Lewis Cass and Indian Administration in the Old Northwest, 1815–1836," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1974), p. 41.

²³ Wiley Thompson to C. A. Harris, July 17, 1835, United States House of Representatives, 24th Congress, 1st Session, *House Document 271* (Washington: Blair and Rives, 1836), pp. 40–43; C. A. Harris to Thompson, May 22, 1835, *ibid.*, pp. 138–139.

signed to benefit the speculators.²⁴ Relying on the advice of John Hogan, who did not believe the Creeks would go to war, Cass responded to Clay's persistent requests for troops by refusing either to call out the militia or to send federal troops. In order for the President to call out the militia, he wrote on April 15, "there must be a commencement of hostilities, or just ground to apprehend them. . . . The facts . . . do not seem to show such a design to disturb the public tranquility on the part of the Creeks."²⁵

The level of incidents between Indians and whites had ebbed somewhat in the spring of 1835, but on May 5, the very day Cass sent still another refusal to Clay, fighting erupted in earnest. Between one and two thousand Creeks led by Neamathla and a young half-breed named Jim Henry attacked settlers and settlements south of the Columbus-Montgomery road. A party of Creeks from the Uchee and Hitchitte towns began the hostilities by murdering plantation owner William Flornoy as he travelled from his home to Fort Mitchell. The Indians then proceeded to a nearby plantation where they quietly inserted their rifles through the cracks in the home of the overseer and shot him while he slept. A visitor spending the night escaped by raising a plank in the floor, crawling underneath the house, and remaining there until he could flee to the nearby woods. In the next week the Indians attacked other plantations, the mail stages running along the federal road, and the steamboats *Hyperion* and *Georgian* on the Chattahoochee River. On May 15, they attacked Roanoak, Georgia, twenty-five miles south of Columbus, massacred both whites and slaves, and burned the town.²⁶ A party of volunteers organized to track down the Indians who had destroyed Roanoak encountered the Creeks shortly afterwards and was "compelled by the overpowering force of the Indians to retreat with the loss of one man."²⁷

²⁴ This was in keeping with Cass' belief that an exploitative relationship existed between the Indians and the whites. See Francis Paul Prucha and Daniel Carmody, "A Memorandum of Lewis Cass Concerning the Regulation of Indian Affairs," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, Vol. LII, No. 1 (Autumn, 1968), pp. 36-40.

²⁵ Cass to C. C. Clay, May 5, 1836, United States House of Representatives, Executive Document 276; Hogan to George Gibson, February 1, 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 344-345; Hogan to Cass, April 24, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 258; Cass to Clay, March 19, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 93; Cass to Clay, April 15, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 92.

²⁶ Cass to Clay, May 5, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 96; William Mitchell to John Howard, May 7, 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 5-6; John Howard to Cass, May 9, 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 7-10; J. S. McIntosh to Cass, May 9, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 13; J. S. McIntosh to Rufus Jones, May 7, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 13; John Page to George Gibson, May 16, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 389; *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. L, No. 1,287 (May 21, 1836), pp. 205-206; Columbus *Sentinel*, May 6, 1836, p. 3; Huntsville *Southern Advocate*, June 7, 1836, p. 3; Charleston *Mercury*, May 19, 1836, p. 3.

²⁷ W. P. Ford to William Schley, May 6, 1836, Hays, *Creek Indian Letters*, GSDAH, p. 1315; John Dill to Schley, May 18, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 1300.

The actual outbreak of hostilities threw the Alabama and Georgia citizens living along the Creek frontier into a panic. Terrified settlers fearing "a repetition" of Dade's Massacre in Florida fled to Columbus. Reports of "men, women, and children murdered in every direction," wives severed from their husbands," and orphaned children wandering alone through the forests circulated widely. Some even believed that the hostile Creeks were led by the Seminole chief Osceola, who was conducting a brilliant campaign against the Americans in Florida.²⁸ The fear was aggravated by former Creek agent John Crowell, who had learned from reputable sources in the Lower Creek towns that Columbus was going to be attacked. Soon after Crowell's information became public, Mayor John Fontaine wrote an urgent letter to Governor William Schley of Georgia begging for protection. Fontaine thought that the whole Creek nation was rising up in arms and about to strike all the frontier settlements and he asked the governor for help against an "immediate attack by a very large force." Fontaine explained that the Creeks had 3,000 men under arms and were "determined . . . to march into Georgia, and secreting themselves in Swamps and thickets to make sudden eruptions into the settlements between the Flint and the Chattahoochee and burn and massacre before them."²⁹

Both Governor Schley and Governor Clay responded to the quickly spreading alarm emanating from the Creek country by travelling to the frontier so that they could personally galvanize the militia. Schley arrived in Columbus on May 15 and mustered the Georgia militia into service under the command of John W. A. Sanford.³⁰ In Tuscaloosa, Clay learned of the fighting from Brigadier General John Brantley the temporary commander of the Alabama militia. Clay immediately appointed Benjamin Patterson commander of the militia and ordered the general to rendezvous the 1st, 2nd, and 5th divisions at Montgomery where they would be organized, equipped, and sent to the seat of hostilities. The governor also dispatched a special messenger to Captain Harding at Mount Vernon asking for an additional two thousand muskets, four or five pieces of artillery, and "pistols and sword sufficient for one battalion." Finally on May 16, Clay left Tusca-

²⁸ James W. McCrabb to Rufus Jones, April 4, 1836, United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document* 276, p. 11; Abdenego McGenty to Schley, May 18, 1836, Hays, *Creek Indian Letters*, GSDAH, p. 1297; William B. Ector to Schley, May 15, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 1292; Huntsville *Southern Advocate*, June 7, 1836, p. 3; Columbus *Sentinel*, May 19, 1836, p. 3; Washington *National Intelligencer*, May 19, 1836, p. 3; John Peabody to Schley, May 9, 1836, Hays, *Creek Indian Letters*, GSDAH, p. 1280.

²⁹ John Fontaine to Schley, May 19, 1836, John Fontaine Papers, GSDAH.

³⁰ Niles' *Weekly Register*, Vol. L, No. 1,290 (June 11, 1836), p. 257; Muster roll of the Divisions of the Georgia Militia, Sanford Papers, ASDAH; Huntsville *Southern Advocate*, May 24, 1836, p. 3.

loosa for Montgomery where he established his headquarters two days later.

Clay was determined to "facilitate and expedite . . . a vigorous prosecution and speedy termination of the campaign," but he discovered that the citizens of Montgomery were as terrified about the prospects of a general Creek war as the citizens of Columbus. "Rumors and reports were numerous and various, sometimes estimating the number of hostile warriors at eight hundred or a thousand, and again from two or three thousand."³¹ Once settled the governor spent several days organizing the militia and getting it ready for a confrontation with the hostile Indians. In addition to the divisions already mustered, Clay accepted volunteer companies from Lowndes, Coosa, Tallapoosa, Talledega, Benton, and Cherokee counties into service. He also ordered the commander of the 7th division to raise another battalion to meet in Montgomery on June 13. Clay thought the center of hostilities would be in Barbour County so he dispatched ten companies of mounted men under Brigadier General John Moore and five companies of infantry under Major General Irwin to Irwinton.³² On May 28, Clay wrote Governor Schley explaining his plan of operation and suggesting that the Alabama and Georgia militia unite in a joint operation against the Creeks to begin on June 5.³³

Clay also took important steps to prevent the hostilities from spreading to the Upper towns of the Creek confederacy. He issued a proclamation to the peaceful Creeks reminding them they were bound to obey the state law of 1832 extending jurisdiction over their territory. He warned the Indians against joining in the hostilities, and urged them to be "prudent," to "preserve the utmost quiet," and not to "appear under any circumstances, with arms, except for the purpose of joining the white man against the hostile party." Further, he told them, "You are not permitted to carry on war against us, nor are you permitted to aid those who do carry on such war. If you do aid and comfort them, you are as guilty as if you had joined with them with arms in your hands."³⁴

Three days later Clay met with Opothleyoholo and twelve other chiefs of the Upper towns of the Creek confederacy in an effort to persuade them to join the Alabama militia in suppressing the activities of their hostile

³¹ Clay, Annual Message for 1836, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama* . . . 1836, pp. 14-15.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 15; Huntsville *Southern Advocate*, June 14, 1836, p. 3.

³³ Clay to the Commanding Officer of the Georgia Militia, May 28, 1836, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. VII, p. 318.

³⁴ The Proclamation of C. C. Clay, Governor of the State of Alabama, to the Chiefs and Warriors of the Creek Tribe of Indians, Huntsville *Southern Advocate*, May 31, 1836, p. 3. See Green, "Federal-State Conflict in the Administration of Indian Policy: Georgia, Alabama, and the Creeks, 1824-1834," pp. 228-236, for a discussion of the evolution of the Alabama laws which placed the Creeks under the control of the civil authority of Alabama.



Opothleyahola, Chief of the Creeks, who opposed the removal of the tribe to a new home in the West (Courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society).

kinsmen.³⁵ Opothleyoholo, who had emerged as a principal chief of the Creeks around 1825, had signed the treaty of 1832, but did not want to emigrate. In 1834, hoping to avoid a forced emigration, he and a delegation of followers investigated the possibility of securing a land cession in Texas from Mexican authorities. When the plan failed, Opothleyoholo's continued opposition to emigration drove Superintendent Hogan to describe the chief as the "greatest obstacle in the way" of a peaceful removal of the nation.³⁶ By September, 1835, however, Opothleyoholo had concluded that removal was inevitable. "Our people have done that which we did not believe they would have done at the time we made the treaty," he wrote, "they have sold their reservations."³⁷ Shortly after the Creek War erupted, Opothleyoholo suffered a major indignity by being arrested and jailed for indebtedness. Humiliated by the experience, he accepted Clay's offer and ultimately supplied nearly four hundred of his tribesmen to the cause.³⁸

In addition to galvanizing the militia, the outbreak of violence also provided the Jackson administration with an excuse to ignore the fact that the Creeks had not yet signed a treaty of removal and to begin their compulsory westward emigration. On May 19 Cass ordered Quartermaster General Thomas S. Jesup to Alabama to assume command of the militia. Jesup was chosen because he was in Washington and available for immediate assignment, while General Winfield Scott, who had fourteen years seniority over Jesup, was still preoccupied by the Seminole War. But the first disastrous months of the war in Florida had come to an end and on May 21, with Cass' approval, Scott left Florida to assume command of the forces in Georgia and overall command of all the forces gathered to quell the hostilities.³⁹ Within a short time Scott and Jesup would command a force of nearly 12,000 men which included Alabama militiamen and volunteers, Indians, regulars drawn from as far away as New York, and some Tennessee volunteers enroute to Florida to fight the Seminoles.⁴⁰

³⁵ Clay, Annual Message for 1836, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama* . . . 1836, p. 15.

³⁶ Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians*, pp. 135-136; Hogan to George Gibson, July 12, 1835, United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document* 276, p. 314.

³⁷ Opothleyoholo *et al.* to Cass, September 4, 1835, United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document* 276, p. 124.

³⁸ Sanford to George Gibson, May 14, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 372; United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document* 154, pp. 41-45; Clay, Annual Message for 1836, *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Alabama* . . . 1836, p. 15.

³⁹ Cass to Thomas Jesup, May 19, 1836, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. VII, p. 312; Cass to Winfield Scott, May 16, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 310.

⁴⁰ Cass to Clay, May 13, 1836, United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document* 276, pp. 96-97; John Erwin, *Diary*, MSS, Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

Scott and Jesup were intent upon two major considerations. First, both men wanted to contain the hostilities and prevent any disenchanted Creeks from escaping the Creek territory in Alabama and making their way through the virtually unpopulated swamps of southern Georgia to join the Seminoles in Florida. Scott's experience with Seminoles who could escape detection by hiding in the Florida swamps made him especially wary about the prospects of becoming involved in a nineteenth century equivalent to "a land war in Asia."⁴¹ Secondly, the two generals wanted to commence the removal of the Creeks. Interestingly, neither Scott nor Jesup were initially as concerned with the problems of removal as the administration was. Opothleyoholo's promise to make the westward trek provided the administration with the voluntary acquiescence it needed to counter the moral outrage of its critics, who could point out that the majority of Creeks had still not signed a treaty of removal. Alabama's summer war of 1836 was merely an impediment which temporarily halted the expeditious implementation of Jackson's overall Indian policy in so far as it related to the Creeks.

Scott arrived in Augusta on May 25 and quickly went to work trying to gather the arms, ammunition, and supplies needed to prosecute the Creek War. On May 26 he travelled to Milledgeville to meet with Governor Schley and General Jesup, who had already arrived. Scott was primarily interested in devising a plan of operation that would prevent the Creeks from secretly escaping the web of federal and state troops surrounding the Creek territory, and he, Schley and Jesup quickly agreed that Jesup should assume command of the Alabama militia, create a base of operation at the small, recently established village of Irwinton, and commence a sweeping operation designed to drive the Creeks toward the Chattahoochee River where the troops under Scott's command would capture them and prepare them for removal to the Indian territory west of Arkansas.⁴² Governor Schley later explained that the planned maneuver would have prevented hostile Creeks from joining the Seminoles by restricting their flight through the "sparsely populated country" of Alabama and Georgia.⁴³ After the meeting Scott openly marveled at the fact that the three men had agreed that the plan of operation was the best one to follow.⁴⁴

The next day Scott, Jesup, and Schley set out for Columbus where Scott was to assume command of the Georgia militia. Arriving on May 31, Scott

⁴¹ Scott's troubles with the Seminoles are dealt with in Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842*, pp. 140-167.

⁴² Scott to Rufus Jones, May 26, 1836, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. VII, p. 314; Scott to Schley, May 26, 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 314-315.

⁴³ Testimony of William Schley, *ibid.*, p. 175.

⁴⁴ Testimony of Edmond Kirby, *ibid.*, p. 168; Testimony of A. H. Kenan, *ibid.*, p. 170.

soon discovered that it was clearly impossible to begin military operations on June 5 as Governor Clay had wished. The final detachment of regulars was not expected for at least two weeks; the Georgia militia, distributed for over forty miles along the Chattahoochee River, had to be mustered into service; and a way had to be found to send Jesup through the hostile Creek territory so that he could assume command of the Alabama militia. To complicate matters even more, the heavy spring rains of May improved navigation on the Chattahoochee and Ockmulgee rivers, but muddied the roads making it difficult for wagons filled with supplies to reach Columbus. On the day of his arrival, Scott wrote Clay asking him to delay any action until June 15. "I am opposed to all premature operations against the enemy. Our forces must first be assembled . . . and organized; our magazines established, and adequate means of transportation provided."⁴⁵ Two days later, Scott explained to Adjutant General Rufus Jones, "If we fight the Indians with inferior numbers, we should . . . in all probability, beat them, but with a great loss of valuable lives on our part; whereas, if we wait for the arrival of all, or nearly all of our forces . . . and till we have ample means of subsistence secured for twenty days in advance, I suppose the war may be successfully terminated . . . with but a small loss of lives."⁴⁶

Scott, who developed a mild case of the flu and had to work from a sick-bed, encountered one obstacle after another as he tried to accumulate arms and supplies for his troops. Captain Harding could not furnish him with arms from the Mount Vernon arsenal because the demands of Clay and the Seminole War had depleted his stock, so they had to be ordered from the arsenals at Baton Rouge and New Orleans. Wagons to transport provisions from Savannah and Augusta to Columbus were in short supply and obtained only by paying extravagant prices to speculators hoping to benefit from the conflict, and finally, of the two steamboats expected to bring rifles up the Ockmulgee River to Macon for transshipment to Columbus, one had been decommissioned for the season and the other blew its boiler.⁴⁷ On June 17 a discouraged Scott informed Adjutant General Jones that "the troops here are becoming impatient to move, and so am I; but I must avoid all premature and false movements. Arms and ammunition are indispensable, and so are a certain number of days' subsistence." Not until the first

⁴⁵ Scott to Clay, May 31, 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 318-319; Edmond Kirby to Charles Dimmock, June 3, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 322.

⁴⁶ Scott to Jones, June 2, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 317.

⁴⁷ Testimony of John W. A. Sanford, *ibid.*, p. 172; Testimony of William Schley, *ibid.*, p. 176; Harding to Scott, June 14, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 321; Charles Dimmock to Kirby, June 2, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 322; Joseph Beard to Scott, June 5, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 324.

arms arrived in Columbus on June 20 did Scott have the opportunity to take action.⁴⁸

While Scott was wrestling with the problem of supplies, Jesup decided to cross the Chattahoochee River with a guard of one hundred and twenty men. He reached Tuskegee before he was compelled to stop "in consequence of the danger of exposing so small a force beyond supporting distance from this post."⁴⁹ At Tuskegee, Jesup joined General Patterson and the militia, and he learned that the supply situation was as bad in Alabama as it was in Georgia. No supplies were immediately available and he had to place his horses on half rations in order to overcome the problem. Worse still, the Alabama militiamen feared they would be forced to serve in the Seminole War and refused to be mustered into government service. They declared they would fight "on our own hook." Reluctant to assume command of the militia unless they were mustered into federal service willingly, Jesup enlisted the help of Clay and Patterson who assuaged the militia by assuring them they would be used only against the Creeks. On June 9, then, Jesup formally assumed command and within a few days he had assembled a force of approximately one thousand Alabama volunteers and thirteen hundred Indians.⁵⁰

While Jesup was still engaged in preparing to assume command of the troops in Tuskegee, some Alabama militiamen were already patrolling the fringes of the Lower Creek country. Following Governor Clay's order of May 15, Major General William Irwin had gathered some of his forces at Claiborne. As they prepared to move toward Irwinton as Clay had ordered, the general learned that a settler named Watson had been murdered. He also received reports that "a very large body of Indians" had gathered in the vicinity of Irwinton and that they were "making every demonstration" to attack the village. The Alabama general immediately ordered a forced march which rapidly brought his troops to Irwinton, but he discovered that the town had been completely deserted by all its inhabitants, and further, there were no Indians anywhere in the vicinity.⁵¹

Jesup was a firm, aggressive commander who allowed neither moral

⁴⁸ Scott to Rufus Jones, June 17, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 330; Scott to Rufus Jones, June 20, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 333.

⁴⁹ Montgomery *Advertiser*, June 11, 1836, p. 3; Jesup to Scott, June 8, 1836, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. VII, p. 325; Jesup to Scott, June 25, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 347.

⁵⁰ Jesup to Scott, June 8, 1836, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. VII, p. 325; Jesup to Scott, June 11, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 334; Jesup to Scott, June 20, 1834, *ibid.*, p. 325.

⁵¹ Huntsville *Southern Advocate*, June 17, 1836, p. 3; Assistant Adjutant General John H. Huger to C. C. Clay, July 11, 1836, quoted in Anne Kendrick Walker, *Backtracking in Barbour County* (Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1971), p. 43.

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scruples nor sentimentality to interfere with his mission.⁵² When he heard the rumors of "murders and conflagrations" at Irwinton, he was provoked into taking decisive action without consulting Scott. Jesup's orders were to wait until June 15 to commence his military operations and then send as many Alabamans as he could safely spare to Irwinton to cooperate with the Georgia troops in ferreting out the Creeks. But Jesup decided that troubles at Irwinton were cause enough for him to move earlier. On June 12 he left Tuskegee with twelve companies and thirteen hundred Indians under his command. The move was not without risks. Jesup had still not collected enough forage or food to conduct a sustained campaign, and he hoped to rectify the problem by living off the land in the Creek country.⁵³ Jesup later defended his decision by claiming that he had set the troops in motion prematurely "for the purpose of staying the tomahawk and scalping knife, and preventing the devastation of entire settlements." He also claimed that he had a large enough force under his command to end the Creek hostilities within one week.⁵⁴

Jesup was no doubt right about the ability of his troops to bring a quick termination to the Creek hostilities. In the first seven days after they left Tuskegee, Jesup's troops captured Neamicco, his son, and thirty-five of his people. More importantly they also captured and imprisoned Neamathla, thus bringing to a close his long tenure of continuing opposition to the United States.⁵⁵ Always quick to seize an advantage, Jesup decided to capitalize on Neamathla's imprisonment by planning to attack the elderly chief's town situated along the Hatchechubbee Creek. Jesup had heard rumors that 2,000 Indians from the Lower towns had gathered at the Hatchechubbee village as a preliminary to fighting the whites, so his forces, buttressed by the arrival of additional volunteers, maneuvered into position on June 17. Early the next morning Jesup ordered an attack. The advance guard

fired upon several Indians. The thickness of the swamp, and the peculiar adaptation of the ground for Indian warfare rendered an attack from the hostiles more than probable. Formed line, breasted through and formed column on other side, without interruption, advanced on the Town. . . . The Brigade was formed into three columns of attack. The right flank was

⁵² Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842*, pp. 214-216.

⁵³ Scott to Jesup, June 1, 1836, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. VII, p. 320; Jesup to Scott, June 20, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 337; Jesup to Scott, June 25, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 347.

⁵⁴ Jesup to Scott, June 17, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 334; Jesup to Francis Blair, June 20, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 336.

⁵⁵ Jesup to Scott, June 17, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 332; Jesup to Francis Blair, June 20, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 336.

ordered to march upon the lower settlements, the center upon the middle, and the left flank upon the upper, with orders to intercept the Indians in their retreat to the swamp, in the rear of the Town.

Each of the divisions performed its duty well, but by the time Jesup's forces captured the village the Indians had fled "leaving signs of precipitate retreat in every direction."⁵⁶

Jesup found only two things of importance in the deserted Indian town—corn for forage and a hundred head of cattle to feed his troops. His efforts to provide his troops with supplies by living off the land had proved impossible because the hostile Creeks had already destroyed all the corn and provisions they were unable to use. By June 17, as he prepared to attack Neamathla's village, Jesup had only two day's supplies in reserve, and his situation was becoming increasingly desperate. Thinking he might have to abandon his campaign, Jesup had informed Scott on June 17 that he might be "compelled" to proceed to Fort Mitchell for supplies rather than continue on to Irwinton where he was supposed to commence the joint operation.⁵⁷

Scott was in Columbus, less than thirty miles from Fort Mitchell, still waiting for the first shipment of arms when Jesup's letter arrived. The letter, which included no reference to the supplies Jesup captured in Neamathla's village, sent Scott into an immediate rage. Being commander of the army during the first months of the Seminole War had convinced Scott of the necessity of co-ordinating military activity, and it seemed as if Jesup was deliberately ignoring his orders by conducting an unplanned and unexpected movement. Governor Schley, who worked closely with Scott during this period, later explained that Jesup's presence at Fort Mitchell rather than Irwinton would have undermined Scott's strategy. Instead of catching the Indians in a vise as the Alabama militia moved from Irwinton toward the Chattahoochee River, the hostile Creeks would have been "free to fight or retreat" to Florida.⁵⁸ Accordingly, Scott sent Jesup a strongly worded letter ordering him to Fort Mitchell "to prevent . . . all further erratic movements . . . till further orders, or until I can see you."⁵⁹

Getting the two generals together in the confused situation along the frontier proved difficult, however. Scott went to Fort Mitchell on June 18, discovered that Jesup was not there, and returned to Columbus.⁶⁰ Jesup,

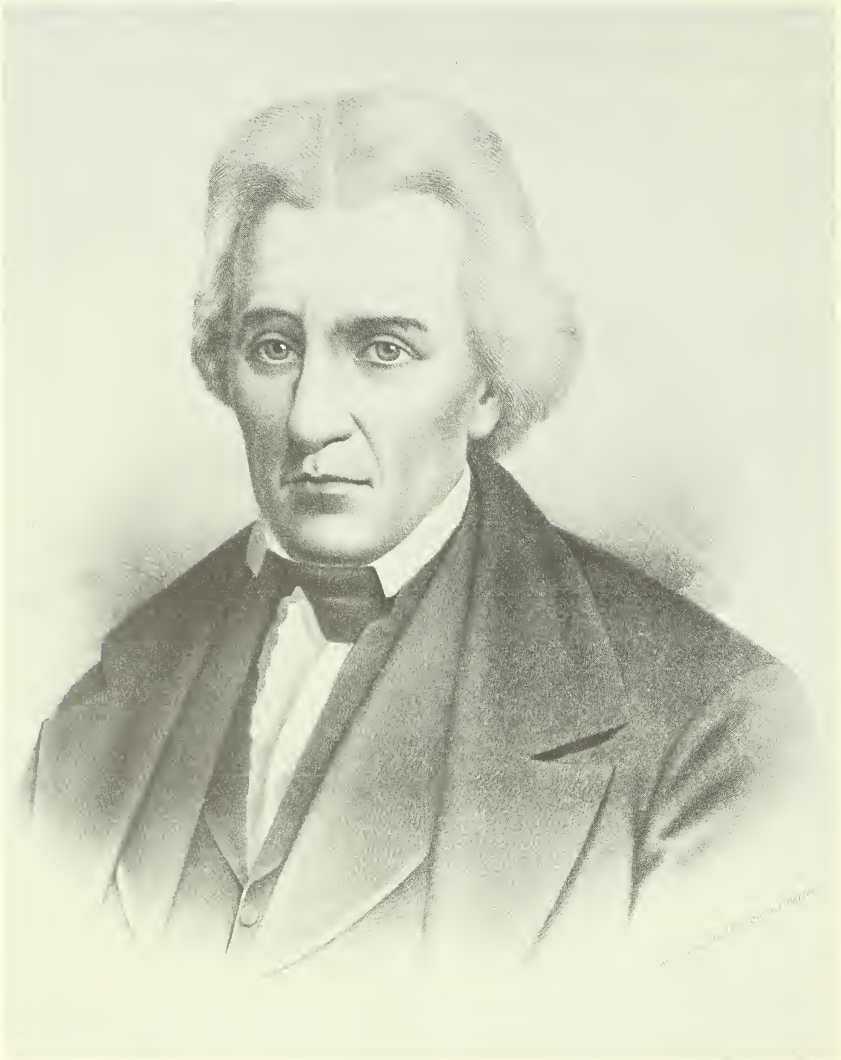
⁵⁶ Jesup to Scott, June 25, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 347; John H. Huger to Clay, July 11, 1836, quoted in Walker, *Backtracking in Barbour County*, p. 44.

⁵⁷ Jesup to Scott, June 25, 1836, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. VII, p. 347; Jesup to Scott, June 17, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 332.

⁵⁸ Testimony of William Schley, *ibid.*, p. 175.

⁵⁹ Scott to Jesup, June 17, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 332.

⁶⁰ Scott to Jesup, June 19, 1836, *ibid.*, pp. 334–335.



President Andrew Jackson, who was determined to force the Creeks to surrender their ancient home in the East (Courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society).

infuriated by Scott's criticism, arrived the next day, learned Scott was in Columbus, returned to his troops along the Hatchechubbee Creek, and decided to complete his campaign. On the advice of Opothleyoholo and the friendly chiefs, Jesup issued a public warning to the hostile Creeks to surrender or face grave consequences. Over three hundred warriors and five hundred and fifty women and children responded by entering his camp and voluntarily surrendering. Escorted by General Patterson and six companies of mounted men, they were brought to Fort Mitchell to await transportation for their removal to the Indian territory. Eighty of the prisoners subsequently escaped, and Jesup was not certain how many hostile Creeks remained at large, but he considered the war "mainly" over. When he finally met with Scott on June 23, Jesup assured the commanding general that his movement into the center of the Lower Creek country had "broken the power of the hostile chiefs."⁶¹ Jesup's report and his achievements apparently mollified the commander's anger, for Scott informed Adjutant General Jones that "General Jesup, has, by fuller explanations, perfectly satisfied me that he moved from Tuskegee and operated in this direction upon what he deemed an imperious necessity."⁶²

Despite Jesup's achievements, much still remained before the final removal of the Creeks to the Indian territory. Following their meeting at Fort Mitchell, both Scott and Jesup turned their attention to completing the preliminary steps. The first thing on their agenda was the capture of Jim Henry. A stripling young man about twenty years old, Henry generally dressed "fashionably" in "clothes of the finest broadcloth and casimere." One observer said that he often looked "more like a courtier than a warrior." Henry had reportedly worked as a clerk for one of the Georgia land speculators until May 1835 when he left his job, joined Neamathla, and led the party of Creeks which attacked and burned Roanoak. He was with the Indians that surrendered to Jesup, but he refused to stop fighting and escaped from the party which General Patterson had led to Fort Mitchell. Subsequently, thirty of his warriors were apprehended and brought to the fort to await trial under Alabama law. Others wandered into the villages of the friendly Creeks and were also captured. On July 1, tired and alone, Henry entered the camp of the friendly chief Echee Harjo, was captured, brought to Patterson who was

⁶¹ Jesup to Francis Blair, June 20, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 336; Jesup to Scott, June 19, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 334; Jesup to Scott, June 20, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 338; Scott to Rufus Jones, June 24, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 345; Jesup to Cass, June 25, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 348; Huntsville *Southern Advocate*, July 19, 1836, p. 2.

⁶² Scott to Jones, June 23, 1836, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. VII, p. 340.

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at Camp Long along Hachechubbee Creek, and then taken to Fort Mitchell to await his removal to the Indian territory.⁶³

With the capture of Jim Henry, Scott and Jesup focused their attention on preventing the small remnants of hostile Creeks still at large from joining the Seminoles. To implement their program Scott and Jesup established a line along the southern border of the Creek country to prevent hostile Indians from escaping to Florida. But while the presence of militia and regulars roaming at will through their country and of troops stationed along the Chattahoochee River dimmed the prospects of a successful escape, the Indians were not unwilling to try. One small band "approached the river, and prepared canoes," but found the Georgia militia stationed along the Chattahoochee "too strong to risk a passage."⁶⁴ On June 24 Scott and General Sanford with twelve hundred mounted men and a small battalion of artillery headed for Roanoak along roads "so deluged with rain that no wagons could accompany the column." On their arrival Scott learned of two recently discovered nearby Indian trails "leading to Florida." He immediately ordered Colonel Thomas Beall and Captain H. W. Jernigan of the Georgia militia to pursue the Indians and prevent their escape.⁶⁵

Beall's and Jernigan's encounters with the Indians marked the only real military engagements of the Creek War. Between sixty and a hundred and fifty Creeks proceeded through Georgia killing and attacking white settlers. The Indians fled into the Chickasahatchee Swamp southeast of Fort Gaines, where they were surrounded by Beall's troops, volunteers drawn from Columbus, and terrorized local citizens. For over a month the troops scoured the swamp, attacking and routing the Creeks in their strongholds, and conducting captured warriors to the Thomasville jail for trial under Georgia law. Whenever the Creeks were attacked, they "fled precipitously in every direction" leaving Beall "unable to pursue them in consequence of the denseness of the bushes through which they retreated." In mid-June twenty-two Creeks were killed as they tried to escape the swamp and sequester themselves in the Coolawallee Swamp, also in Baker County.⁶⁶ Despite Beall's best efforts, "a large body" of Creeks managed to reach "the Okefanokee Swamp in Ware Co. . . . on their way to the Seminoles."

⁶³ Huntsville *Southern Advocate*, July 5, 1836, p. 3; *ibid.*, July 19, 1836, p. 2; *Army and Navy Chronicle*, Vol. III, No. 2 (July 14, 1836), p. 26; *ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 4 (July 28, 1836), p. 57.

⁶⁴ Scott to Jones, June 23, 1836, *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, p. 337; Scott to Jesup, June 26, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 349.

⁶⁵ Scott to Jones, July 2, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 350.

⁶⁶ Thomas Blackshear to Schley, July 7, 1836, Hays, *Creek Indian Letters*, p. 1399; Thomas J. Holmes to Schley, July 16, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 1407; Thomas Beall to Winfield Scott, n.d., *Niles' Weekly Register*, Vol. L, No. 1,296 (July 23, 1836), pp. 348-349.

Jernigan was no more successful. On July 24 he learned that some Creeks had crossed the Cuthbert Road, seven miles south of Lumpkin, Georgia, and that they were travelling towards the "Echo-a-noch-away" swamp. Assisted by volunteers from Stewart and Randolph counties, he organized his company and pursued the trail. His first encounter with the Creeks near the plantation of Reuben Jones was a disappointment. Jernigan planned to surround the Indian encampment by dividing his company and sending an advance guard under Thomas Stapleton through the cornfields to attack the Creeks from the east. After the Indian camp was located, Jernigan dismounted his company and began silently advancing toward the camp when a "brisk firing" erupted between the advance guard and the Indians. Jernigan thought that Stapleton's troops were surrounded and he ordered a "furious Charge" to divert the Creeks from the guard and turn them toward himself. The troops charged and the Creeks were driven back a hundred yards "but such was their Superiority in numbers" that Jernigan's forces could not contain them. Under fire from some Creeks hiding in a nearby thicket, Jernigan finally ordered a retreat expecting that the Creeks would take advantage of the apparent rout by pursuing the Georgia militia troops and giving it an "equal chance with them . . . which however they did not do."⁶⁷

Undeterred, Jernigan resumed the chase the next day and pursued the Indians along an irregular ten mile course through swamps and bogs that brought him within two miles of the previous day's battleground. Jernigan thought the Creeks "were either lost or hoped I would overrun their trail." At sunset he halted his company and sent out spies to ascertain the location of the Indians. That night, reinforcements arrived and increased the number of men under his command from eighty to three hundred.

Jernigan put his troops in motion before breakfast on the morning of July 27 "for two reasons . . . first no time to Cook; second, nothing to Cook." An advance guard soon discovered the Indians crossing Turkey Creek at its confluence with the main "Echo-a-noch-away." As the advance guard tried to pursue the Indians, the Creeks turned and fired "several scattering guns" forcing the guard to give up the chase.

Temporarily stalemated, Jernigan spent several hours trying to position his forces around the Indians. By eleven o'clock everything was ready, and approximately two hours later "guns were fired" signalling an order to cross the creek. Moving quietly through "mud and water thickly set with cane" Jernigan managed to get so close to the Creeks that he "could hear the

⁶⁷ Mark Willcox to Schley, July 16, 1836, Hays, *Creek Indian Letters*, p. 1412.

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Indians talk." As his troops fanned out around the encampment "a deadly firing took place." Jernigan immediately

ordered a charge with the sound of the Horn, and, in 30 seconds from the fire of the first Gun, the two companies gained the Hammock and Covered the line of Indians broadside. The firing from all quarters was heavy and animated. The Indians fought with more desperation and gave up the ground with more reluctance than any battle I have had with them. Such was the determination to keep the ground, I saw them shot down not more than 30 steps [away]. Charge was the order of the day, and was ordered by officers, and performed by soldiers well worthy [of] their Country's praise.

The fighting lasted forty-five minutes and was over by 1:30 p.m. In the two days six whites had died and seventeen had been wounded. On both days the Indians managed to drag their dead and wounded from the battlefield.⁶⁸

Jernigan's encounter with the Indians did not end the Creek War of 1836. Hostilities and incidents between the Creeks and white settlers in both Alabama and Georgia surfaced well into the early months of 1837.⁶⁹ By the middle of July 1836, however, the conclusive fighting had come to an end. Scott was relieved of his command and returned to Washington to face a military court of inquiry which absolved him of the charge of delaying the commencement of the Creek War. Jesup remained in Alabama until December when he was ordered to Florida to assume charge of the Seminole War. More importantly, manacled hostile warriors and friendly Indians under the influence of Opothleyoholo were forced to begin the long journey to the Indian Territory west of the Mississippi River. When Neamathla's party, the first to leave, reached Montgomery in July, the *Advertiser* reported that "the spectacle was . . . truly melancholy. To see the remnant of a once mighty people, fettered and chained together—forced to depart from the land of their Fathers into a country unknown to them, is of itself sufficient to move the stoutest heart."⁷⁰

What then can be said, in conclusion, of the quality and necessity of the military activity which preceded the forced removal of the Creeks from their homeland in Alabama. Moses T. Chapin, a transplanted Rhode Islander disenchanted by his experiences in the South, probably made the most cogent observation concerning the quality of the militia. Chapin ob-

⁶⁸ H. W. Jernigan to John W. A. Sanford, August 5, 1836, Sanford Papers, ASDAH.

⁶⁹ Henry Blair to Schley, August 30, 1836, Henry Blair Papers, GSDAH; James Gay, Spenser Riley to Schley, August 19, 1836, Hays, *Creek Indian Letters*, GSDAH, p. 1419; Jesup to Schley, October 1, 1836, *ibid.*, p. 1444; Macon *Telegraph*, January 5, 1837, p. 2; George Barry, John Moore, *et al.* to C. C. Clay, January 4, 1837, C. C. Clay Correspondence, ASDAH.

⁷⁰ Montgomery *Advertiser* quoted in the Huntsville *Southern Advocate*, June 19, 1836, p. 2.

served the war closely from his law office near the Creek country and in July, after all but a few minor incidents had occurred, he wrote a friend in Barrington, Rhode Island

The War has been *most miserably managed*. The secret is the *men are cowards*. . . . They don't consider how serious a matter is till they get into the woods and hear the yell of the savage—they think then of their "wives and dear babes" . . . and they don't want to leave "the good things of the world" so away they run and fill the country with reports as wild and false as their conduct is base and cowardly.⁷¹

Ironically an investigation into the causes of the Creek War conducted in 1836–1837 by Alfred Balch, a Jackson protege in Tennessee politics, and T. Hartley Crawford, later to become Commissioner of Indian Affairs, concluded that the Creeks would have voluntarily emigrated to the Indian territory in 1835 if the fraudulent practices of the speculators had not deprived them of their land and their means of subsistence.⁷² Or, to put it another way, there may have been no reason for the government to place 12,000 federal and state troops on the fringes of the Creek territory in Alabama and Georgia if the government had seen to it that justice was done in the first place.

⁷¹ Moses T. Chapin to Joshua Bicknell, July 30, 1836, Moses T. Chapin Papers, ASDAH.

⁷² Alfred Balch to Benjamin Butler, January 14, 1837, United States House of Representatives, *Executive Document 154*, pp. 12–15.

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY SITES HOLDINGS

*By C. Earle Metcalf**

Formed by the Oklahoma Territorial Newspaper Association as a society, the Oklahoma Historical Society was organized May 27, 1893, at Kingfisher to preserve the record of history. It has a mandate from its founders to collect "things of historic interest and etcetera." By 1895 the Oklahoma Historical Society became an agency of the Territorial Government with a \$2,000 appropriation and was moved from Kingfisher to the University at Norman.

From Norman the Society was moved to quarters in the Carnegie Library in Oklahoma City and then into the State Capitol. In 1931 the Oklahoma Historical Society moved into its present building. This building housed the Indian Archives, some artifacts, newspapers, and offices of other agencies at that time.

The first Historic Site acquired by the Oklahoma Historical Society was Sequoyah's Home and its ten acres of land. This deed was signed February 24, 1936, and recorded three days later. From this time until the 1960s, only a few pieces of historically significant real properties were acquired due to a shortage of funds and lack of impetus. As a matter of record, Sequoyah Home was administered by the Resources and Planning Division of the State of Oklahoma until 1967.

From the mid 1960s until the end of 1976, the new cultural awareness prompted almost every county to contribute its historic sites to the preserved history of our state. Of these are twenty sites and museums which are open to the public, numerous burial grounds of historic significance, and several places where only a marker tells the story of a happening or person that played a part in our history.

Beginning with Adair County in the old Flint District of the Cherokee Nation and ending with the modern facility of the Tom Mix Museum in Washington County, this listing serves to locate and identify the historic real property held in trust by the Oklahoma Historical Society as of May, 1979.

ADAIR COUNTY

Flint District Court House, southwest of Stilwell. (W₂ SE₄ NE₄ of S 20, T 15N R 25E.)

* The author is currently Director of the Museums and Historic Sites Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society.



The Homesteaders Sod House southeast of Aline in Alfalfa County (Courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society).

At this site a treated pine log structure has been built by the County Society to symbolize the original Court House.

Leased by the Oklahoma Historical Society from the Adair County Cherokee Historical Society for a 25-year period beginning October 9, 1971. Renewable for like periods if agreeable to both parties.

ALFALFA COUNTY

Homesteaders Sod House, southeast of Aline. (A part of the NW₄ of S 18, T 23N R 11W: Beginning at a point 620' N of the SW corner of the said quarter section; thence E 284'; thence N 125'; thence W 284'; thence S 125' to the point of beginning.)

An original sod house built in 1894 by Marshall McCully. Now in a cover building with attendant exhibits. This site also has an outdoor shed housing early day farm equipment.

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Warranty Deed from Louvisa Elliott et al to the Oklahoma Historical Society, dated December 31, 1963; recorded June 17, 1964, Book 200, Page 275; Alfalfa County Records.

ATOKA COUNTY

Boggy Depot Cemetery, near the Boggy Depot State Recreation Area. (Beginning at an iron post at the NW corner of the SE₄ NE₄ SW₄ of S 1, T 3S, R 9E; thence N 161' 4"; thence W 270' to the point of beginning. Also that portion of the NE₄ SW₄ of S 1, T 3S, R 9E described as: Beginning at the NW corner of the SE₄ NE₄ SW₄; thence N 8° 45' W, 161' 4"; thence N 81° 15' E 270'; thence N 8° 45' W 108' 8"; thence S 81° 15' W 540'; thence S 8° 45' E 540'; thence N 81° 15' E 270'; thence N 8° 45' W 270' to the point of beginning, containing four acres more or less and beginning at the center of the said NE₄ of the said SW₄ of the said section, township and range; thence E 375 links; thence S 400 links; thence W 375 links; thence N 400 links to the point of beginning, containing 1.5 acres more or less.)

This property leased by the Oklahoma Historical Society to the Division of State Parks in 1961 to include automatic renewal perpetually, reserving only burial rights for family of those already buried in the cemetery.

Warranty Deed to the Oklahoma Historical Society from the Boggy Depot and Wilson Grove Cemetery Association. Recorded in Atoka County April 29, 1959, Book 213, pages 220, 221, 222 and 223.

Confederate Cemetery Park, north of Atoka on U.S. Highway 69, adjacent to the Confederate Cemetery. (Beginning at a point in the N line of the SW₄ NE₄ of S 11, T 23, R 11E at the intersection of said line with the W right of way line of the MKT Railroad for a point and place of beginning, thence W and parallel with the N line of S 11 along the N line of said SW₄ NE₄ a distance of 306.5' to the intersection with the E line of U.S. Highway 69, thence SW along said right of way on a curve to the right a distance of 134', thence SE a distance of 358.8' to a point in the W right of way line of MKT Railroad, said point being 301' SW from the point of beginning, thence NE along MKT right of way line on a curve to the right a distance of 301' to the point of beginning, containing 1.48 acres more or less.)

This deed conveyed property to the Oklahoma Historical Society that had formerly been held by the Oklahoma Historical Society under an easement allowing ingress, egress to the Confederate Cemetery.

This property purchased by the Oklahoma Historical Society from J. H. and Venoy G. Reed. Deed Recorded June 15, 1973, Atoka County Records, Book 329, Page 124.

Confederate Cemetery, just north of Atoka on the south side of U.S. High-

way 69. (A tract of land 67' by 400' in the SW₄ NE₄ of S 11, T 2S, R 11E more particularly described as follows: Beginning at a point 1712.5' S and 777' E of the N quarter section corner of said S 11; thence S 69° 24' E a distance of 35' to a point in the W line of the MKT right of way, which is at right angles to the point of tangent at center line of MKT Station 27695 plus 24.5, the point of beginning; thence S 69° 24' E a distance of 67' to a point 33' at right angles to a point of tangent on railroad at center of railroad; thence S 20° 36' S, parallel to MKT Railroad a distance of 400'; thence N 69° 24' W to the W line of MKT right of way a distance of 67'; thence N 20° 36' E a distance of 400' to the place of beginning.)

This cemetery contains the graves of Confederate soldiers killed at the Battle of Boggy Depot and of those who died of other causes while on duty. An interpretive panel tells the story of the battle.

Lease agreement from the MKT Railroad to the Oklahoma Historical Society dated February 6, 1959, for one year periods, automatic renewal upon receipt by the Railroad Company the stipulated fee of one dollar per year. The supplemented agreement, dated March 23, 1973, raises the fee to thirty five dollars per year.

BLAINE COUNTY

Jesse Chisholm Grave Site, east and south of Greenfield. (A tract of land located in the SW₄ of S 32, T 15N, R 10W, beginning at a point 400' W and 43' N of the southeast corner of the SE₄ of the said S 32; thence N 467'; thence E 480'; thence S 467'; thence W 480' to point of beginning, containing 5.15 acres.) Minerals under the ground and water rights to the flow from the ground spring reserved.

Property was acquired to facilitate the Oklahoma Historical Society maintenance of the site believed containing Chisholm's grave site. On this acreage is located the Left Hand Springs once held by the Arapahoe chief of that name. Deeded from the City of Geary to the Oklahoma Historical Society March 1, 1968. Recorded in the Blaine County Records May 19, 1969, Book 156, Pages 477 and 478.

BRYAN COUNTY

Armstrong Academy Cemetery, north and east of Bokchito. (The N₂ of NE₄ SW₄ NW₄ of S 12, T 6S, R 11E, containing five acres more or less.) This property was donated to the Oklahoma Historical Society to allow expending of funds provided for in House Bill 1531, 1974 Session, in the amount of \$2,000.00 for repair and upkeep on this cemetery.

Quit Claim Deed from John H. and Beda L. Scruggs, husband and wife,



The ruins of the West Barracks at Fort Washita in Bryan County (Courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society).

dated October 27, 1975, filed in Bryan County Records December 1, 1975, Book 582, Page 528.

Bloomfield Academy Cemetery, near Achille. (Beginning at a point 165.2' W and 475' N of the southeast corner of the NE₄ SW₄ NE₄ of S 8, T 9S, R 9E; thence W 348'; thence N 3° 22' E 286.38'; thence N 86° 0' E 322'; thence S 309' to point of beginning, containing 2.316 acres.)

Lease was executed so funds provided to the Oklahoma Historical Society by House Bill 1531 of the 1974 Session could be expended.

This five year lease, beginning April 30, 1974, is from Ernest Bolinger, Jr. to the Oklahoma Historical Society. The lease is automatically renewable for like periods of time for so long as funds are received by the lessee from the State Legislature for the upkeep of this property.

Fort Washita, east of Madill on State Highway 199. (The N₂ NW₄ SE₄ SE₄; and the E₂ SE₄ SE₄; and the SE₄ NE₄ SE₄ of S 22; and the W₂ SW of S 23 all in T 5S, R 7E, except that part thereof lying S of the N right of way line of State Highway 199.) Mineral rights reserved to seller.

This property was acquired to preserve, maintain and in part restore the ruins of Fort Washita, circa 1842.

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY SITES HOLDINGS

Deeded to the Oklahoma Historical Society by Douglas and Billie Colbert, husband and wife, recorded in the Bryan County Records April 25, 1962, Book 418, Page 685.

CADDO COUNTY

Fort Cobb Historical Marker, on State Highway 9, in Fort Cobb. (A perpetual easement across, over and under: Beginning at the center of S 11, T 7N, R 12W; thence W 712.8'; thence SE along the right of way line of State Highway 9, 2,614.3'; thence E 68.4'; thence NE along the Washita River 846'; thence N along said centerline 2,374' to the point of beginning; and the E .237 acre of Lot 2 in S 14, T 7N, R 12W, described as, a tract of land 100' square lying approximately 450' S of the northwest corner of said Lot 2 and E of State Highway 9.)

This easement was executed to allow the Oklahoma Historical Society to construct the Fort Cobb marker and highway turnout on that property.

Rock Mary Monument, west of Hinton. (NW₄ of S 1, T 11N, R 12W.) Easement from J. E. Ballou to the Oklahoma Historical Society allowing the Oklahoma Historical Society to erect and maintain a historical monument on that property.

CANADIAN COUNTY

Chisholm Trail Monument, at Yukon in the S part of town just E of Highway 92. (Beginning at a point 1955.79' W and 45.95' N of the northeast corner of NW₄ of S 29, T 12N, R 5W; thence E 10', thence N 10', thence W 10', thence S 10' to the point of beginning.)

At this site there is a granite monument dedicated to the Chisholm Trail. This 10' x 10' plot is a part of a larger, roadside area that accentuates the monument with grass and a stone wall.

Ceded from John Kirkpatrick to the Oklahoma Historical Society, recorded in the Canadian County records September 27, 1965, Book 393, Page 760.

CHEROKEE COUNTY

Worcester Cemetery, near Park Hill. (Beginning at a point 10 chains E and 1.75 chains N of the quarter corner between S 21 and S 22, T 16N, R 22E; thence E 3.17 chains, thence S 3.17 chains, thence W 3.17 chains, thence N 3.17 chains to the point of beginning, all lying within S 22 of said T and R.)

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Quitclaim Deed from Cherokee County to the Oklahoma Historical Society dated December 8, 1952, recorded December 10, 1952, Book 132, Page 122. This deed also calls for the Oklahoma Historical Society to maintain this cemetery as an historic site.

Worcester Cemetery, near Park Hill. (A roadway 26' wide, being the N 26' of the NW₄ SW₄ of S 22, T 16N, R 22E, connecting the section line road of the said section to the cemetery, a length of 10 chains more or less.) Recorded May 2, 1952, Book 132, Page 367.

This easement from Von Carter to Cherokee County ensures public access to the Worcester Cemetery so long as the road remains open to the public and maintained by Cherokee County.

CHOCTAW COUNTY

Choctaw Chief's House, northeast of Swink. (That portion of the NE₄ of S 23, T 6S, R 20E, described: beginning at a point 2359' W and 1304' S of northeast corner thereof; thence N 50° 10' E 125'; thence S 30° 55' E 200'; thence S 39° 50' W 125'; thence N 59° 5' W 200' to the point of beginning.) This perpetual easement includes right of possession and occupancy for so long as is maintained as an historic property by the Oklahoma Historical Society, then reverts to Grantor, Charlotte Crisler, Jessie W. and Eunice Beech, husband and wife.

Recorded April 13, 1960, Book 282, Page 6.

Choctaw Chief's House, Monument, near Swink. (Any real estate which I own as shown by record in the office of the County Clerk of Choctaw County, Oklahoma, lying in N₂ SW₄ NE₄; and NW₄ NE₄ of S 23, T 6S, R 20E.) This easement from Charlotte Crisler and Eunice Beech to the Oklahoma Historical Society allows the erection of an on-site historic marker concerning the Choctaw Chief's House.

Recorded January 29, 1960, Book 276, Page 373.

Choctaw Chief's House, near Swink. (Starting at the northwest corner of the NE₄ of S 23, T 6S, R 20E; thence S along the quarter section line 800'; thence SE 500' to a point on the north boundary line of the perpetual easement to the Oklahoma Historical Society from Crisler and Beech dated April 13, 1960; Book 282, Page 6, 112' NE of the point of beginning of said easement; thence along said N boundary line 13' to its northeast corner; thence S along the E boundary line of said perpetual easement 200' to its southeast corner; thence N 50° 10' E 20'; thence N 59° 5' W 200'; thence NW 570' to a point 800' S and 33' E of referenced NE₄; thence N 800' to the section line of referenced S 23; thence W 33' to the place of beginning.) This easement from Mrs. Ruth Westbrook allows the Oklahoma Historical



The remains of one of the structures at Fort Towson in Choctaw County (Courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society).

Society to construct and maintain an access road to the Choctaw Chief's House.

Recorded April 30, 1970, Book V42, Page 41.

Doaksville, at the northwest corner of the Fort Towson community. (The SE4 NW4, S 13, T 6S, R 19E, less and except 6 acres in the southwest corner of the said tract, being 220 yards north to south and 132 yards east to west.) This deed conveys 34 acres of a forty acre plot which contains the ruins of old Doaksville from Frances Bryant to the Oklahoma Historical Society. The six acres excepted is the cemetery used by the community of Fort Towson. Site acquired by the Oklahoma Historical Society to preserve the remains, identify significant structures and develop a self guided tour of the old business area of Doaksville.

Recorded November 20, 1973, Book 75, Page 108.

Fort Towson, northeast of the community of the same name. (The NE4 SW4 of S 18, T 6S, R 20E.)

One warranty and three quitclaim deeds from Floyd P. and Velma Thompson, Dorothy Harman and Ann Weaver conveyed to the Oklahoma Historical Society this forty acre tract containing the ruins of part of old Fort

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Towson. This fort dates to 1824, just a few months newer than Fort Gibson and will be stabilized and preserved by the Oklahoma Historical Society. Recorded September 12, 1972, Book 62, Pages 64, 66, 68, 72.

Fort Towson. (Lot 4 and the SE $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of S 18, T 6S, R 20E.)

This lease to the Oklahoma Historical Society from the Kirkpatrick Foundation dated March 20, 1968, for 35 years and renewable, was to enable the Oklahoma Historical Society to preserve, protect and exhibit almost all the ruins of this historic fort.

Fort Towson Post Cemetery. (That part of the W 16.34 acres, Lot 1, S 19, T 6S, R 20E described: Beginning at the northeast corner of said 16.34 acres; thence S 350'; thence W 200'; thence N 350'; thence E 200' to the point of beginning, containing 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres more or less.)

This lease from John Dunn to the Oklahoma Historical Society allows the Oklahoma Historical Society to preserve this post cemetery containing graves of other than military personnel connected to Fort Towson. Dated May 22, 1968, for a term of 35 years, renewable for terms of ten years each. *Rose Hill Cemetery*, southeast of Hugo. (A part of lots 3 and 4 and the S2 NW $\frac{1}{4}$, and the NW $\frac{1}{4}$ SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of S 5; and the E2 NE $\frac{1}{4}$, and the E2 NW $\frac{1}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of S 6, all in T 7S, R 18E described: Beginning at a point 660' W and 660' N of the grave of Robert M. Jones; thence E 1320'; thence S 1320'; thence W 1320'; thence N 1320' to point of beginning, containing 40 acres.)

This property is held in trust by the Oklahoma Historical Society to preserve the visible remains of Rose Hill Plantation structures and its cemetery. This forty acres once contained the headquarters of this plantation, one of the largest in the South, held by Robert M. Jones, a citizen of the Choctaw Nation.

This property was acquired first by a guardian's deed, recorded November 20, 1936, in Lamar County, Texas, Book 51, Page 513. Then 300 acres including the above was acquired by R. L. Williams on a county deed, dated as above, recorded in Choctaw County, Book 189, Page 228 for the use of the Oklahoma Historical Society. On October 30, 1950, the Oklahoma Historical Society conveyed by a Quit Claim Deed 260 acres, less and except the above forty acres, to Ruth Story.

Spencer Academy Monument, nine miles north of Sawyer. (Any real estate I own, as recorded in the office of the County Clerk of Choctaw County, Oklahoma, lying within S 6, T 5S, R 19E.)

This easement from J. H. Eitel to the Oklahoma Historical Society dated May 19, 1959, allows the Oklahoma Historical Society to erect and maintain an on-site marker concerning Spencer Academy. The Oklahoma Historical Society agrees to remove any such marker in the event the property is sold by J. H. Eitel and the new owner so desires.

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY SITES HOLDINGS

CIMARRON COUNTY

Mormon Battalion, Santa Fe Trail Crossing, about 15 miles west of Boise City. (A 20' x 20' parcel of land in the SE₄ of S 28, T 5N, R 5E CM described: Beginning at a point 144' N and 120' W of the southeast corner of said SE₄; thence N 16° 11' W 20'; thence S 73° 49' W 20'; thence S 16° 11' W 20'; thence N 73° 49' E 20' to the point of beginning.)

This easement allows the Oklahoma Historical Society to erect a suitable historical marker in the state highway right of way.

Dated January 28, 1972, recorded in Cimarron County Records April 21, 1972, Book 149, Page 453.

DELAWARE COUNTY

Polson Cemetery, two miles northwest of Southwest City, Missouri. (A part of said cemetery described: Set a point 543.65' W of the southeast corner of the SW₄ SE₄ of S 28, T 24N, R 25E; thence N at right angles to the S boundary of the said SW₄ SE₄ 12.8' as point of beginning; thence W 20'; thence N 15'; thence E 20'; thence S 15' to point of beginning.)

This 99 year lease from the trustees of the Polson Cemetery to the Oklahoma Historical Society dated June 2, 1967, allows the Oklahoma Historical Society to erect historic markers and maintain them and the 15' x 20' area.

GARFIELD COUNTY

Museum of the Cherokee Strip, Enid. (A tract of land beginning at the southwest corner of Block 61 of the original townsite of Enid; thence N parallel to 4th Street 400'; thence E 250'; thence S 400'; thence W 250' to the point of beginning.)

This museum was constructed by a joint effort of the City of Enid, the Sons & Daughters of the Cherokee Strip Pioneers and the Division of State Parks. Monies were contributed by local subscription and completed by legislative appropriation from the state.

After completion it was transferred to the Oklahoma Historical Society by Senate Bill 73, Section 11, 1975, for development as a museum relating to the history of the Cherokee Strip.

GARVIN COUNTY

Murray-Lindsay Mansion, Erin Springs. (Lots 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 in Block 26, Lots 1, 2, 3 and 4 in Block 27, Erin Springs original plot.)

This deed from Tess Lindsay to the Oklahoma Historical Society conveys real property for so long as the site is maintained as an historic property.

Dated August 12, 1970, recorded March 23, 1971, Book 759, Page 194.



The Murray-Lindsay Mansion in Erin Springs, Garvin County (Courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society).

Murray-Lindsay Mansion. (Lots 11, 12, 13 and 14 in Block 19; Lot 5 in Block 28, Erin Springs original plot.)

Deeded from Tess Lindsay to the Oklahoma Historical Society less all mineral rights dated September 28, 1972, recorded October 18, 1972, Book 781, Page 282.

GREER COUNTY

Old Greer County Monument, Mangum. (A reasonable plot in the Public Square at Mangum.)

This easement from Mangum to the Oklahoma Historical Society allows the erection of an historic marker by the Oklahoma Historical Society in the Public Square at Mangum relating to the lands once making up Old Greer County.

Recorded August 7, 1967; Book 15, Page 40.

HASKELL COUNTY

Governor Green McCurtain Homesite, east of Kinta. (Beginning at the northwest corner of the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of S 35, T 8N, R 20E; thence S 0° 1' E

OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY SITES HOLDINGS

506.4'; thence S 68° 19' E 344.7'; thence N 82° 15' E 294.6' to the point of beginning; thence N 61° 42' E 158.2'; thence N 26° 19' W 150.2'; thence S 69° 47' W 93.6'; thence S 8° 15' E approximately 175.1' to point of beginning, less all minerals.) (And an easement 40' wide across a portion of the W2 NE4 NE4 S 35, T 8N R 20E for a road. Centerline of road to be the centerline of the existing curved driveway and extending 20' in either direction.)

This deed and easement from the six members of the Scott family and Verona S. Willey to the Oklahoma Historical Society for purposes of marking and possible preservation of the badly deteriorated home.

Dated March 13, 1970, and recorded July 29, 1970, Book 273, Pages 555-558.

JACKSON COUNTY

Museum of the Western Prairie, Altus. (Three tracts of land; NW4 of S 17, T 2N, R 20W described: Beginning at a point 1385' N and 914' W of the southeast corner of said NW4; thence E 208.4'; thence N parallel to North Hightower Street 215.8'; thence southwesterly 300' to the point of beginning; and beginning at a point 1235' N and 959' W of the southeast corner of the NW4 of said S 17, T 2N, R 20W; thence N 150'; thence E 300'; thence S 150'; thence W 300' to the point of beginning, and, beginning at a point 1235' N and 959' W of the southeast corner of said NW4 of said S 17; thence E 300'; thence S 75'; thence W 300'; thence N 75' to point of beginning.) This property deeded from the Altus Municipal Authority, Altus Independent School District and the Western Trail Historical Society, to the Oklahoma Industrial Development and Parks Division for the purpose of constructing a museum facility.

These three adjacent tracts of land were transferred to the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1974, House Bill No. 1531, for the purpose of maintaining the museum facility.

JEFFERSON COUNTY

Chisholm Trail Historical Museum (All of Block 1 in the Hospital Addition to Waurika, Jefferson County, Oklahoma according to the plot thereof.)

This tract of land was transferred from the Division of State Parks to the Oklahoma Historical Society by Section 10, House Bill No. 1531, dated May 31, 1974.

JOHNSTON COUNTY

Chickasaw Council House, Tishomingo. (A tract of land in Block 76, Tishomingo, containing 0.38 acres described: Beginning at a point 213' S



The Douglas Johnston Home or White House of the Chickasaws in Johnston County (Courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society).

and 129.5' of the northeast corner of said block; thence S 46'; thence W 36'; thence N 46'; thence E 36' to the point of beginning.)

This lease from Johnston County to the Oklahoma Historical Society dated May 29, 1969, for a term of 50 years, was to enable the Oklahoma Historical Society to erect a protective cover building over the log structure known as the Original Chickasaw Council House.

Chickasaw Council House (Beginning at a point 188' S of the NE corner of Block 76 in Tishomingo; thence W 108'; thence S 71'; thence E 108'; thence N 71' to the point of beginning.)

This 50 year lease from Johnston County to the Oklahoma Historical Society dated September 23, 1975, was for the purpose of allowing the Oklahoma Historical Society to construct an exhibits area adjacent to the cover building of the Chickasaw Council House. This new facility is to include the Council House and the whole retitled as "The Chickasaw Council House Museum."

Douglas Johnston Home, White House of the Chickasaws, near Emet. (Beginning at a point 344.6' W and 3.3' N of the southeast corner of the NE₄ NW₄ SW₄ of S 14, T 4S, R 7E; thence N 11° 35' E 835.1'; thence W 562.6';

thence S $11^{\circ} 2'$ W 725.1'; thence S $78^{\circ} 40'$ E 544.1' to the point of beginning.) This deed from Douglas Harbach and LaNita Suart to the Oklahoma Historical Society also conveyed the original furnishings of the house, but excepted all mineral rights. A clause in the deed states that in the event the Oklahoma Historical Society abandons the use of the property, the title reverts to the grantor.

Mary Greenleaf Grave, Wapanucka Academy Site, south of Bromide. (Beginning at a point 663.2' W and 456.2' N of the center quarter corner of S 9, T 2S R 8E, being situated in the NE $_4$ SW $_4$ SE $_4$ NW $_4$ of said section; thence W 147.6'; thence N 147.6'; thence E 147.6'; thence S 147.6' to the point of beginning.)

This deed conveys real property from F. A. Gillespie and Sons Co. to the Oklahoma Historical Society for the preservation, maintaining and marking of the gravesite adjacent to the ruins of Wapanucka Academy.

Recorded March 16, 1955, Book 69, Page 422, Johnston County Records.

KAY COUNTY

Cowboy Hill, north of Marland near the 101 Ranch store. (Beginning at a point 468.5' S of the northwest corner of S 31, T 25N, R 2E; Thence S 196'; thence E 900'; thence N 346' to the right [south] bank of Salt Fork River; thence along said bank in a SW direction to the point of beginning, containing 5.6 acres, more or less.)

This deed from Zack Miller to the Oklahoma Historical Society recorded March 2, 1959, Book 215, Page 69 conveyed real property containing the cemetery of the 101 Ranch for the purposes of maintaining and marking.

This property was also conveyed from the Cherokee Strip Cowpunchers by a Quit Claim Deed dated December 22, 1958.

Horse's Grave, near Tonkawa. (A parcel of land 20' square containing the monument to a horse ridden into the Cherokee Strip on September 16, 1893, being a part of the NW $_4$, S 23, T 25N, R 1W.)

Deeded by J. H. Stone to the Oklahoma Historical Society recorded November 24, 1952, Book 188, Page 531.

LATIMER COUNTY

Thomas Edwards Store, northeast of Red Oak. (Real estate owned lying the NW $_4$ of S 15, T 6N, R 22E.) Space to erect a monument to the Edwards Store on the Butterfield Stage route.

Leased by Edgar and Lula Hardaway to the Oklahoma Historical Society, dated July 2, 1959, recorded October 6, 1959, Book 25 of miscellaneous records, Page 130.



The Peter Conser Home in LeFlore County west of Hodgens (Courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society).

John F. Kennedy Memorial, Big Cedar. (Beginning at a point 375' N of the center of S 14, T 2N, R 25E; thence W 13'; thence N 20'; thence E 13'; thence S 20' to the point of beginning.)

This deed from the Knights of Columbus to the Oklahoma Historical Society conveys the property containing the granite monument to President John F. Kennedy.

Deed not recorded.

LEFLORE COUNTY

Peter Conser Home, west of Hodgens. (The N 100' of NW₄ NW₄ NW₄ of S 9, T 4N, R 25E, and all that part of SW₄ SW₄ SW₄ of S 4; T 4N, R 25E that lies S and W of the county road angling NW across the said 10 acre tract.) The land and structures were deeded for the purposes of historic restoration by the Oklahoma Historical Society. The deed has a reversionary clause that gives the title back to the Grantor in the event of abandonment

by the Grantee. Deeded from Louis and Mildred Barnes to the Oklahoma Historical Society April 28, 1967, Recorded May 15, 1967, Book 476, Page 391. *Pocola Monument*, at Pocola. (Beginning at a point 656.4' S and 21.2' W of the northeast corner of S 19, T 9N, R 27E; thence W 14'; thence SW along the E right of way line of State Highway 112 14.3'; thence E 17.4'; thence N 14' to the point of beginning.)

This lease agreement from the town of Pocola and Henry and Lucille Gray to the Oklahoma Historical Society is for the purpose of erecting an historical monument in honor of Reverend John Page, noted early-day missionary and interpreter. The lease reserves all minerals to the lessor. Two leases, one recorded February 1, 1967, Book 471, Page 69; the other recorded March 14, 1968, Book 473, Page 330. Each calls for a term of 99 years.

New Hope Academy, northeast of Spiro. (Beginning at a point 95' S of the northeast corner of SE₄, SW₄ of S 17, T 9N, R 26E; thence W 15'; thence S 15'; thence E 15'; thence N 15' to the point of beginning.)

This easement from Sid Oren and Joan Lovell to the Oklahoma Historical Society recorded January 25, 1968, Book 488, Page 231, allows the Oklahoma Historical Society to erect an on site marker honoring the New Hope Academy for Choctaw girls.

Military Road, south of Poteau. (A 10' x 10' plot in S 25, T 4N, R 22E.)

This permit, or easement, from the Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, to the Oklahoma Historical Society allows the Oklahoma Historical Society to mark the Military Road from Fort Smith to Fort Towson.

Skullyville Cemetery, near Spiro. (Beginning at the northeast corner of the SE₄ NE₄ SW₄ of S 18, T 9N, R 26E; thence W 511'; thence S 21° 50' W 251'; thence S 69° 5' E 450'; thence N 39° 50' E 179'; thence N 14° 38' E 270' to the point of beginning.)

The deed was executed to allow the Oklahoma Historical Society to maintain the cemetery, but allows the Grantor the right to bury persons. It has a reversionary clause in the event the Oklahoma Historical Society fails to maintain the property or abandons it.

This deed from Skullyville, Inc. to the Oklahoma Historical Society was recorded March 12, 1965, Book 440, Page 17.

Skullyville Cemetery, near Spiro. (Beginning at the southeast corner of Lot 3, Block 1, in the town of Oak Lodge; thence NW 20'; thence across Lot 3 at right angles to Church Street to the E line of Lot 3; thence S to the point of beginning.)

Lease from School District I 2 to the Oklahoma Historical Society, recorded April 19, 1967, Book 475, Page 300 for a 99 year term. This lease allows the Oklahoma Historical Society to erect and maintain the granite Skullyville monument.



The Carnegie Library in Guthrie, Logan County (Courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society).

LOGAN COUNTY

Carnegie Library, Guthrie. (Lots 13, 14, 15 and the west 10' of Lot 16, Block 46, in the Townsite of East Guthrie.)

Deeded to the Oklahoma Historical Society for the purpose of restoration, preservation and interpretative use.

This deed from the City of Guthrie to the Oklahoma Historical Society replaces an earlier lease.

Dated April 18, 1975, recorded May 19, 1975, Book 660, Page 285.

Oklahoma Territorial Museum, Guthrie. (Lots 17, 18, 19 and all of Lot 16 E of the Carnegie Library in Block 46, in the Townsite of East Guthrie.) This lease from the City of Guthrie to the Oklahoma Historical Society is dated November 22, 1972, for a term ending on April 25, 2019, renewable for 20 year terms. It was executed to allow the Oklahoma Historical Society to develop and operate the museum as a memorial to Ruth and Otto Pfeiffer.

State Capital Printing Company, Guthrie. (Lots 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6, in Block 60, Guthrie proper.)

Deeded from the Guthrie Chamber of Commerce to the Oklahoma His-

historical Society for the purpose of restoring the structure in an authentic manner and to develop a museum relating to the printing industry in Oklahoma.

Recorded November 3, 1975, Book 668, Page 472.

MAYES COUNTY

Battle of Cabin Creek, Pryor vicinity. (The W₂ of the SW₄ SW₄ NE₄ and the E₂ of the SE₄ SE₄ NW₄ and the E 50' of W₂ of the NW₄ SE₄ and the N 50' of the NE₄ NW₄ NW₄ SE₄ of S 12, T 23N, R 20E; less that portion conveyed to the Grand River Dam Authority (approximately 2.1 acres).) This deed from the Flavius J. Barrett Chapter #829 of the UDAC to the Oklahoma Historical Society was granted to allow the Oklahoma Historical Society to erect and maintain historic markers relating to the battle near the Cabin Creek crossing.

Dated November 17, 1965, recorded December 31, 1965, Book 362, Pages 468-469.

Union Mission Cemetery, east of Maizie. (Beginning at a point 430' S of the northeast corner of the NE₄ SW₄ of S 16, T 19N, R 19E; thence N 76° 10' W 99'; thence S 14° 50' W 75'; thence S 65° 0' E 133.7' to the E boundary of the said NE₄; thence along this E boundary N 0° 02' 98.1' to the point of beginning.)

Deeded from Thomas and Beatrice Harrison to the Oklahoma Historical Society to maintain in perpetuity.

Recorded May 14, 1958, Book 303, Page 333.

McCLAIN COUNTY

McClain County Historical Museum, Purcell. (The front 11 rooms and 6 baths of the "Old McCurdy Hospital Building," located at 231 West Washington Street, City of Purcell.)

The Lease Agreement between the City of Purcell and the McClain County Historical Society, together one entity, and the Oklahoma Historical Society enables the Oklahoma Historical Society to provide the curatorial services in the museum collection at the referenced building.

Lease dated July 1, 1974, for a term of five years.

McCURTAIN COUNTY

Chitto Harjo Grave, approximately 5 miles southwest of Smithville. (Any real estate held by lessor in McCurtain County lying in the SW₄ NE₄ SW₄ of S 3, T 2S, R 25E.)

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

This easement from Russell and Mary Boyer to the Oklahoma Historical Society allows the Oklahoma Historical Society to erect and maintain an historical marker honoring Chitto Harjo (Crazy Snake), a noted Creek Indian leader. Dated December 30, 1959, Recorded January 22, 1960, Book 160, Page 680.

Garland Cemetery, east of Broken Bow. (Three acres of land known as the Garland Cemetery lying in the SW₄ NE₄ NW₄ of S 28, T 9S, R 27E.) This deed from Ben and Helen Thompson to the Oklahoma Historical Society allows the Oklahoma Historical Society to maintain the cemetery. Dated April 8, 1942, Recorded April 16, 1942, Book 84, Page 476.

Garland Cemetery. (A strip of land 40' wide lying across the south side of the SE₄ NE₄ NW₄ of S 28, T 9S, R 27E.)

This easement from L. D. and Maggie Smith to the Oklahoma Historical Society conveys the right to use the land for a roadway into the Garland Cemetery. Dated June 6, 1958, Recorded June 12, 1958, Book 151, Page 85.

McINTOSH COUNTY

Confederate Creek Treaty Monument, Eufaula. (Any real estate owned by lessor lying in Lot 6, Block 2, Orchard Heights Addition of Eufaula.) This easement from Woodrow and Jerlena King to the Oklahoma Historical Society allows the Oklahoma Historical Society to erect and maintain an historical monument relating to the 1861 Confederate Creek Treaty. Dated April 10, 1961, Recorded April 13, 1961, Book 75, Page 171. Honey Springs Battlefield, Rentiesville. (The N₂ NE₄ of S 10, T 12N, R 17E, less 4.74 acres belonging to MKT Railroad as right of way, less all mineral rights.)

This deed from Mabel McClain to the Oklahoma Historical Society is for property lying within the proposed Honey Springs Battlefield Park. Dated May 7, 1975, Recorded May 19, 1975, Book 182, Page 561.

Honey Springs Battlefield, Rentiesville. (Beginning at the northwest corner of the NE₄ NW₄ of S 11, T 12N, R 17E; thence E 582', thence S 330'; thence W 156'; thence S 33'; thence E 210'; thence N 380'; thence E 660'; thence S 200'; thence W 168'; S 840' to the S line of the said NE₄; thence W 1128' to the southwest corner of said NE₄; thence N 1320' to the point of beginning, containing 30 acres more or less.)

Deeded from Ralph and Trecia Lane to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Dated June 14, 1968, Recorded November 8, 1968, Book 132, Page 384. One half the mineral rights reserved.

(All of Blocks 11 to 21 inclusive, Block 23 to 27 inclusive, in North Rentiesville, a subdivision of the SW₄ SW₄ of S 2, T 12N, R 17E.)

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Deeded from Helen Chandler to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Dated August 7, 1968, Recorded December 31, 1968, Book 133, Page 245. One half of the mineral rights reserved.

Near Rentiesville. (Beginning at a point 1320' S of the northeast corner of the SW₄ of S 11, T 12 N, R 17E, thence W 1650'; thence S 528'; thence E 1650'; thence N 528' to the point of beginning, containing 20 acres.)

Deeded from W. B. and Leala Simpson to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Dated June 13, 1973, recorded July 13, 1973, Book 165, Page 593.

Near Rentiesville. (The W₂ of the SW₄ SW₄; and the W₂ E₂ SW₄ SW₄ of S 11, T 12N, R 17E, containing 30 acres.)

Deeded from W. B. and Leala Simpson to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Dated July 31, 1969, Recorded December 12, 1969, Book 139, Page 146.

Near Rentiesville. (The NW₄ NW₄ and the SE₄ NW₄ and the N₂ S₂ SW₄ NW₄ and the N₂ SW₄ NW₄ of S 11, T 12N, R 17E.)

Deeded from Harold Martin et al, to the Oklahoma Historical Society. By condemnation, filed June 24, 1968.

MUSKOGEE COUNTY

Thomas-Foreman Home, Muskogee. (The W 100' of the N 160' of Block 173, original Town of Muskogee, together with contents of structures.)

Deeded from Hughberta Thomas Neergaard to the Oklahoma Historical Society to preserve and maintain as a historic house.

Dated September 17, 1969, Recorded October 7, 1969, Book 1293, Page 91.
Fort Gibson Bake Oven, Fort Gibson. (Lot 7 and the S 25' of Lot 6, Block 12, in Town of Fort Gibson.)

Deeded from Fred and Edna D. Carrell to the Oklahoma Historical Society to enable the Oklahoma Historical Society to maintain and mark the original Bake Oven on the site.

Dated May 4, 1934, Recorded May 12, 1934, Book 676, Page 97.

Fort Gibson Barracks, Fort Gibson. (Lot 10, Block 13 in Town of Fort Gibson.) Deeded by Tom and Emma Buffington to the Oklahoma Historical Society to enable the Oklahoma Historical Society to restore and maintain the structure.

Dated December 26, 1934, Recorded December 28, 1934, Book 686, Page 99.
Judge Martin Gravesite, Fort Gibson. (Lot 10 in Block 54 in Town of Fort Gibson.)

Deeded by H. F. Maddox to the Oklahoma Historical Society to enable the Oklahoma Historical Society to maintain the site as an historic property. Dated May 18, 1937, Recorded June 3, 1937, Book 713, Page 438.

Honey Springs Battlefield Site, near Oktaha. (The E₂ SE₄ SE₄ and SW₄

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SE₄ SE₄ of S 34; and the S₂ SW₄ of S 35; and the S 5/8ths of the S₂ NE₄ SE₄ of S 34; and the S 5/8ths of the S₂ N₂ SW₄ of S 35; and the S 5/8th of the S₂ NW₄ SE₄ S 35 of T 13N, R 17E, minerals excepted.)

Deeded by Lee H. and Ova Mae Tyler to the Oklahoma Historical Society to implement the Oklahoma Historical Society plans for the proposed Honey Springs Battlefield Park.

Dated September 19, 1970, Recorded October 16, 1970, Book 307, Page 555. (The N 3/8ths of the S₂ NE₄ SE₄ of S 34; and the N 3/8ths of the S₂ N₂ SW₄ of S 35; and the S 7/8ths of the N₂ NE₄ SE₄ of S 34; and the S 7/8ths of the N₂ N₂ SW₄ of S 35; and the S 7/8ths of the N₂ NW₄ SE₄ of S 35 all in T 13N, R 17E, containing 100 acres, 1/2 mineral rights reserved.)

Deeded by Lee H. and Ova Mae Tyler to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Dated September 30, 1970, Recorded October 14, 1971, Book 1325, Page 118.

NOBLE COUNTY

Cherokee Strip Museum, Perry. (Beginning at a point 600' W of the southeast corner of S 17, T 21N, R 1W, thence N 135' to point of beginning; thence W 102' along right of way line of U.S. Highway 64; thence S 79° 4' W 178.5'; thence W 172'; thence N 500'; thence E 449'; thence S 465' to point of beginning.) Transferred from the Division of State Parks to the Oklahoma Historical Society by Section 10 of Senate Bill 73, 1975 Session of the State Legislature to enable the Oklahoma Historical Society to maintain and develop the museum property.

OKLAHOMA COUNTY

Overholser Mansion, Oklahoma City. (Lots 10, 11 and 12, Block 7, Classen's Highland Park Addition to the City of Oklahoma City.)

Deeded by David and Patricia Perry, along with all interior furnishings, to the Oklahoma Historical Society for restoration and public viewing. Leased to the American Institute of Architects to supervise restoration and to operate as an historic house.

Deed recorded April 14, 1972, Book 4034, Page 427.

Thoburn Grave, Rose Hill Burial Park, Oklahoma City. (Lot 117, Greenlawn Section of Rose Hill Burial Park, lying in NE₄ NW₄ of S 8, T 12N, R 3W).

This property trust to the Oklahoma Historical Society to inter Mr. Thoburn. Dated July 24, 1956.

Oklahoma City Discovery Well, Southeast 57th at ITIO Blvd., Oklahoma City. (Beginning at a point 670' W of the southeast corner of S 24, T 11N, R 3W; thence N 0° 01' W 521.38' W to an iron pin as the point of beginning,

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thence N $0^{\circ} 1'$ W 84.86'; thence N $44^{\circ} 59'$ E $10'$; thence N $45^{\circ} 01'$ W 207.99'; thence N $0^{\circ} 01'$ W 24.62' to the point of a 25' radius curve to the right; thence along said curve 39.27' to the point of tangent; thence E 38.76'; thence S $45^{\circ} 01'$ E 197.99'; thence E 99.0'; thence S $47^{\circ} 35' 35''$ W 220.37' to the point of beginning, containing .641 acres. Each corner marked with an iron pin.) Deeded, with all appurtenances, from Cities Service Oil Company to the Oklahoma Historical Society to mark with an appropriate marker and maintain.

Dated December 7, 1971, Recorded December 9, 1971, Book 4015, Page 1584.

OSAGE COUNTY

Lookout Burial, near Pawhuska. (Beginning at a point 1044' S of the northwest corner of S 6, T 25N, R 10E, thence E 200'; thence S 260'; thence W 200'; thence N 260' to point of beginning, containing 1.193 acres.)

Deeded by Henry and Dora Lookout to the Oklahoma Historical Society to maintain.

Dated April 27, 1965, Recorded May 27, 1965, Book 198, Page 186.

OTTAWA COUNTY

Wyandotte Monument, southeast of Miami. (Beginning at a point 295' S and 704' E of the northwest corner of Lot 6 of S 19, T 27N, R 24E; thence N $36^{\circ} 16'$ W 200'; thence S $53^{\circ} 44'$ W 200'; thence S $36^{\circ} 16'$ E 200'; thence N $53^{\circ} 44'$ E 200' to the point of beginning.)

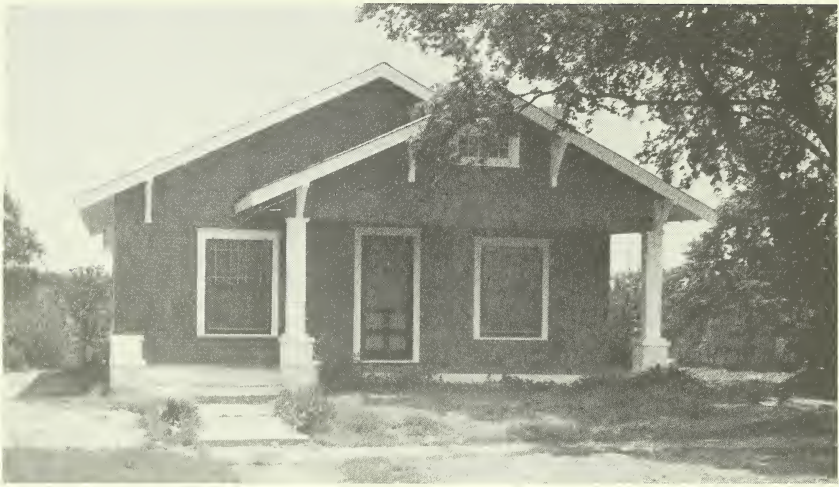
This agreement is between the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board allowing the Oklahoma Historical Society to erect and maintain an historic marker pertaining to the Wyandotte Tribe in Oklahoma.

PAWNEE COUNTY

Triangle Area Heritage Association, Cleveland. (Beginning at the southwest corner of the SE4 of S 7, T 21N, R 8E; thence S along the line of said SE4 1200'; thence N to the S right of way line of U.S. Highway 64; thence SW along said right of way to west line of said SE4; thence S along said W line to the point of beginning, less all minerals.)

Deeded by the Kerr McGee Corporation through the City of Cleveland to the Oklahoma Historical Society to develop an historical museum of the Triangle Area Heritage Association. Reversionary clause in favor of Kerr McGee Corporation if not used as a museum property.

Dated October 15, 1973, Recorded January 7, 1974, Book 151, Page 61.



The Jim Thorpe Home in Yale, Payne County (Courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society).

PAYNE COUNTY

Washington Irving—Irving's Castle, near Ingalls. (Any real estate I own lying in the N₂ NW₄ of S 32, T 18N, R 2E.)

Easement from Andrew, Rose and Ira Bunton to the Oklahoma Historical Society to erect and maintain an historical marker relating to Washington Irving.

Dated February 12, 1963, Recorded March 19, 1963, Book 152 misc., Page 472.

Jim Thorpe Home, Yale. (Lots 10, 11 and 12, Block 3, Hartshorne Addition to the City of Yale.)

Deeded by the Yale Chamber of Commerce to the Oklahoma Historical Society allowing the Oklahoma Historical Society to restore, maintain and exhibit the Home of Jim Thorpe.

Dated September 25, 1969, Recorded October 31, 1969, Book 206, Page 216. (Lots 13, 14 and 15; Block 3, Hartshorne Addition to the City of Yale.)

From A. A. and Roxie Lassley to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Deed dated July 25, 1968, Recorded October 14, 1968, Book 202, Page 136.

Old Central, campus of Oklahoma State University. (The structure known as "Old Central" on said campus.)

Lease from Board of Regents of the Oklahoma State University to the

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Oklahoma Historical Society for 50 years. The Oklahoma Historical Society to restore to original appearance and operate as an Historical Museum.

Lease dated July 24, 1971.

Booth Number One, Opening of the Cherokee Outlet, north of Stillwater. (Any real estate I own, lying in Lot 4 of S 35, T 20N, R 2E.)

Easement granted by The City of Stillwater, to the Oklahoma Historical Society allowing the Oklahoma Historical Society to erect and maintain a suitable historic marker relating to Booth Number One, Opening of the Cherokee Outlet.

PITTSBURG COUNTY

Carl Albert Marker, in North McAlester. (Beginning at the southeast corner of Lot 1, Block 173; thence S 35.5'; thence W 20'; thence S 5'; thence E 20'; thence N 40.5' to the point of beginning.)

Easement from the City of McAlester to the Oklahoma Historical Society allowing the Oklahoma Historical Society to erect a historical monument to United States House Speaker Carl Albert.

Dated March 19, 1974, Recorded April 10, 1974, Book 361, Page 359.

ROGERS COUNTY

Mineral Rights Only. (An undivided one eighths interest in all minerals in and under the following described real estate: Lots 1 and 5 and the SE₄ SE₄ of S 8; and Lots 5 through 10 inclusive and the S₂ SW₄ of S 9; and Lots 2, 3 and 6 of S 15; and Lots 1, 2 and 4 and NW₄; SW₄; W₂ SE₄; W₂ NE₄; SE₄ NE₄ of S 16; and Lots 1, 4 and 5 and NE₄ SE₄; SE₄ NW₄; E₂ SW₄; SW₄ SW₄ of S 17; and SE₄ of S 19; and NW₄; SW₄; SE₄; N₂ NE₄ NE₄; SE₄ NE₄ NE₄; NE₄ SE₄ NE₄; S₂ SW₄ NE₄; S₂ SE₄ NE₄ of S 20; and Lots 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9; and NW₄; W₂ NE₄; N₂ SW₄ of S 21; and Lot 2 of S 22; and Lot 2 of S 28; all in T 20N, R 16E, containing 2750 acres, more or less.)

Mineral Deed from Carolyn Skelly Burford to the Oklahoma Historical Society assigning said royalties.

Dated December 15, 1969, Recorded January 20, 1970, Book 428, Page 111.

(An undivided one sixteenth interest in all minerals in and under the following described real estate: Lots 4 and 11; and SE₄ SE₄ of S 18; and Lot 1 and NE₄; E₂ SE₄ NW₄ of S 19, T 20N, R 16E, containing 300 acres more or less.)

Mineral Deed from Carolyn Skelly Burford to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Dated December 15, 1969, Recorded January 20, 1970, Book 428, Page 112.

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SEQUOYAH COUNTY

Parris Mound, Short. (The NW₄ NW₄ NW₄ of S 35, T 13N, R 26E; less the east 180' of the S 80' thereof.)

Deeded from Bill and Marie Waters to the Oklahoma Historical Society to allow the preservation, excavation and maintenance of the pre-historic mound located on the property.

Dated April 23, 1976, Recorded April 26, 1976, Book 409, Page 136.

Sequoyah Home, near Akins. (The S 30' of the SE₄ SW₄ NW₄ and the N 630' of the NE₄ NW₄ SW₄ of S 15, T 12N, R 25E, together with all improvements and appurtenances.)

Deeded from Thomas Blair Matheson, Sue Jane Matheson and Pearl Matheson to the Oklahoma Historical Society to establish a historical monument to Sequoyah.

Dated February 24, 1936, Recorded February 27, 1936, Book 127, Page 445. (W₂ of NW₄ NW₄; and SE₄ NW₄ NW₄; and W₂ NE₄ NW₄ NW₄ of S 15, T 12N, R 25E, containing 35 acres, more or less.)

A Quit Claim Deed from Pearl Matheson to the Oklahoma Historical Society to allow future development adjacent to the Sequoyah Memorial.

Dated July 29, 1941, Recorded August 26, 1951, Book 147, Page 146.

TEXAS COUNTY

No Mans Land Historical Museum, Goodwell. (Lots 1, 2, 3 and 4; Block 10 in the Olson Addition to Goodwell.)

Leased by the Panhandle State University to the Oklahoma Historical Society to operate the museum.

Lease dated July 1, 1973.

TILLMAN COUNTY

Grandfield Marker, Grandfield. (The N 50' of Lots 1 and 2; Block 22; original town of Grandfield.)

Quit Claim Deed from the City of Grandfield to the Oklahoma Historical Society allowing the erection of a historical monument.

Dated April 4, 1962. Not recorded.

TULSA COUNTY

Camp Arbuckle Marker, west of Tulsa. (Any real estate I own, lying in S 2, T 19N, R 10E.)

This easement from John B. and Lucy A. Anderson to the Oklahoma Historical Society allows the Oklahoma Historical Society to erect and maintain a historical monument relating to Camp Arbuckle.

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Dated August 11, 1967, Recorded August 12, 1964, Book 3480, Page 241.

Battle of Chusto-Talasah Marker, near Turley and Sperry. (Any real estate I own lying in S 20, T 21N, R 13E.)

This easement from Arthur K., Nina and William C. Thompson to the Oklahoma Historical Society allows the Oklahoma Historical Society to erect and maintain a historical monument relating to the Battle of Chusto-Talasah or "Caving Banks."

Dated and Recorded August 12, 1964, Book 3480, Page 242.

WAGONER COUNTY

Coweta (Koweta) Mission, near Coweta. (The N 270' of the S 527.1' of the W 610' of the SE₄ of S 19, T 17N, R 16E.)

This deed from J. F., Lucille and Gladys Vernon to the Oklahoma Historical Society is to allow the Oklahoma Historical Society to preserve, protect, maintain, mark and develop certain parts of the old Coweta Mission Site.

Dated August 23, 1967, Recorded August 29, 1968, Book 370, Page 125.

Tulahassee Mission, near Tullahassee. (Beginning at a point 118.12' S and 169.2' E of the northeast corner of the N₂ SW₄ NE₄ of S 29, T 16N, R 18E; thence S 330'; thence N 89° 47' W 660.13'; thence N 330'; thence S 89° 47' E 660.13' to the point of beginning, containing five acres.)

This deed from the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Oklahoma to the Oklahoma Historical Society allows the Oklahoma Historical Society to protect, mark and maintain this portion of the Mission School Site.

First deeded in 1968, a corrected deed was issued January 15, 1975, Recorded January 22, 1975, Book 442, Page 179.

WASHINGTON COUNTY

Frank Phillips Home, Bartlesville. (Lots 1 through 6 inclusive, Block 3 of Pemberton Heights Addition to the City of Bartlesville.)

This deed from Elizabeth Phillips Ervin and Henry D. Ervin to the Oklahoma Historical Society included furnishings and enables the Oklahoma Historical Society to preserve the home and its history for public viewing. Deed dated May 24, 1971, Recorded December 16, 1971, Book 585, Pages 394 through 397 inclusive.

(Lot 4, Block 1, McDaniels Addition to the City of Bartlesville.)

This Deed from Wilbur F. and Irene Holbert to the Oklahoma Historical Society is to allow the Oklahoma Historical Society to construct a parking area west of and behind the Phillips Home.



The Frank Phillips Home in Bartlesville, Washington County (Courtesy of the Oklahoma Historical Society).

Dated February 13, 1972, Recorded May 11, 1973, Book 607, Pages 154-156 inclusive.

Tom Mix Museum, Dewey. (Lots 1, 2 and 3, Block 122 of the Jacob H. Bartles section in Dewey.)

Deeded from Ray E. and Betty Bowersock to the Oklahoma Historical Society to allow the Oklahoma Historical Society to maintain and operate the museum.

Deed dated and recorded December 7, 1973, Book 617, Page 23.

VALVERDE COUNTY, TEXAS

Burford Mineral Deed. (640 acres, Abstract No. 3942; Certificate No. 3917; Survey No. 34; Block 0-6.)

Mineral deed from Carolyn Skelly Burford to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Dated December 11, 1975, Recorded December 15, 1975, Book 292, Pages 49-52.

OKLAHOMA COMMUNITIES ENACT PRESERVATION ORDINANCES

By Melvena K. Thurman

During the past few months, three Oklahoma communities, Guthrie, Oklahoma City, and Hammon, passed preservation ordinances. Local statutes such as these provide one of the most valuable tools for the protection of structures and districts of cultural significance. The effectiveness of such local statutes received an important test in a recent case before the United States Supreme Court, when a majority opinion was issued on June 26, 1978, stating that a New York City law which provided for the designation of historic landmarks was constitutional. The result of this decision was protection for the Grand Central Terminal, one of the city's most noted landmarks. With this ruling has come an increased awareness of the importance of such local ordinances, and Oklahoma communities are making rapid progress in the enactment of similar laws.

While the ordinances enacted in Guthrie, Oklahoma City, and Hammon differ somewhat, basic ideas are exhibited in each. The ordinances include definitions of terms; restrictions for erection, moving, demolition, restoration, reconstruction, and alteration of structures designated as having historical or architectural significance; and regulations for landscaping, signage, and maintenance. Provisions for appropriate use are also included. Each code incorporates a provision for an historic preservation commission. The membership of these commissions are charged with several duties and powers including issuance of certificates of appropriateness for erection, demolition, alteration, restoration, or reconstruction activities within a designated historic district or of an individually designated property; service as an advisory board to the city government; assistance in technical areas for individuals or groups interested in preservation of structures or districts; and aid to those undertaking such efforts as the installation of historic markers or publication of literature concerning the noted structures or areas of the community. Also, the commissions are responsible for the promotion of educational programs for the general public concerning the conservation of the cultural environment, and for conducting surveys to identify those structures which are of significance to the individual communities.

In addition to the benefits of the codes, which provide for preservation of historic properties, these local ordinances also encompass economic benefits

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for the individual property owner. Structures which have been designated individually, or are included in a district designated under the local ordinance as having historic or architectural significance and are used in a commercial venture, may be eligible for economic advantages provided through the Tax Reform Act of 1976. For the property owner to realize these benefits, however, the local ordinance which designated the property as significant must be certified by the Heritage Conservation and Recreation Service of the United States Department of the Interior. The City of Hammon is the first Oklahoma community to submit its ordinance for such consideration. The importance of local ordinances such as those passed in Guthrie, Oklahoma City, and Hammon is evident. These codes provide the basis for the success of preservation efforts in Oklahoma, as well as in other sections of the country.



HISTORIC PRESERVATION MOVEMENT IN OKLAHOMA REPRINT AVAILABLE

A limited number of "The Historic Preservation Movement in Oklahoma" by Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer are available from the Historic Preservation Office of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Request should be sent to Dr. Howard L. Meredith, Historic Preservation Office, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105.



EARLY MILITARY FORTS AND POSTS IN OKLAHOMA: AN INTRODUCTION*

By Odie B. Faulk

In our reflections about the proud, colorful history of Oklahoma during the nineteenth century, most of us call to mind the heroic tragedy of the "Trail of Tears," the brave struggle of the Plains Indians to maintain their way of life, the romance and glamour of the cattlemen and cowboys, and the stoic patience of the homesteaders seeking to wrest a living from the red soil. Perhaps we remember that the lawyer, doctor and merchant also were part

* Reprinted from Odie B. Faulk, Kenny A. Franks and Paul F. Lambert, eds., *Early Military Forts and Posts in Oklahoma*, Vol. IX, *The Oklahoma Series* (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Historical Society, 1979).

of our heritage. However, few of us pause to recall that the soldier equally was a pioneer Oklahoman and that he played as vital a role as sodbuster, cattleman and Indian. Almost from the moment officials in Washington conceived the scheme to remove Indians east of the Mississippi River westward to the land that would become known as the Indian Territory, the soldier and the lonely frontier military post were a part of the land and would remain so until the end of the nineteenth century.

Among the first Native Americans to be removed to the Indian Territory were the Cherokees. However, the land onto which they were to move was not empty. The Osage claimed it as part of their homeland, and when the newcomers began to arrive the Osage reacted by taking to the warpath. Open warfare came in 1817 with both sides conducting raids. The government's response was to establish a cordon of forts along the western edge of white settlement. Most of these were located on rivers because both Indians and whites used these as highways for moving people and goods.

Fort Smith, Arkansas, was erected in 1817 to control western Arkansas and the eastern portion of what soon would become the Indian Territory. Then in 1824 Colonel Matthew Arbuckle opened two new posts: Fort Gibson, named in honor of Revolutionary War hero, George Gibson, on the banks of the Grand River near its junction with the Arkansas; and Fort Towson, named for Nathan Towson, a hero of the War of 1812, on the Red River near its junction with the Kiamichi.

After passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830, the Army found it needed yet more posts inside the Indian Territory, but many of these proved short-lived. For example, Cantonment Leavenworth, opened on the Red River near the mouth of the Washita in 1831, was soon abandoned. In 1834 Fort Coffee was erected on the banks of the Arkansas River between Forts Smith and Gibson; its purpose was to control the illegal liquor traffic, but whiskey continued to move westward despite the cannon at the fort, and it was abandoned in 1838. Other posts included Forts Washita, Arbuckle and Cobb. These never diminished the importance of Fort Gibson, which remained the major military installation in the Indian Territory until the eve of the Civil War.

During that tragic "Brother's War," those Union forts remaining in the Indian Territory were abandoned, some of them to be used by Confederates. Following that conflict yet more tribes of Indians were removed to the Indian Territory—at the same time that angry Texans, Kansans and New Mexicans were demanding that the Plains nomads be confined to permanent reservations and forced to end their wanderings. The result was yet another group of forts—Sill, Reno and Supply—and the sending of yet more troops to the region.

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These soldiers who came to the Indian Territory found a hard, lonely, thankless life filled with danger and difficulty. Almost always there were too few of them for the tasks demanded. Following the end of the War of 1812 the United States Army totaled only 7,200 men, a figure that remained constant until the outbreak of the Mexican War. When war was declared in 1846, Congress authorized the enlistment of 50,000 and more volunteers, but at the close of the conflict the Army was returned to near its pre-war size. Arguments were advanced in Congress that this number should be increased, for the nation's domain had almost doubled between 1845 and 1848. Therefore in 1850 Congress authorized a legal strength of 14,000; five years later Congress again proved generous, allowing the creation of four new regiments which brought the Army to some 18,000 men. Following the close of the Civil War, during which the Army increased to more than a million men, Congress in 1866 reduced it to 54,302 men, in 1869 to 45,000, in 1870 to 30,000, and in 1874 to 25,000. Such was the size of the Army called upon to man all Army posts in the United States, to enforce reconstruction during the years 1865-1877, and to contend with frontier Indian problems.

Moreover, Congress proved exceedingly stingy in voting funds for weapons and equipment for these troops. For example, Congress in 1866 decreed that the Army had to exhaust war surpluses before ordering new materials, which meant that for ten years almost all weapons and equipment were obsolete.

The men in the Army were volunteers except during the Civil War. From 1817 to 1890 their age averaged twenty-three, many of whom were recent immigrants. Some enlistees were attracted to the life by the steady employment it offered and by the challenge of soldiering. Until 1854 they received \$7.00 a month in the infantry and \$8.00 a month in the cavalry; this was increased by \$4.00 a month in 1854, and after the Civil War to \$13.00 a month for cavalry and infantry. In addition, they also received regular rations, free medical care and some other benefits. Other volunteers joined to "see the elephant," lured by tales of adventure in the West. The military life also attracted criminals and other undesirables who found it expedient to travel.

Once a man was assigned to a regiment, he rarely transferred out of it, no matter how long he remained in the Army. In fact, he usually did not transfer out of the company to which he was sent. Even at small posts consisting of only a company or two, a man had little contact with anyone other than the men of his own outfit. In this company he found himself almost completely at the mercy of his noncommissioned officers. He could not even speak to an officer without the permission of his first sergeant, who actually ran the company. And an ability with fists was one of the first requisites for

promotion to noncommissioned officer status. These men, along with the officers, could be brutal and sadistic or humane and gentle, depending more on personal temperament than on regulations. Because of isolation and ignorance, few soldiers knew how to go about complaining of injustices, and few court martials were held to punish officers and noncoms for brutality. Punishments for enlisted men ranged from marching doubletime around the parade ground to suspension from thumbs, wrists or arms in the guardhouse for a full day at a time. Harsh and unusual punishments could be given with relative impunity.

The food was not good. A typical daily menu started with a breakfast of salt pork, fried mush and strong black coffee; lunch usually consisted of dry bread and "slumgullion stew," a concoction of debatable ancestry; and the evening meal normally was more dry bread and more coffee, occasionally with three prunes for dessert. Men at the frontier forts, as in Oklahoma, tried to supplement their diet with buffalo, deer, wild turkey, fish and other game; and they purchased fresh vegetables from Indian farmers where possible.

The medical service available to these soldiers was primitive, to say the least, and the death rate among these men was appallingly high. Cholera, dysentery, fevers, even scurvy were commonplace according to medical reports forwarded to Washington, while venereal disease was epidemic.

Duty at posts in the Indian Territory therefore was hard and dangerous. The men had to erect their quarters themselves, cutting the logs or quarrying the stone, moving these to the desired location, and erecting them according to plans drawn by their officers. They fought malarial and bilious fevers, ate the government's hardtack and bacon, escorted supply wagons, scouted new territory, and, sometimes, fought Indians or white renegades, all for eight to thirteen dollars a month. Little wonder that the average annual desertion rate of enlisted men between 1848 and 1861 was twenty-eight percent, and from 1867 to 1891 inclusive was thirty-three percent.

Almost three-quarters of the officer corps prior to the Civil War—seventy-three percent—were graduates of West Point, men whose names would fill the command ranks on both sides during the Civil War. Principally they were young, competent, energetic and proud of their records; however, prior to the Civil War, many in the upper ranks were political hacks, martinets, petty tyrants, even downright incompetents.

Soldiering was difficult for the officers, just as it was for the enlisted men. Isolated from polite society, the officer could associate only with his fellow officers, for fraternization with enlisted men was forbidden. He thus had a very limited circle of people from which to draw his friendships. His pay was small, a lieutenant after the Civil War drawing only \$40.00 a month; from this he had to pay for his mount, his equipment, and his clothing and

support his family if he had one. After the Civil War there were too many high-ranking officers, and promotion became intolerably slow. For the officer promotion came within the regiment, as it did for the enlisted men within the company. Only through the death or retirement of senior officers was promotion open, and then it came from seniority rather than merit; this system crippled the Army with old, even ancient officers whose ambitions were severely limited.

In a report made on November 22, 1875, General John Pope summarized the Army's attitude about the wars against the Native Americans: "It is with painful reluctance that the military forces take the field against Indians who only leave their reservations because they are starved there, and who must hunt food for themselves and their families or see them perish with hunger I desire to say with all emphasis, what every Army officer on the frontier will corroborate, that there is no class of men in this country who are so disinclined to war with the Indians as the army stationed among them. The Army has nothing to gain by war with Indians; on the contrary it has everything to lose. In such a war it suffers all the hardship and privation; and, exposed as it is to the charge of assassination if Indians are killed; to the charge of inefficiency if they are not"

Given the circumstances that prevailed in the Indian Territory, as well as in Congressional appropriations committees, the wonder is not that the soldiers at the forts herein described performed as poorly as they did but rather that they performed as well as they did. The frontier soldier played a vital role in the history of Oklahoma, for which recognition is long past due.

☆ BOOK REVIEWS

THE OKLAHOMA STORY. By Arrell M. Gibson (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978. Pp. xv, 262. Photographs. Maps. Glossary. Definitions. Index. \$9.95).

Over the years a number of elementary Oklahoma history texts have served public and private schools in the state. A few of these have lasting value to those who collect such materials. For example, those written by Joseph B. Thoburn, Muriel H. Wright, and Edward Everett Dale still produce the insight originally intended for the young readers. As Dale put it in his text, *Oklahoma, The Story of a State* (Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, 1955): "Oklahoma's history is different from that of any other state. Oklahoma people are unlike those of any other part of the country." Dale imaginatively sought to provide the necessary perspective on Oklahoma to help young people understand the spirit that made this state's history different. Arrell M. Gibson now has provided for an expanded understanding and a further defined historical perspective of Oklahoma's heritage, ranging twenty thousand years of human experience.

The Oklahoma Story is the literary means through which the approaches and impacts of the American Indian, the European, the black, and the American in Oklahoma can be integrated into the whole for better understanding. Gibson's interpretation provides a solid framework through which to measure the changes experienced in young peoples' short lives. Yet, as with any superbly written book, the appeal is more universal. Adults have found that the perspective can be read at many different levels. Where the ultimate goal is insight rather than mere information, though information is necessary, this book offers a truly unique experience for those who will take the time to study this work. Here, the finest research historian in the state has managed to distill his years of research and interpretation into an elementary text. No other Oklahoma historian has tapped the consciousness where east and west meet in a universal sense.

But learning never comes without effort and discipline, even with such a splendid tool as Professor Gibson's text. The study of history in the elementary schools of Oklahoma at the present time, at best, is chaotic and synchronic. Just as the American Historical Association concerned itself with the teaching of history in the schools in the late nineteenth century, those concerned with historical education in schools should investigate and make recommendations in Oklahoma today. Historians from the academic institutions of higher learning, the Oklahoma Historical Society, the Oklahoma Heritage Association, the public, and private schools should work together for such a purpose. Just as the American Historical Association

stated in 1898: "All our institutions, our habits of thought and modes of action, are inheritances from preceding ages; no conscious advance, no worthy reform, can be secured without both knowledge of the present and an appreciation of how forces have worked in the social and political organizations of former times." (*Report of the American Historical Association*, 1898, p. 439.)

Professor Gibson's *The Oklahoma Story* provides a number of reader aids, including a wealth of illustrations and maps. At the end of the book are two more aids—"Proper names and terms" and "Definitions." As Professor Gibson states in this timely book: "Oklahomans are striving to adjust to their changing world. They seek to play a directive role in adapting new developments to useful ends. To succeed, Oklahomans need perspective. Perspective comes from knowledge and appreciation of their history."

Howard Meredith
Oklahoma Historical Society



100 YEARS OF NATIVE AMERICAN PAINTING: CATALOGUE OF AN EXHIBITION, MARCH 5-APRIL 16, 1978. By Arthur Silberman, Guest Curator (Oklahoma City: The Oklahoma Museum of Art, 1978. Pp. 5-114. Illustrations: 67 B&W, 17 color. Bibliography. Lenders to the Exhibition. Contributors to the Catalogue. Index of Artists, \$10.00).

This valuable publication documents a comprehensive exhibition of Native American painting, introducing the layperson to the range and types of art produced by members of many tribes. While the catalogue ideally should have been consulted by visitors to the exhibition before or while viewing the works of art on display to make the latter more meaningful, it, nevertheless, is an important contribution to our understanding of Indian art.

Mr. Silberman shows himself to be a knowledgeable and discerning scholar of Indian art and has selected what he considers to be the most important landmark examples available to us today. He is interested in showing us works in which the aesthetic qualities are of more significance than the ethnological. All the works which were in the exhibition are here illustrated in black and white or in color. Under each are some personal comments by Mr. Silberman, either elucidating the aesthetic qualities of the works or relating comments which the artists have made to him about their careers, goals, and aspirations. Contributors to the catalogue are generally persons who have known the artists and have written about them in various books or periodicals.

The catalogue contains a Foreword by Mr. James K. Reeve, Director of The Oklahoma Museum of Art, and an Introduction by Mr. Jamake Highwater, author of *Song From the Earth*. Preceding the catalogue entries, Mr. Silberman gives us a brief history of native American painting from the period of the ledger drawings, through the early Kiowa school, a brief history of developments in the southwest, and current trends in American Indian painting. This material is invaluable to the person who does not have the time, nor the inclination, to pursue the subject in greater depth, but is interested in understanding the general outline of historical events. The books listed under the heading of Suggested Reading provide the more serious student a chance to explore the subject in a variety of dimensions.

Harry A. Broadb
Northeastern Illinois University



THE GREAT ADVENTURE: OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION. By Jerry Leon Gill (Stillwater: Oklahoma State University Press, 1978. Pp. xv, 173. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. Appendix. \$9.95).

The Great Adventure is an intensive study of Oklahoma State University's involvement in international technical assistance programs. President Harry S. Truman initiated international education through his Point Four Program in 1949. The program was designed to aid underdeveloped countries by sharing scientific advances and industrial progress through the technical resources of the United States. Dr. Henry G. Bennett, president of OSU for twenty-three years, was selected to head the program. Dr. Bennett's interest and personal involvement in the Point Four Program resulted in OSU's emergence as a leader in international education.

Oklahoma State University has participated in more than twenty contract programs. OSU personnel designed, established, and originally staffed an agricultural technical school and an agricultural college in Ethiopia. They aided Pakistan by training and educating instructors, and helped expand the polytechnic institutions in that country. In Brazil they instituted post high school programs to train engineering technicians. Projects in the home economics field were conducted in Pakistan, Mexico, and Latin America. Students were sent to OSU and other American universities for specialized training that enabled them to return to their native countries as teachers for the new programs. Outstanding contributions to international education led to Oklahoma State University being recognized as a major university of

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international learning. Oklahoma State University earned the "Distinguished Service Award" from the Institute of International Education and the Reader's Digest Foundation, making it the first land grant university to receive that award.

A highly technical, scholastic work, *The Great Adventure* shows the author's own interest in Oklahoma State University and its achievements in international education. The subject is a complex one, involving a great many persons, places, and positions. Unfortunately, this makes the book unwieldy, at times confusing the reader as to who is doing what, and where. For a lay reader much of the understanding of the work is lost because of this. Readability is compensated for by the immense amount of material, and the fine research contained in the book. This work seems specifically designed for, and would be valuable to, educators and scholars interested in Oklahoma State University and international education.

Valerie J. Grant
Central State University



THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS IN OKLAHOMA: POLICY MAKING, PEOPLE & POLITICS. By Samuel A. Kirkpatrick (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978. Pp. xviii, 301. Tables. Bibliography. Glossary. Index. Appendices. \$14.95).

Samuel Kirkpatrick, now the chairman of the Political Science Department at Texas A. & M., has written a useful guide to the workings of the Oklahoma State Legislature. Remarkably free of jargon, it can instruct the layperson as well as the scholar. Furthermore, the numerous tables are clear and comprehensible.

Based on massive research, the study deals with both formal and informal aspects of the legislative process. The reader learns in detail how a bill progresses from introduction to passage, but in addition he learns about the existence of powerful norms of legislative behavior enforced not only by the leadership but also by one's colleagues. For example, a legislator who is thought to be showing off may find himself the target of a deliberate attempt at embarrassment. Kirkpatrick argues that such informal norms can be very useful in resolving political conflict.

The last fifteen years have seen profound changes in the Oklahoma State Legislature owing to reapportionment and the consequent greater influence of metropolitan areas. Kirkpatrick traces the new profile of the legislator that has resulted from reapportionment. We learn that in 1975-1976 a House Democrat was far likelier to have a college education than in 1963-1964. Not

surprisingly, the number of farmers and ranchers has declined. Nonetheless, the one-party orientation has remained.

Especially intriguing are his survey data on legislators' satisfaction with their current jobs and their ambition to pursue higher office. He finds that "substantial minorities in both houses are frustrated with specific aspects of the legislative process, have little intention of making legislative life a career or of seeking higher office—or even of staying more than a term or two" (85). In other words, many legislators prefer to define their jobs in terms of avocation rather than vocation.

Yet Kirkpatrick cites a recent study by the Citizens Conference on State Legislatures in which the Oklahoma State Legislature was ranked fourteenth of fifty in general effectiveness. This high ranking may be attributed principally to the representative composition and to the smoothness with which it functions. Good staff procedures and sessions of adequate length to transact business impressed the researchers. This ranking is especially remarkable in view of the fact that most of the other states ranked near the top are a great deal more urban than Oklahoma.

Historians might wish that Kirkpatrick had included more information on the background of partisan affiliations in the state. Then, too, given the remarkably colorful characters who have served in state government in the past—to say nothing of the current cast—his decision to eschew any mention of particular personalities is regrettable. Effective the Oklahoma legislators may be, but bland never; yet, in his rendering they appear so.

Glenna Matthews
Oklahoma State University



BENT'S OLD FORT. Edited by Cathryne Johnson (Denver: Colorado Historical Society, 1977. Reprint from *Colorado Magazine*, Fall, 1977. Pp. 180. Illustrations. Notes. Index. No price listed. [paperback]).

The long-awaited dedication of a reconstructed Bent's Fort in 1976 prompted publication of *Bent's Old Fort* by the Colorado Historical Society. Rather than reiterating well-known facts about the fort, this close-knit anthology takes up where earlier knowledge left off, tracing the story of Bent's Old Fort from abandonment in 1849 through reconstruction in 1975-1976.

The first contributor, Enid Thompson, sets the context for the other selections by summarizing the active history of the fort from 1833 to 1849. Emphasizing style of life within the post, she nevertheless develops the theme that it was the focal point for "Americanization" of the Southwest.

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There follow two chapters chronicling the abandonment, deterioration, and reincarnation of the fort. As detailed by Louisa Ward Arps and Merrill J. Mattes, the deserted post saw many vicissitudes, first as a mere landmark and campsite for travelers of the upper Arkansas valley, especially gold-seekers bound for Pike's Peak; then during the 1860s, as a station on the mail route to Santa Fe; and after the coming of the railroad in 1873, as a line camp and corral for cowboys. Ranchers carried away most of the adobes for their own use.

Custodianship of the site of Bent's Old Fort by the La Junta Daughters of the American Revolution (1920-1953), the Colorado Historical Society (1953-1962), and the National Park Service (1962-) brought physical conveniences and archeological investigations. Although each of these three successive public owners of the site talked of reconstruction of the historic structure, not until 1974 did Congress allocate funds for the work.

The first adobe brick was laid on July 5, 1975, and the reconstruction was dedicated on July 25, 1976. In a fascinating, well-illustrated chapter entitled "The Architectural Challenge," the best selection in the book, George A. Thorson explains the painstaking research and resourceful techniques that resurrected the walls of the old outpost. Sarah M. Olson describes the search for furnishings and trade goods to lend versimilitude to the reconstruction.

This volume is too carefully conceived and cleanly executed to criticize: it contributes significantly to the fields of regional history, historic preservation, and historical administration. It also is indispensable reading for any serious historian planning to visit the reconstructed fort.

Thomas D. Isern

Adams County, Nebraska, Historical Society



THE FLAMBOYANT MR. COLT AND HIS DEADLY SIX-SHOOTER. By Bern Keating (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1978. Pp. 1, 233. Illustrations. Photographs. Index. \$9.95).

Perfection of the rotating cylinder breech for handguns revolutionized warfare, reordered the firearms industry, and immortalized Samuel Colt. Once accepted, the revolver made obsolete the single-shot muskets and pistols that had been used for almost two centuries. In this book, Bern Keating recounts the life of the famous inventor of the six-shooter.

Born on July 19, 1814, on a farm near Hartford, Connecticut, Colt, as a young man acquired a local reputation for his experiments with firearms and gunpowder. Mechanically minded, he exhibited little patience or en-

thusiasm for the fundamental skills of reading and writing. His proclivities as an inventor extended to spelling even the simplest words, and Colt's undisciplined nature resulted in his expulsion from Amherst Academy. In 1830 the young Yankee shipped out as a seaman onboard the merchant ship *Corvo*. The *Corvo* sailed to Calcutta, India, where Colt probably saw a revolver patented in England in 1813 for use by British colonial troops. He returned to the United States and began in earnest to develop his own version of a revolver.

Colt furnished the ideas but did little actual work on early models. He hired John Pearson, a Baltimore gunsmith, to produce several revolvers and repeating rifles. To raise money for Pearson and for patent expenses, Colt toured the countryside demonstrating nitrous oxide (laughing gas) as a side show act. In 1836 the United States Patent Office issued the first of many patents to Colt. Among the innovations cited by the Patent Office was the construction of a cylinder that prevented side flare from igniting all of the revolver's chambers at once. Soon thereafter Colt organized the Patent Arms Manufacturing Company at Patterson, New Jersey, which produced the five-shot .36 calibre Colt and an eight-shot repeating rifle. The Texan Navy purchased many of the revolvers, and the United States Army bought one hundred rifles for dragoons fighting Seminole Indians in Florida. But Colt failed to convince high ranking army officials to make mass purchases of his weapons. Military authorities doubted the reliability of repeating arms, and they seemed tradition bound to the old muzzle loading single-shot muskets and pistols. The absence of large orders—compounded by Colt's flamboyant life style, by careless business practices, and by the expense of his brother's murder trial—forced closing of the Patterson factory.

In 1846 Colt met Samuel H. Walker, a former Texas Ranger who had confronted marauding Indians with the devastating firepower of Colt revolvers; thereafter, the young inventor's fortunes began to change. The two men collaborated on the design of a new weapon. Known as the Walker Colt, it was a .44 calibre six-shooter that measured nine inches in length and weighed more than four pounds. The Walker Colt went into production just as the Mexican War began, and the American military ordered 2,000 of them. After the war, Colt redesigned the Walker model and renamed it the Dragoon. This weapon, lighter and shorter than its predecessor, made Colt's fortune. Foreign governments, revolutionaries, and private citizens purchased thousands of the Dragoon model. In 1851 Colt opened a new factory in Hartford, Connecticut. There the latest techniques of mass production and assembly line procedures were applied to the production of his revolvers. New and improved models increased sales throughout the decade, and, when the Civil War began, a glut of orders overwhelmed the Hartford

factory. As a result, Colt's personal fortune increased to approximately fifteen million dollars. Soon thereafter his health began to decline. Afflicted with the gout and rheumatic fever, and aggravated by excessive drinking, the man who revolutionized hand weapons died in January of 1862.

Keating readily describes the difficulties Colt faced, his inventive genius, and his penchant for high living. Although there are no footnotes or bibliography, the author directly cites many primary sources. Two sections of contemporary illustrations and photographs enhance the narrative. The index is analytically arranged. Curiously, the publisher indicates on the dust jacket that this book is the first biography of Colt, when in fact at least two other books about the arms maker have been published. Nevertheless, Keating has presented a very readable account of an important figure in American Western and military history.

William P. Corbett
Oklahoma State University



☆ OKLAHOMA BOOKS

By Vicki Sullivan and Mac R. Harris

AN AMERICAN ORIGINAL: THE LIFE OF J. FRANK DOBIE. By Lon Tinkle. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1978. Pp. 264. \$10.00).

THE AMERICAN INDIAN CRAFT BOOK. By Marz and Nono Minor. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1978. \$15.00).

THE AMERICAN WEST: NEW PERSPECTIVES, NEW DIMENSIONS. Edited by Jerome O. Steffens. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1979. \$14.95).

AMERICA'S FASCINATING INDIAN HERITAGE. Edited by James A. Maxwell. (New York: Reader's Digest Press. \$17.95).

ARMY EXPLORATION IN THE AMERICAN WEST, 1803-1863. By William H. Goetzmann. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1979. Pp. 489. \$23.50).

BACK IN THE SADDLE AGAIN. By Gene Autry. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc. 1978. Pp. 252. \$8.95).

BARTLESVILLE; REMEMBRANCES OF TIMES PAST, REFLECTIONS OF TODAY. By Joe Williams. (Bartlesville, Oklahoma: TRW Reda Pump Division. 1978. Pp. 156. \$12.50. Available from P.O. Box 1181, Bartlesville, Oklahoma 74003).

BIRDS OF THE GREAT PLAINS, BREEDING SPECIES AND THEIR DISTRIBUTION. By Paul A. Johnsgard. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1979. Pp. 420. \$21.50).

THE BLACK TOWNS. By Norman L. Crockett. (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas. 1979. Pp. 244. \$14.00).

CATALOG OF OKLAHOMA TOKENS. By Lloyd C. Walker. (Privately published by author. 1978. Pp. 368. \$25.00. Available from the author, Box 5792, Lawton, Oklahoma 73505).

THE CHURCHES AND THE INDIAN SCHOOLS, 1888-1912. By Francis Paul Prucha. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1979. Pp. 305. \$16.50).

THE COMMISSIONERS OF INDIAN AFFAIRS, 1824-1977. Edited by Robert M. Kuasmicka and Herman J. Viola. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1979. Pp. 292. \$19.75).

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THE COWBOY, AN UNCONVENTIONAL HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION ON THE OLD-TIME CATTLE RANGE. By Philip A. Rollins. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. Reprint of 1936 edition. \$7.50).

THE DUST BOWL: MEN, DIRT AND DEPRESSION. By Paul Bonni-
field. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1978. Pp. 232.
\$12.50).

THE GREAT ADVENTURE: OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION. By Jerry Gill. (Stillwater:
Oklahoma State University. 1978. Pp. 173. \$9.95).

GREAT NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS: PROFILES IN LIFE AND
LEADERSHIP. By Frederick J. Dockstader. (New York: Van No-
strand Reinhold. 1977. Pp. 386. \$16.95).

THE GREAT PLAINS, ENVIRONMENT AND CULTURE. Edited
by Brian W. Blouet and Frederick C. Luebke. (Lincoln: University of
Nebraska Press. 1979. Pp. 246. \$15.95).

THE GREATEST GAMBLERS; THE EPIC OF AMERICAN OIL
EXPLORATION. By Ruth Sheldon Knowles. (Norman: University of
Oklahoma Press. 1979. Pp. 400. \$9.95).

HEAVEN HAS A FLOOR. By Evelyn Roberts. (New York: Damascus
House. 1979. \$5.95).

THE POLITICAL OUTSIDERS: BLACKS AND INDIANS IN A
RURAL OKLAHOMA COUNTY. By Brian F. Rader. (San Francisco:
R & E Associates, Inc. 1978. Pp. ix, 188. No price given. Available from
publisher at 4843 Mission Street, San Francisco, California 94112).

THE PRAIRIE PEOPLE: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN POTA-
WATOMIE INDIAN CULTURES, 1665-1965. By James Clifton.
(Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas. 1977. Pp. 529. \$22.50).

SPIRITS OF THE SACRED MOUNTAIN: CREATION STORIES
OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN. By William E. Forrer. (New York:
Van Nostrand Reinhold. 1978. Pp. 122. \$8.95).

SUNDANCING AT ROSEBUD AND PINE RIDGE. By Thomas E.
Mails. (Sioux Falls, South Dakota: The Center for Western Studies.
1979. \$29.50).

TWO COMMUNITIES IN STITCHES; A PATCHWORK HISTORY ABOUT DALE AND McCLOUD, TWO LITTLE OKLAHOMA TOWNS, TOLD WITH PICTURES AND BITS OF INFORMATION. By Leah Horton Bird. (Privately published by author. 1977. Pp. ix, 323. Available from author, P.O. Box 449, McCloud, Oklahoma 74851. No price given).

WAGON ROADS WEST; A STUDY OF FEDERAL ROADS SURVEYS AND CONSTRUCTION IN THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI WEST, 1846-1869. By W. Turrentine Jackson. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1979. Reprint of 1952 edition. Pp. 422. \$19.95).

THE WHITE MAN'S INDIAN, IMAGES OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN FROM COLUMBUS TO THE PRESENT. By Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1979. \$15.00).

WOMEN AND MEN ON THE OVERLAND TRAIL. By John Mack Fragher. (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press. 1979. Pp. 275. \$17.50).

MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF
DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

July 26, 1979

The Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met for the quarterly meeting at 9:30 a.m., Thursday, July 26, 1979, in the Board Room. The change in time was due to a meeting with all state boards and commissions called by Governor George Nigh for 1:00 p.m., July 26, at the Myriad Convention Center.

The newly appointed Executive Director, H. Glenn Jordan, was asked to call the roll. Those responding were Mrs. George L. Bowman, Q. B. Boydston, O. B. Campbell, Mrs. Mark R. Everett, Dr. Odie B. Faulk, W. D. Finney, Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer, E. Moses Frye, Dr. A. M. Gibson, Dr. Donald E. Green, C. Forest Himes, Mrs. Charles R. Nesbitt; Genevieve Seger, Britton D. Tabor, and H. Merle Woods. Those who had asked to be excused were Jack T. Conn; Joe W. Curtis; Harry L. Deupree, M.D.; Bob Foresman; Nolen J. Fuqua; Denzil B. Garrison; Mrs. L. E. Hodge, Jr.; John E. Kirkpatrick; Earl Boyd Pierce; and Jordan B. Reaves. Mr. Boydston moved that those requesting be excused. Mrs. Everett seconded, and the motion passed unanimously.

Mr. Jordan presented the gift lists from the library and the museum and Miss Seger moved that the gifts be accepted, seconded by Mrs. Bowman; acceptance was unanimous. The list of sixty-six persons applying for membership was also presented. Three applications for life membership were received: Duke Ligon, former annual member; Tim Mauldin, and Betty J. Washburn. Miss Seger moved that the applications be approved, Mrs. Bowman seconded, and approval was unanimous.

On request, Mr. Tabor moved that minutes of the Executive Committee meetings of May 16 and June 29, and of the Board and annual meetings of April 26, be adopted as mailed. Mrs. Nesbitt seconded the motion, which passed unanimously.

Mr. Jordan told the Board members of Governor Nigh's plan to appoint him as State Historic Preservation Officer and to name an eleven-member Preservation Review Committee. Mr. Jordan said he would be meeting with Governor Nigh July 31, after which the Governor would announce the appointment. Mr. Jordan shared with the Board members some of his views regarding an effective historical society program but stated that without financial support and additional personnel, plans for development of the Society could not be carried out.

President Finney announced that the City of Hammon had requested that it be designated a historic preservation city. He also told of the reception in honor of Mr. Woods on August 11 in El Reno. Mr. Woods thanked those members of the Board & staff who had come to the reception.

Mrs. Bowman gave the Treasurer's report and reviewed the provisions of the Revolving Fund 200 and Clearing Accounts 1350A and 1350B. Mr. Boydston moved that the Treasurer's report be approved, seconded by Dr. Fischer. General Frye requested that Board members be given a synopsis of the funds and Mr. Jordan stated that each Board member would be furnished with a budget to the date of each Board meeting and a report of amounts in all special funds. The motion to approve the report was unanimous.

The reports of the Library and the Indian Archives Committees were given by Mrs. Everett. She said Kent Carter of the Federal Records Center, Fort Worth, would be making his annual inspection on August 6. Mrs. Everett said temperature controls had been installed in the Archives. She reported that the NEH grant for microfilming the holdings of the department would expire in 1980 and that state funds would be needed to complete the program. Mrs. Everett spoke of the need for establishing a collection and disposal policy for the Library and said a professional librarian would join the staff of the Historical Society in the near future. Mr. Campbell asked about plans for a photo lab for the libraries. After discussion, it was decided that the matter should be considered further by the Library Committee.

Miss Seger said that reorganization and resignations in the Education Department had slowed development of programs for the coming year.

Mr. Boydston gave a report of the Honey Springs Battlefield Park Commission, which had met June 23 in Muskogee. Approximately seventy-five people had attended the meeting and progress was made in bringing a better understanding of the development of the park to area residents. Mr. Boydston reviewed the properties in the possession of the Oklahoma Historical Society: the Jones tract, the Gambrill-Hill tract, and said that negotiations were being made toward a settlement with the owners of the Lane tract for the acquisition of a part of their land. To date, 699 acres have been acquired for the park. He said land owners had requested that the Commission and the Society adopt a policy of acquiring land in the park site as tracts become available for sale on the open market.

Mr. Boydston informed the Board that land owners had requested that the present access road from the south to the springs be extended north to Oktaha to provide entrance to the park from the north and promised to acquire easements for the road right-of-way without cost to the Society. McIntosh and Muskogee County Commissioners and the Oklahoma De-

partment of Transportation had promised to open and improve the road when rights-of-way were acquired.

Aerial black-and-white and infra-red photographs have been delivered to the Society for study to determine the site of the mass burial at the battlefield.

The Commission had recommended that development and improvement of the park should begin on sites owned by the Society and was considering the creation of a public trust for the acquisition of land and development. The Attorney General had been contacted for his advice and assistance, said Mr. Boydstun.

Recommendations by the Commission for development included the erection of signs and graphics which would show the importance of Honey Springs on the Texas Road in the 1800s, graphics at the depot location and other buildings built by the Confederates, and signs and graphics of Indian and Negro soldiers' participation in the battle. The Commission also recommended that an employee be hired for Honey Springs, that the building on the Jones tract be utilized as a temporary headquarters, and that the one-acre tract adjacent to the Jones tract and near the springs be acquired as soon as possible. The Commission requested that Robert F. Hill, Oktaha, be appointed as a member of the Honey Springs Battlefield Park Commission.

Mr. Boydstun moved that the report of the Commission be approved and adopted and Dr. Fischer seconded. President Finney asked if funds were available for the development of the park as outlined. Mr. Boydstun said that an estimate would need to be made of the cost, and inscriptions for markers would have to be written. Mr. Jordan said his staff could provide a proposed budget. General Frye asked if a public trust could handle the financial needs of the project. Mr. Campbell moved that the phrase, "subject to the availability of funds," be added to Mr. Boydstun's motion; Dr. Gibson seconded and approval and adoption of the report of the Commission was unanimous. Mr. Boydstun was asked to notify Mr. Hill of his appointment to the Commission.

Mr. Boydstun reported that Judge Claude Garrett of Fort Gibson had approached him with an offer to sell to the Oklahoma Historical Society the old U.S. Army Hospital owned by him, presently known as the "House of History." It was described as a two-story wooden building situated on property adjacent to property at Fort Gibson owned by the Society on which are located the old Fort Gibson bake oven, powder magazine, and barracks. It was recommended that the Museum and Historic Sites Department investigate and determine if the acquisition of the "House of History" would be desirable for the Society and if so, then to negotiate with Judge Garrett for acquisition of the site. Mr. Boydstun moved, seconded by General Frye,

that the recommendation be adopted. Mrs. Nesbitt asked if funds were available for maintaining the site and Mr. Boydston said that they would have to be appropriated by the legislature. Dr. Gibson moved that a feasibility study be made of the cost of purchase and maintenance of the property, Mr. Boydston seconded. A roll call vote was taken with all present in agreement, with the exception of Mrs. Nesbitt who abstained.

Mr. Woods reported that the Microfilm Department had made excellent progress during the quarter despite the breakdown of a microfilm camera. Discussion followed on the condition of the Society's cameras and readers. Replacement parts for older models are often difficult to find and new models very expensive. Mr. Woods said that some newspaper chains were buying up newspapers all over the state for microfilming and that there would be a possibility that the Society could buy film directly from these newspaper chains. Further investigation would be needed.

Dr. Fischer reported that the developers of the Healdton Oilfield Museum were ready to turn over their property to the Historical Society if the Society was willing to accept it. Regarding the personnel and funds needed to maintain the museum, Dr. Fischer said it was a worthy museum and believed there was no reason why the state would not support it inasmuch as the state had supported other significant museums. He said additional staff and operations funds would need to be requested in the next budget if the Board agreed to accept the museum. Some expressed concern about a growing trend to develop local museums and then turning them over to the Historical Society. Dr. Fischer moved that the matter be referred to the Museum and Historic Sites Committee for a report to be presented at the October meeting of the Board. Dr. Gibson seconded and the motion passed unanimously.

Dr. Fischer made several announcements: Mac Harris, former Historical Society librarian, had been employed as assistant to C. E. Metcalf, Director of Museums and Historic Sites; summer workers were converting the museum's accessioning records to the Chenhall nomenclature system, and a moratorium had been declared for accepting material for the museum until the project's completion; work was continuing on the development of the Historical Building's South Gallery, depicting the period pre-removal to the Civil War in Indian Territory. Dr. Fischer said an exhibit, "A Century of Quilts," was scheduled for the North Gallery from October through February, 1980; plans were being made for a Black Heritage exhibit in February, and an ethnohistorical exhibit for April through September, 1980. These exhibits were being planned to stimulate return visits by regular visitors, as well as attracting first-time visitors.

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Dr. Fischer reported that the Publications Committee would make a major report at the October meeting of the Board. He asked Dr. Faulk to explain two forms which had been studied by the committee—one, a Publishers' Contract written to protect both the Society and authors submitting material for publication from copyright suits. Dr. Faulk asked that the Executive Director send the form to the Attorney General for clearance. The other form was a waiver to be signed by an author before the Society would publish the writer's manuscript. The opinion of the Attorney General will be sought for this form also.

Dr. Faulk announced that the newest volume of The Oklahoma Series had been released, and autographed copies of the work, "Indian Leaders—Oklahoma's First Statesmen," edited by Executive Director H. Glenn Jordan and Thomas M. Holm, were distributed to the Board members. Dr. Faulk moved that Mr. Jordan be given a vote of thanks and commendation by the Board for scholarship and for his contribution to Oklahoma's history. Dr. Green seconded the motion and it passed unanimously. Mr. Jordan thanked the members and told of the plans to develop a comprehensive information center. He said that Walter L. Lena, front-cover artist for "Indian Leaders," had offered to relinquish his rights to the drawing in order that the Oklahoma Historical Society could reproduce the work and sell the prints. Mr. Jordan expressed the hope that future pieces of art used in the Series would also be available as prints.

Mrs. Nesbitt referred to a recent newspaper article concerning the use of the punch bowl from the U.S.S. Oklahoma, a part of the Society's museum collection. Mr. Jordan offered to investigate the matter and report to John Reid of the Governor's staff the concerns of the Museum and Sites Committee for the safety and care of the punch bowl.

Mr. Jordan announced that Mr. Reaves had agreed to loan certain weapons to the museum and Dr. Green asked for a vote of thanks to Mr. Reaves for the loan. Dr. Green said that the Guthrie commission had applied for a full time staff person to work with historic preservation and that a report would be presented to the Board at the October meeting.

Mr. Jordan gave instructions to the Board members on how to proceed to the Great Hall of the Myriad Convention Center for the meeting with Governor Nigh.

Meeting adjourned approximately 11:45 a.m.

W. D. FINNEY
PRESIDENT

H. GLENN JORDAN
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The Oklahoma Historical Society wishes to acknowledge the following people who donated gifts during the second quarter of 1979.

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April 27, 1979 to July 26, 1979

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